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THE
PRESBYTERIAN
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. IX.

BENJAMIN J. WALLACE, EDITOR.

ALBERT BARNES, THOMAS BRAINERD, JOHN JENKINS,
JOEL PARKER, ASSOCIATE EDITORS.

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THE
PRESBYTERIAN
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JULY, 1860.

NO. XXXIII.

ARTICLE I.*

ANTE-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

The early history of our own branch of the Church has been illustrated in the *Presbyterian Quarterly Review*, and in instructive addresses before this Society.

The early history of other Churches in America, as related to our own, is, also, not unworthy our attention. The Romish, the Congregational, and the Episcopal organizations preceded the Presbyterian on this continent, and the true relations between them, or some of them, and the latter, are not always understood, or, at least, correctly stated.

In the very last printed discourse that has attracted our attention on that never-ending, never-wearying theme, "*The Apostolical Succession*," the respected author indulges in the following strain of remark: "Follow the sons of the Church of England who brought her principles here, in this western land, or who have imbibed them, and cherished them, and live upon

* This Article was delivered before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Pittsburgh, May 21, 1860, at the request of the Presbyterian Historical Society, by the Rev. Samuel M. Hopkins, D. D., Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary at Auburn, New York.

them. At first a small, down-trodden band of humble men, scarcely daring to ask for, or to expect, equal rights and equal justice among men of an opposite faith and worship, they have continued to grow, to increase, and to spread themselves like the willow beside the waters, which gently lifts its head to heaven and spreads its graceful branches to the sun and stands majestic in its strength. The rise and progress of this branch of the Church in America cannot but command the admiration of Christendom.

"Her first and great act when she awoke from the cradle of her infancy, where in swaddling bands she had been nursed, was to provide for herself a complete ecclesiastical power.

"She heeded not the sarcasm of that worldly-wise man, who has by his unmatched sagacity drawn down the lightning and controlled it. She heeded not his sneer that men would one day learn not to be dependent on other countries, but would make their own bishops for themselves. But she sent her lion-hearted ambassador, accredited with testimony to his worth, asking for him apostolic authority. Just seventy-five years have passed since that auspicious event, and a little one has become a thousand."*

The abundant, though doubtless undesigned, *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* of these extracts will partly appear from the remarks that follow on the *Ante-revolutionary History of Episcopacy, and the Non-juring Episcopate in the Colonies*. The discussion is designed in no unfriendly spirit towards the denomination referred to, being, in fact, like the whole body of our controversial literature in that direction, of a simply defensive character.

It will give us occasion to see to what extent the early Episcopal clergy of this country were a "down-trodden band of humble men, scarcely daring to ask for or to expect equal rights and equal justice among men of an opposite faith and worship," and how far the rise and progress of Episcopacy in America is calculated to "command the admiration of Christendom."

* Publication of the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary, &c., being the sermon, &c., by Rev. Wm. Shelton, D. D. New York. Daniel Dana, 381 Broadway. 1860.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the feeble elements of Presbyterianism in this country were just beginning to crystallize in their primary forms, the Episcopacy of the English Church had long had exclusive possession of the middle and southern colonies. Exactly one hundred years before the formation of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, King James, by orders under the privy seal, *established* the English Church in the plantations in America.

New England was afterwards peopled exclusively by Anglican non-conformists. The province of New Netherlands was held by Calvinists of the Belgic confession. The Lutheran Swedes were planted in Delaware; the Catholic colony of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and William Penn, with his Quakers, in this province. But New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, were successively annexed to the Church of England. Episcopacy was established in these colonies as truly as it was in the mother country, though not yet so thoroughly organized. Its churches were built with public money; its clergy supported by general tax, and inducted into their parishes by royal authority. Christians of every other denomination were Dissenters, rigorously excluded, as far as possible, or persecuted by severe penal laws, and, at length, only protected by the Toleration Act of the Revolution government.

In due course of time, Peter Stuyvesant swallowed up the Swedish colony on the Delaware, and was himself, in time, swallowed by the English; his stout heart being ill-seconded by superannuated guns and pacific power; and in the course of thirty years more, Episcopacy was established by law in all the colonies south of New England, except Pennsylvania. Whatever advantage there might be in an exclusive legal establishment, Episcopacy enjoyed it for a century before, and three quarters of a century after Francis Makemie and John Hampton began their labors and were imprisoned in Maryland and in New York for preaching without a special license from the colonial government.

At the period when we open our view, contemporaneous with the organization of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the "Church" in New York, though zealously befriended by royal

governors, embraced but a small minority of the people. Colonel Hunter and Lord Cornbury did their best. They intruded Episcopal missionaries on Dissenting congregations; and wrested Dissenting "meeting houses" from those who built and owned them. But a Church cannot be forced; it must grow; and Episcopacy was an exotic that took unkindly to the rough winds and strong sunshine of the western continent. At the close of Lord Cornbury's administration, that "zealous patron and true nursing father of the Church,"—but who it may be observed, though a strong Churchman, was a very poor Christian—the Episcopal clergy in the province he had governed numbered only half a dozen; in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, only a score; in the three northern colonies not so many. Virginia, with her aristocracy of broken down cavaliers and despairing tories, was their land of Goshen. The scions of royalist houses, whose services were forgotten at the Restoration, carried their disappointed hopes, but still unabated loyalty, to what had already come to be termed the "Ancient Dominion." Here was the adopted home of established, intolerant and proscriptive Anglicanism.

But even here its growth was slow. When Francis Make-mie, John Hampton, John McNish and their four associates stood around the cradle of infant Presbyterianism, in Philadelphia, the established clergy of all sorts in the colonies, parsons, teachers, and regimental chaplains, amounted to less than fifty. Seventy years later, at the breaking out of the Revolution, they had grown to less than two hundred.

The causes of this tardy increase, notwithstanding the fostering care of government, and the efforts of the venerable "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," may be reduced to three.

I. The character of the Episcopal clergy themselves.

The hand of government may establish a Church, but without zeal and exemplary living on the part of its ministers, nothing can make it thrive. An earnest, zealous clergy can build up even a false Church; a supine and indifferent clergy can ruin a true one. Now it was the unhappiness of the early Anglican Church in the colonies to be cursed with not merely a supine but an incompetent and scandalous ministry. Popu-

lar history has acquainted us all with the character of the private chaplains and country clergy of England, in the half century following the Restoration; the ignorant and vulgar "Levites" who were content to live as poor dependents in the Squire's mansion; who said grace at his table, sitting below the salt; played cards or bowls with him when wanted; drank beer with the servants in the kitchen; ran of errands, or groomed the horses; or when advanced from a chaplaincy to a miserable living, were undistinguished, save by a threadbare cassock, from the most clownish of their parishioners.

To this class belonged many of the missionaries who were sent over to propagate the Gospel in America. Starving and despised at home, the colonies offered them some change at least in their misery, and some hope, at least, of improvement.

But there was a further impelling motive in their case. When the incurable folly and faithlessness of the Stuarts had slowly prepared the educated and productive classes for a change in the administration—the substantial yeomanry in the country, the professions in the metropolis, the manufacturers in the towns, and even a large part of the nobility—the rural clergy and squirearchy remained the stronghold of toryism. The moderate Churchmen, following the lead of Tillotson, Tenison and Stillingfleet, swore allegiance to the Revolution government, and continued quietly in the enjoyment of their livings. The more ignorant and prejudiced country clergy refused the oaths. A wise, firm, constitutional Protestant monarchy, which had saved the Church and the liberties of England, was nothing to them compared with the imprescriptible rights of the Lord's anointed.

The clergy at all times are instinctively legitimists. Administering a written constitution, having the spirit of a class, and that a cultivated and lettered class, their whole *nîsus* and tendency are on the side of established things. They are essentially the party of order and law; and it must be a very strong pressure of administrative abuse, that makes them any thing else. When they are found numerous on the side of constitutional reform, or of violent revolution, it may be assumed that the reform and the revolution are imperatively demanded by the necessities of society.

The two contradictory charges against the clergy, of being fanatical agitators, and of being the mere echoes of the prejudices of their flocks, are equally absurd. No literary class bound to society by family ties, and every way interested in the quiet and orderly working of things, ever was, or can be guilty of reckless agitation. The body of the clergy will sustain the government under which they live in all its actings, so long as it can be done with Christian integrity and fealty to God. When they take up the doctrine of the supremacy of conscience and the divine law, as against human constitutions, it is because some blow is aimed at truth and freedom which overpowers their habitual instinct of loyalty. It is true that under no conceivable provocation can the entire clerical body be brought to this ground. There are always—by a wise dispensation, doubtless—some whose ultra-professional constancy to government refuses to be shaken by any possible battery of abuses; predestinated Job's comforters, who under *all* conditions are fond of telling us we are a great deal better off than we deserve; who would have preached the duty of cheerfulness and gratitude to St. Lawrence on his gridiron and to Rachel in the streets of Bethlehem: who would have been Herodians in the year *one*, Jacobites in 1688, and loyalists in 1776.

The non-juring clergy who insisted on being governed by a malignant Popish despot, instead of a constitutional Protestant sovereign, were only the extreme representatives of the idea of allegiance. Their highest duty was loyalty to hereditary monarchy. They elaborated the doctrine of obedience to the powers that be, with an unction, a profundity and a finish which effectually distances modern competition. The Revolution was, in their eyes, an impious struggle against divinely ordained government. The brutalities of Jeffreys and Scroggs, the dungeons where innocent victims shrieked on the rack or wasted amid mouldering damp; the scaffold red with the blood of women for the indulgence of that instinctive sympathy which furnished a hiding-place to a hunted fugitive, were only the "incidental and subordinate evils" of a legitimate sovereignty. They were not "so mortal, so general, so complete, so overpowering, as to dissolve the very

life of the State, by destroying all the benefits the State should secure."* We think it must be admitted they were not; and therefore, if this doctrine of ancient and of recent toryism defines truly the legitimate conditions of resistance to government, the English Revolution not merely, but much more the American, were wholly indefensible. John Hampden, and John Hancock, and George Washington, incurred damnation for resisting the "ordinance." Better suffer all this, said the non-jurors, than lift a hand against the Lord's anointed. That there could be any "higher law" than the statutes of the realm, interpreted by the will of the sovereign, was a blacker heresy than a denial of the whole Forty-two Articles.

The Revolution government, therefore, must be discarded as profane; and all that adhered to it, as guilty of rebellion against God. The "swearing bishops" had lapsed from Christ, and could no longer perpetuate the true succession. The non-juring clergy therefore looked to the discrowned bigot who was plotting with the Jesuits for the overthrow of English liberty, and the assassination of its great champion, as the true head of their Church.

Such were the political principles of many of the early English clergy who emigrated to the colonies; and they were not less the principles of the Scotch Irish clergy who constituted a considerable portion of the whole. Ejected from their livings, as a matter of course they were left without a subsistence. They came to America, not as willing missionaries of the Church, but as starving martyrs to *jure divino* monarchy.

Even this was not the worst of it. The moral characters of the non-juring clergy were, in many instances, as bad as their political principles were base. Broken up from their parishes, divested practically of the clerical office, and thrown much into the society of the profligate Jacobites, they became reckless of professional decorum and Christian morality. They sunk into wretched parasites and boon companions. They drank, gambled and intrigued. They became dangerous to the purity even of the families that sheltered and fed them.

It was such as these, the non-juring "Hagans" and "Samp-

* Harper's Magazine, May, 1860.—"Editor's Table."

sons" who came over to evangelize "the Virginians." There was even a literal Mr. Honeyman—not the elegant incumbent of Lady Whittlesea's Chapel, May Fair, however—not the Rev. Charles Honeyman, who was yet to spring from the brain of the greatest English novelist of society and character.

It will not surprise us therefore, to find very unfavorable portraits of the early Episcopal clergy in the colonies. The Rev. Mr. Honeyman aforesaid, crossed the sea, but he only changed his climate without being able to leave a very ill reputation behind him. The Rev. Daniel Brett, of North Carolina, "behaved in a most horrid manner;" so bad, that Mr. Henderson Walker is ashamed to go into particulars.* Others are spoken of in the aggregate, as "scandalous beasts." Col. Heathcote affirms that "the bad lives of the clergy had been the strongest argument of Dissenters against the Church;" and the Rev. Mr. Talbot ventures to tell the Bishop of London, in black and white, that "it was a general impression, that the devil would be sure to get him for sending over such godless fellows to America."

This is the testimony of friends. Mr. Whitefield—if he is to be considered an unfriend to the Church of which he was a minister—expresses himself in equally strong terms; and this was after matters had begun considerably to improve through the greater care of the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel. Even then, Mr. Whitefield informs the Society, that the Church of England in the Colonies was at a very low ebb, and was likely to dwindle to nothing, unless pains were taken to send over missionaries better qualified for the pastoral office.

"It is too evident," he observes, "that most of them are corrupt in their principles and immoral in their practices. Many of them are such as could not stand their trial among Dissenters, or were discarded by them for profaneness and irregularities. If you had a mind only to establish the *form* of religion, sending such ungodly despicable ministers, would render even that ineffectual."

* Mr. Henderson Walker to the Lord Bishop of London.—Episcopal Historical Collections, 1851, page 182.

We know a little about the character of the Scotch-Irish clergy who nursed the infancy of Presbyterianism in these Colonies: Francis Makemie, George M'Nish, Samuel Davis, William Tennent, and others whose reputations were never clouded by the breath of suspicion. We must be painfully struck, therefore, with the contrast presented in the lives of the Scotch-Irish *Episcopal* clergy of the same period.

But we have occasion ourselves to notice that there are great diversities of Irish character. There are Irishmen who love civil and religious liberty for themselves, and desire it for all men; and there are Irishmen who think the most detested ecclesiastical despotism good enough for their fellow Catholics in the Pontifical States; Irishmen who have shrieked for freedom in Ireland—their individual freedom—and who howl with the rest of the wolves for the privilege of oppressing others in America.

It is quite natural, therefore, to find, that among the clergy who came to this country a hundred and fifty years ago, there were Irishmen who loved Presbytery, true religion and civil liberty, and Irishmen who were fond of “the flesh,” “the Church,” and the Pretender.

Obviously, a Church afflicted with such a clergy, could not be expected to prosper; and so, even when the Colonists were not permitted legally to be any thing else, they would not be Churchmen.

II. *The spirit of the people themselves*, was not favorable to the growth of Episcopacy. Except in the “Ancient Dominion,” there was nowhere any intensity of zeal for the English ecclesiastical or civil Constitution. On the contrary, the Colonists drew in, with the air of their new homes, the spirit of freedom and private judgment. All existing Protestant sects were represented here—Independents in Massachusetts, Anabaptists in Rhode Island, Presbyterians in New York, Keithian Quakers in East Jersey, Foxonian Quakers in Pennsylvania; Quakers indeed everywhere: not passive and quiescent Quakers, but waspish, polemical, in the early glow of their enthusiasm—a ubiquitous, and long-drawn-out “snake in the grass,” wherever the clergy pursued their labors. “All

sorts of heathen and heretics—says Mr. Talbot—superabound in these parts. Africa has not more monsters.”

Throughout New England the name of Episcopacy was odious. In various other parts of the country, it was associated with the idea of “five-mile acts” and persecuting bishops; of profane royal governors and oppressive Parliamentary edicts. The people were in love with their colonial liberty, and chose to indulge it. It was impossible to enforce the conditions of the establishment. Parishes would pay the quantity of tobacco voted as salary, only when they had received a reasonable *quid pro quo*. Church wardens and vestrymen would sometimes insist on calling Dissenting clergymen. The widow of a deceased curate in Long Island, deliberately hands over the whole parish, with the key of the church, to a Presbyterian incumbent—a serious and protracted affliction to Lord Cornbury. Disputes about salary; lawsuits with vestrymen; appeals to the Governors, &c., were endless. Dissenting teachers—as Mr. Peter Evans informs the Bishop of London—“multiplied in the growing city of Philadelphia.” The Rev. John Urmiston complains that he was “very dirtily kicked out from there by the Vestry.” He was not sorry, however, to quit “so precarious and slavish a place, where they required two sermons every Sunday, prayers all the week, and homilies on festivals;” a heartiness in religion—we may observe—which is characteristic of the devout churchmen of that city to this day. A Rev. John Urmiston or a Rev. Charles Honeyman would be quite likely now to be “kicked out” uncereemoniously from the pulpits graced lately by a Dudley Tyng, and now by a Cooper and a Newton.

It is impossible indeed, to recount the trials of these early churchmen, without commiseration. Often they had “neither money, credit nor tobacco.” They found themselves among “a set of heathen called Quakers;” “as bad as Indians;” “who served no God but Mammon and their own appetites.” Rev. Mr. Talbot is robbed of his portmanteau. His clerk is arrested for debt in church. He even expects the same fate for himself. “Mr. Honeyman was ousted; Mr. Nichols scouted into Maryland.” “Poor brother Jenkins” fared worse; he fell

into the hands of a blood-thirsty set of natives "called gallinippers," who would not let him rest day nor night, till he got a "fever at Appoquiminy," came to Philadelphia, "and died forthwith of a calenture." The historian of this calamity recommends that no missionaries be sent into those parts till they are musquito-proof. So that, in fine, many of the early Episcopal clergy formed the same opinion of America as Lord Say did of Kent, that it was *terra bona, mala gens*: a land, as one of them observed to the Bishop of London, to which no English person, with a decent shirt to his back, would think of removing.

As the eighteenth century waned, and the spirit of the Colonies correspondingly waxed stronger, the want of sympathy between the people and the Episcopal clergy became more marked. Through the cause next after mentioned, the clergy continued to be actuated by a vehement spirit of loyalty to the British crown. A large part of them were "home born." The few who were natives of the Colonies, had received their orders in England, and felt that love and pride towards the mother Church, so natural in the circumstances. It came to be more and more the case, that the Colonial governments, the army, and the Anglican clergy were on one side and the people on the other. Indignant toryism exclaims, in the person of Squire M'Fingal:—

Did not the deeds of England's Primate
First drive your fathers to this climate,
Whom jails, and fines, and every ill,
Forced to their good, against their will?
Ye owe to their obliging temper,
The peopling your new-fangled empire;
While every British act and canon,
Stood forth your *causa sine qua non*;
Say, at what period did they grudge
To send you governor or judge,
With all their missionary crew,
To teach you law and Gospel too?
Brought o'er all felons in the nation,
To help you on in population;
Prepared their bishops to surrender,
And made their priests a legal tender,
Who only asked, in surplice clad,
The simple tithe of all you had.

Continually recruited direct from England, the clergy remained strangers to the sentiment of patriotism which actuated the people. A large portion of them were dependent for their salaries on the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel. The difference continually widened between the Scotch-Irish Churchmen who came to the Colonies and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The former were only transported; the latter were transplanted. They struck root in the soil, and the crabbed elements in the original stock became rapidly dulcified in the sweet air of dawning liberty.

It would be quite superfluous before this Society, to spend more than a moment in illustrating the attitude of the Presbyterian clergy during the Revolution period. Dr. Inglis, afterwards Bishop of Nova Scotia, whose virulent toryism made it convenient for him to quit the country, says that he "did not know one of them, nor had he been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any who did not, by preaching and every effort in their power, promote all the measures of the Congress, however extravagant."

On the other hand he affirms, that "all the Episcopal clergy remained faithful to the British crown, and to the utmost of their power opposed the spirit of disaffection." Bishop Wilberforce observes triumphantly, that "amid the general defection, one class of men alone continued loyal. While hypocrisy found in Puritanism the forms it needed, (*e. g.*, days of fasting and prayer, &c.,) not one minister of the Episcopalian Church, north of Pennsylvania, joined the side of the insurgents."*

Even Mr. Duché, "a most amiable youth, of captivating eloquence," whom we have all seen with sweetly serious and florid aspect, offering the first prayer in Congress—even the Reverend Jacob Duché, expanded in less than three months thereafter, into a full blown tory; and not content with turning tory himself, had the assurance to attempt making a tory of no less a person than General George Washington.

The Episcopal churches therefore, of course, were closed during the Revolution. Only here and there a bitter parson,

* History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford. American Edition, page 132.

like Mr. Beach, in Connecticut, continued, in spite of threats and mobs, to pray for king George, to the close of the chapter. The "Church," in fact, subsided and went darkling out of sight, just in proportion as civil and religious liberty rose radiant and beaming from the waves of the ocean.

To this complexion it had come at last. A century and a half of exclusive legal possession, with a Jacobitical, Arminian, immoral and tory clergy, had reduced Episcopacy to the very verge of extinction. Happily it was not final decay; a resurrection from the tomb remained for her, and a new career of usefulness, as a small, but respectable member of the Church in America.

III. The third cause of the feebleness of Episcopacy in the Colonies, was *the want of a Colonial episcopate*. Whatever may be the doctrine of other denominations on that subject, it is quite certain, that according to the Episcopal theory, there can be "no church without a bishop." The Anglican congregations therefore in America, continued for many years in a sort of equivocal position, belonging to no diocese whatever. A clerical "Church" poet has represented not merely them, but the entire continent as having remained in a soulless condition during the two hundred years that preceded the consecration of Bishop Seabury. We have been accustomed quite to overrate the merits of Columbus. In fact, he did altogether the smallest half for the western world:

——— that noble Genoese,
He crossed the seas;
And found the body o'er far waters roll—
Seabury infused the soul.*

Some allowance must be made for daring flights of poetical genius. Still the condition of the Colonial "Church," as respects Episcopal supervision, was doubtless unhappy. Whether or not she had a soul, it is quite certain she had no distinguishable head. By an unauthorized arrangement, tacitly acquiesced in, the Bishop of London had come to be regarded as the diocesan of the Colonies. The relation was illegitimate; but it was better than none. To the Bishop of London accord-

* The Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe.

ingly, the "Church" in America was obliged to resort for all needed episcopal acts. Confirmation and government of course were wholly wanting, and every native born candidate for orders, must pass the seas to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, at the hands of the "successor of the Apostles."

During the century that preceded the Revolution, this was no trifling hardship. In the imperfect navigation of the period, the voyage, even if successful, was tedious. But it was often attended with fatal results. The unhappy candidates were wrecked on the coast; they foundered on the seas and were never heard of; they were cut off by small-pox in England, where the disease was thought to be peculiarly fatal to Americans; they were taken by French privateers, and "died prisoners in Bayonne." One-fifth of all who went out for orders never came back.

Complaints on this subject became frequent and earnest with the progress of the eighteenth century. Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, in his correspondence with Archbishops Herring and Secker, is pathetic on the need of an American episcopate. Messrs. Keith and Talbot, missionaries of the "Venerable Society," urge the point in almost every letter. English churchmen of high character interested themselves in the matter. Those wise and excellent men, Sherlock, Bishop of London, Archbishop Secker, the gentle enthusiast, Bishop Berkeley, who visited America, and the great author of the "Analogy," entered warmly into the views of the Colonists. Bishop Butler drew up a judicious plan for an American episcopate, which should be free from all offence to non-Episcopal denominations.

The Government slowly bestirred itself, and gave some heed to these just representations. They proposed seriously—unless the character of the nominations they made, should warrant us rather in saying, they proposed in jest—to supply the Colonists with a bishop. The first appointment was in the reign of Charles II. The incumbent nominated was Dr. Alexander Murray, who had been fellow-traveller, boon-companion and keeper of the conscience, to king Charles during his exile. The *nominal* objection to proceeding with his consecration, was that no fund was provided for the support of the bishop.

But his personal immorality was alleged at the time, and is believed to have been the sufficient motive.

The next nomination was in the reign of Queen Anne, and was of no less a person than Dr. Jonathan Swift. The Whig ministry of Mr. Harley, Queen Anne's last Premier, unable to win Dr. Swift to hearty co-operation, and afraid to offend him, felt a sudden access of sympathy for the unhappy Church in the Colonies; and proposed blessing them with this impracticable political churchman.

Doctor Swift, Bishop of Virginia! The mind stands at a pause a moment in contemplating the idea. Everlastingly renowned would Virginia have been in such a bishop; though at which end of her trumpet Fame would have sounded his episcopal exploits, must remain doubtful.

If the most vigorous understanding, the soundest common sense, the most inexhaustible wit, the bitterest contempt of pretension and shams—an intellect, in short, of the very highest order in every department to which it applied itself, were sufficient recommendation to the episcopal office, there never had been a fitter incumbent since diocesan bishops were first invented.*

On the other hand, if an absolute lack of the quality of reverence; reverence for clothes and outside show of every sort; reverence for all the conventionalities—all the decencies of life; a temper like Lucifer's for pride and scorn; an insane relish for the basest and coarsest ideas and images—if these, and much more were disqualifications, Virginia must be regarded as having met with a fortunate escape.

The Anglican Episcopate at the time, was none too well off in respect either to doctrine or morals. It included men of lax religious sentiments, and extreme carelessness of life. Dr. Rundle, an Arian, had been nominated to the See of Derry. Swift thus profanely ridiculed the objections of the other bishops to his consecration—

Rundle, a bishop! well he may!
 He's still a Christian more than they!
 Yet were he heathen, Turk or Jew,
 What is there in it strange or new?
 For let us hear the weak pretence,
 His brethren find to take offence;

Of whom there are but four at most,
 Who know there is a Holy Ghost;
 The rest, who boast they have conferred it,
 Like Paul's Ephesians never heard it;
 And when they gave it, well 'tis known,
 They gave what never was their own.

Alas! that we must admit, the hope was very slender of having a fifth added, if Dr. Swift had received consecration. But the pill was too bitter for the English bishops to swallow. They objected so strongly to laying hands on Dr. Swift, that the project was dropped; and Swift with that *sæva indignatio*,* of which his self-written epitaph tells, gnawing at his heart, took up with the Deanery of St. Patrick's.

It is difficult to refrain from imagining something of the character of Swift's episcopal career in the Colonies, had this proposition been carried out; the reckless indecency of language and conduct in society; the pitiless ridicule of the provincial clergy; the wealth of satire, pun, quip and fable, that would have enwrapped and embalmed the Virginia society of the time; the bitter quarrels with royal governors, and the "strenuous assertion" of Colonial rights; for however biased for a time by fancied injuries, Dean Smith was essentially a Whig.

The world would never have done laughing or crying at this extraordinary episcopate. Nothing can be thought of as a possible parallel in more recent times, except to have made Sydney Smith, Bishop of Pennsylvania; a State to which it is well known he was attached by numerous *bonds*, and for whose material welfare at least, he was accustomed to express a tender solicitude.

The Hanover line succeeded to the throne, and the British government was too much occupied with the Pretender at home to pay any heed to the demands of the Episcopal colonists abroad: and, in the meantime, the non-Episcopal colonists, constituting the very large majority, had roused them

* "Hic depositum est corpus Jonathan Swift, S. T. D., hujus ecclesiæ Cathedralis Decanus, ubi sæva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit. Abi Viator, et imitare si poteris strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicatorem."

Dean Swift's Will.

selves to consider the consequences of the proposed measure. They themselves, or their fathers, had fled to America to escape from persecuting bishops. "We came into this wilderness," Cotton Mather had said, "because we would worship God without that Episcopacy, that Common Prayer, and those unwarrantable ceremonies with which the land of our fathers' sepulchres has been defiled; because we would have our children live under the pure and full dispensations of the Gospel, defended by rulers that should be of ourselves."

A feeling of alarm and irritation began to grow up in all parts of America, that bishops should follow them even into the place of their refuge. The measure continued to be agitated by correspondence and by controversy. Nursed by the infatuated policy of the Crown and Parliament, a national spirit was steadily rising. The same temper that protested against the Revenue Act, resisted the appointment of bishops.

In 1768, the Massachusetts House of Representatives wrote to their agent in London as follows: "The establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America is very zealously contended for; and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness, in order peaceably to enjoy their privileges, civil and religious. Their being threatened with the loss of *both* at once, must throw them into a very disagreeable situation. We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America: and we desire you would strenuously oppose it. The revenue raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be as constitutionally applied towards the support of Prelacy, as of soldiers and pensioners. If the property of the subject is taken from him without his consent, it is immaterial whether it be done by one man or five hundred; or whether it be applied for the support of the ecclesiastic or the military power. It may be well worth the consideration of the best politicians in Great Britain or America what the natural tendency is of a vigorous pursuit of these measures." *

This opposition would have been wholly unreasonable if the proposed episcopate had been merely an arrangement for

* Quoted in *Epis. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. i. p. 155.

the benefit of the Episcopal congregations in the Colonies. Such was the face it was earnestly attempted to put upon it; and such, doubtless, was the honest purpose of many of the venerable and excellent men who urged it. Bishop Butler's plan included the settling of bishops only where Episcopacy was by law established—of course none in New England or Pennsylvania—confining them exclusively to spiritual functions, and supporting them on the voluntary principle.

Under date of 27th September, 1758, Archbishop Secker wrote to Dr. Johnson, of Stratford: "The principal point is to convince the Dissenters that whatever the bishops were from whom their ancestors fled into the new world, those of the present age are, and always have been, most sincere patrons of extensive toleration; and that we are for sending persons of our own order into America, not to claim the least jurisdiction over them, but merely to ordain ministers for Episcopal congregations without the trouble, expense, and hazard of a voyage to England; a burden, to which if they were subjected, they would think insupportable; and to exercise such discipline over those congregations only, as they exercise by ordained presbyters or lay elders, which discipline of ours could no more hurt them than theirs hurts us. To these representations they will pay more regard if we are careful not to give them unnecessary offence in anything, but in everything to oblige them, so far as there is room for it, without betraying the doctrines, the interests, or the honor of our Church." *

The Colonists, however, were not easy to persuade on these points. They found themselves everywhere designated, even in New England, where there was scarce a trace of Episcopacy, as "Dissenters;" and an unestablished Church which presumes to stigmatize other Christians as "Dissenters," is only a fangless serpent, with plenty of malignant *will*, if it had but the power to strike.

In New York, where it *was* established, royal governors seized their churches, and intruded missionaries of the Propagation Society upon them. Presbyterian clergymen were indicted by grand juries if they ventured to preach without a

* Colonial History, Vol. vi. p. 912.

government license. The Episcopal clergy, without exception, were the supporters of all these measures of the Parliament which were fast exasperating the Colonies to the pitch of resistance. Even the learned and venerable Dr. Johnson expresses the wish that "these pernicious charter governments might be set aside, and all reduced to one form in immediate dependence on the king;" in other words, that his fellow-colonists might be stripped of every constitutional defence, and given up to the mercies of an unmitigated despotism.

The Colonists knew, indeed, that an episcopate could be established in America only by act of Parliament, under the usual conditions of the English Church, and they argued that if Parliament could do this, no means of self-protection were left them. "This proposition," observes John Adams, "excited a general and just apprehension that bishops and dioceses, priests and tythes were to be imposed upon us by act of Parliament. If Parliament could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tythes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism-shops."*

This opposition of the American "Dissenters," sustained by the efforts of the Dissenting body in England, led the ministry again and again to waive the project; and, in the meantime, new allies came to their assistance. With the increasing alienation on the part of the Colonists, the idea of an episcopate became odious even to the members of the Anglican Church in the Colonies.

The resolute resistance of Virginia and Massachusetts had already led to the repeal of the British Revenue Act, except only the tax on tea; armed collision between the king's troops and the people had taken place, and the blood of the earliest martyrs for liberty had been shed, when the last attempt was made in Virginia to solicit the royal consent for the establishment of an American episcopate. Out of one hundred Episcopal clergymen in the Colony, a dozen assembled on the summons of the resident commissary of the Bishop of London to address the Crown in favor of the measure: against this ap-

* Colonial History, Vol. vi. p. 906.

plication, science and morals, in the persons of Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, Professor of Natural Philosophy, and Rev. Samuel Henley, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the College of William and Mary, protested, grounding their objections on the small minority of the addressing body; the impropriety of the clergy of *Virginia* applying for an *American* episcopate, whose jurisdiction must extend over other colonies; on the exasperated state of the country, and other prudential considerations.

The Virginia Legislature, composed largely of churchmen, entered fully into these sentiments. On the 12th of July, 1771, the House of Burgesses "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this House be given to the Rev. Mr. Henley, and the Rev. Mr. Gwatkin, for the wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen for introducing an American bishop—a measure by which much disturbance, great anxiety, and apprehension would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful American subjects."

So matters rested throughout the Revolutionary struggle. Even on the prelatical theory the Episcopalians of this country could dispense with a bishop during that period, for they had no Church. With the exception of two or three zealous tory parsons, who persisted with a true martyr disdain of tar and feathers, in praying for King George and the royal family, and a few in the Southern Colonies who adhered to the cause of freedom, the Episcopal clergy demitted their functions.

With the return of peace, the subject was revived. It was hoped the English government would grant to independent citizens, what had long been refused to the petition of dutiful children.

But the condition of the American Episcopalians was only made, for a time, worse than ever. They could not now even obtain orders in England.

Soon after the close of the war, Mason Weems, a Maryland student in divinity, visited England for this purpose. He made his first application to the Bishop of London. Bishop Lowth refused his request flatly, and with very scant courtesy;

a treatment which Mr. Weems thinks quite unprecedented in the annals of church history. Bishop Watson, of Llandaff, to whom he next applied, treated him with more show of compassion, and sent him to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop was sorry; but could not possibly ordain him without "putting him to the pain of swallowing the oath of supremacy and allegiance;" as to his capacity for which,—being now an American citizen—Mr. Weems felt serious apprehensions.

In these trying circumstances, Mr. Weems turned for sympathy and counsel, to the American Commissioners at Paris. Mr. Chase suggested that the bishops of Holland or Sweden would perhaps ordain him, without requiring any oath of allegiance. Catching at this chance, Mr. Weems requested the intercession of John Adams with the Dutch or Swedish bishops; but he was met by the discouraging information from Mr. Adams, that there were no Dutch bishops, and that the Swedes believed in consubstantiation. Mr. Weems, thinking consubstantiation as hard to swallow as the oath of supremacy, then turned to Benjamin Franklin.

Franklin replied, that the best course, in his humble opinion, for the Episcopal clergy in America to pursue, was *to turn Presbyterians*: but, if they were unprepared for this, they might follow the example of the early clergy of Scotland; who, under a similar difficulty, elected one of their own number bishop; laid the mitre and crozier on the altar, and bade him go and take his consecration at the hand of God, which he did, and became the first bishop of Scotland.

Dr. Franklin added:—"If the British Islands were sunk in the sea, (and the surface of the globe has suffered greater changes,) you would probably take some such method as this; and if they persist in denying you ordination, it is the same thing. A hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at, that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety, to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it, till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury, who seems, by your account, to have as

little regard for the souls of the people of Maryland, as king William's Attorney-General Seymour had for those of Virginia. The Rev. Commissary Blair, who projected the college in that province, and was in England to solicit benefactions and a charter, relates that the Queen, in the King's absence, having ordered Seymour to draw up the charter which was to be given with two thousand pounds in money, he opposed the grant; saying that the nation was engaged in an expensive war, that the money was wanted for better purposes; and that he did not see the least occasion for a college in Virginia. Blair represented to him that its intention was to educate and qualify young men to be ministers of the Gospel, much wanted there; and begged Mr. Attorney would consider that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as those of England. 'Souls!' said he,—but you remember the rather emphatic language in which, consigning their souls to perdition, General Seymour bade them 'make tobacco.'"

As the elements subsided after the Revolutionary storm, the scattered fragments of Episcopacy began to emerge from the vortex. William White, a name ever to be honored, where wisdom, liberality and Christian gentleness, are spoken of, an ornament to the clerical profession, and to the episcopate of Pennsylvania, procured a meeting of clerical and lay delegates, early in the year 1784. Other State conventions followed; with a reluctant consent on the part of some, to any measures, looking towards the appointment of bishops. Georgia even made it a stipulation, that no bishop should reside in that State.

The Connecticut clergy, however, as zealous for episcopacy as Georgia was backward, had already taken steps on their own responsibility towards procuring the "apostolic succession." Through the principle of opposition and contrast, the churchmen of that State were distinguished for the concentrated type of their churchianity. Their existence was mostly due to the great awakening half a century before. They crystallized around the negative pole of that spiritual current. Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, observes, that "what has chiefly occasioned the accession of multitudes of proselytes to the Church, is that monstrous enthusiasm kindled by Mr. Whitefield's

rambling once and again through the country, followed by a great many strolling teachers, who propagated so many wild and horrid notions of God and the Gospel, that many people, completely bewildered, could find no rest to the sole of their foot, till they returned into the Church as the only ark of safety."*

May we not say indeed, without disrespect, that Episcopacy is a providential arrangement for arresting minds of a certain temper on the rebound from too earnest and enthusiastic a style of religion?

To these circumstances, was added the fact, that the clergy of this province were all missionaries of the Propagation Society, and bitter tories; so that, on the whole it resulted, that Connecticut episcopacy, though small, was venomous.

Peace was no sooner concluded, than the clergy met in convention, and elected as their bishop, Dr. Samuel Seabury; of whom it is enough to say, that he was Connecticut Episcopacy raised to a high power; a tory of the tories, and a churchman by inoculation.

Losing not a moment's time, Dr. Seabury sailed for England, even before the British troops had evacuated New York. The See of Canterbury was vacant; and he made application to the Archbishop of York. But the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were a *sine qua non* to consecration. It was a pursuit of the "apostolic succession" under difficulties: Dr. Seabury kept on northwards and sought Episcopal grace from the non-juring bishops of Scotland.

Four obscure private individuals, the successors of those bishops who refused to acknowledge the Revolution government, and who had accordingly been deprived, perpetuated their empty titles among the Northern Jacobites. It was a hundred years since the Stuarts had forfeited the British crown; but the non-juring bishops still looked to the exiled Pretender of that family, a discreditable hanger-on about the Papal court, as the Lord's anointed, and the rightful head of the British Church. From him a *congé d'elire* was sought as often as was thought proper to go through with the ceremony of transmitting their "apostolic" authority.

* Letter to Archbishop Secker, 1759. Col. Hist., Vol. VI.

Three of these bishops of Brentford laid their hands on Dr. Seabury. Dr. Seabury doubtless held fast to all they gave him, and brought it back safely to America. How much that was—especially whether it amounted to a *soul* for the expectant Continent—may be gathered from the fact, that the consecration of Bishop Seabury, was not only schismatical and irregular—confessedly so, but also heretical. Granville Sharpe, whose zeal for episcopacy was only second to his zeal for emancipation, and who being grandson of the Archbishop of York, speaks with some authority, expressed to Dr. Franklin, strong doubts of the validity of Seabury's consecration. He objects not merely the voluntary submission of the non-juring bishops to a Popish Pretender, but their own adoption of Popish practices. Their religious principles tended to Latium like their political. They had corrupted in the Romish fashion, both the Christian sacraments, and had introduced, in addition, the practice of extreme unction and prayers for the dead. It must seem in a high degree likely, that they had reconciled themselves to the Romish Church.

At all events, the evidence of their apostacy, as well as of their schism was so great, that their episcopal acts passed at a very low value. John Jay writes to John Adams, in London, that "the Convention was unwilling to have any thing to do with Mr. Seabury; his principles and those of the Scottish non-jurors, not quadrating at all with the principles of Protestant Christianity or political liberty." * Bishop Prevost, of New York, flatly denied Seabury's consecration, and refused to act with him; † so, that after all, it must remain more than doubtful whether any succession was derived to Bishop Seabury or could be transmitted through him. It will be safe to conclude, that there was really no apostolic plateau whatever between Scotland and Connecticut; that there was a total loss of continuity in the catena; and that not even the faintest current of episcopal grace passed over.

* Letter to John Adams, 1st Nov., 1785.

† The Congregational body in Connecticut, of course rated his apostolic pretensions at what they were worth. When President Stiles was urged to invite "BISHOP SEABURY" to a seat at the platform at Commencement: "Bishop," said he, in his sharp high key, "there are two hundred bishops in the house, we can hardly accommodate them all on the platform."

Admitting, however, that Dr. Seabury brought any thing over with him, be it more or less, he was not the first to bring it. More than sixty years before, the Rev. John Talbot and the Rev. Robt. Wilton, obtained consecration from non-juring bishops in England. Mr. Talbot had already been employed for several years as a missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel; and proved himself an able and laborious minister of the Church of England in the Colonies.

Dr. Wilton followed him soon after to America; and the two attempted in a cautious way to exercise episcopal functions in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Of Dr. Wilton's labors, no special record remains. He furnished, at least, one evidence of possessing the "apostolic succession." Among the episcopal furniture which he brought with him, was a large amount—some £300 worth—of fishing tackle. Whether he designed himself to engage extensively in the apostolic occupation of taking fish, or whether the invoice was a private trading speculation, must be left to conjecture. At all events, his episcopal career was short. His proceedings attracting the notice of the government, he quitted the country abruptly, and retired to Portugal. " 'Twere well," says the reporter, "if he be not gotten into a convent." Mr. Talbot subsequently renounced his non-juring consecration, and conformed to the Established Church.

It is true, the episcopate of these gentlemen was brief and barren; but, since their consecration was only schismatical and irregular, it was, in so far, as good as Bishop Seabury's; and, since it was *not* heretical,—for it was derived from that branch of the non-juring body which rejected the Romish "usages,"—it was essentially better.

The amount of spiritual life, therefore, which Dr. Seabury infused into the carnal body of America, must be regarded, even on this showing, as infinitesimally small.

So the necessity remained urgent of procuring a valid episcopate; and soon after the war, a correspondence was opened between John Jay, William White and other eminent members of the Episcopal communion, and Messrs. Franklin and Adams, American Commissioners abroad, with reference to this object.

After considerable negotiation, it was ascertained that the king of Denmark would consent to have consecration imparted by his bishops. The American government was duly impressed with the importance of the transaction; and Mr. Adams was instructed to convey to the king of Denmark, the high sense which Congress entertained for his Majesty's willingness to have the apostolic succession transmitted to America. It turned out, however, that the gratitude of Congress was somewhat premature. Serious doubts were entertained whether the Danish bishops had any succession to transmit, and there began to be some better prospect of obtaining the coveted boon from England.

John Jay wrote to Mr. Adams: "To me, personally, bishops are of little importance; but as our civil affairs are now circumstanced, I have no objections to gratifying those who wish to have them. I confess I do not like the principles of the non-jurors, and I think the less patronage such principles meet with among us, the better."

On the 28th of February, 1786, John Adams addressed a letter to the Rev. William White, of Philadelphia, describing an interview he had recently with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and engaged to do all in his power to secure the Archbishop's consent to an American episcopate; and adds as follows:—"As an American citizen, though not an Episcopalian, I think this only reasonable. I do not believe that the benevolence of the Father of all is confined by our lines of distinction or differences of creed; and I think that when we can enlarge our minds to allow each other an entire liberty in religious matters, the human race will be more happy and respectable in this and the future state of their being. It would be inconsistent with the American character, and the principles of our Constitution, to raise objections against the consecration of bishops, being merely a religious ceremony. The States will, no doubt, take care that no temporal power inconsistent with their civil politics, shall be annexed to the character."

Mr. White in reply, expresses his "most hearty concurrence in these sentiments, with his hope that they may always adorn those characters with whom the honor and happiness of our country shall be intrusted."

It is impossible, certainly, to suppress a feeling of the ludicrous, at seeing those *very* liberal Christians, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, engaged in devising measures for transmitting the apostolic succession "with care," across the Atlantic.

Finally the object of so much solicitude was obtained in a form free from all objections. Four persons were duly elected bishops of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland; of whom the first three sailed to England, and received consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury: Prevost, of New York, a narrow-minded, violent-tempered, low Arminian churchman, who subsequently resigned an office for which he had no taste or fitness; Madison, of Virginia, an accomplished gentleman, but far more fond of philosophy, science and social pleasures, than of the duties of the episcopate in a dilapidated diocese; and William White, of Pennsylvania, whose devout, humble and charitable spirit, throws absolutely the first gleam of beauty on a Church, whose whole previous history in America had been marked by ignorance, bigotry and spiritual insignificance. From this event dates the true birth of the Episcopal denomination in this country; a denomination which, would it but consent, in the spirit of Bishop White, to take its true place as one of the Churches whose mission it is, in common, to evangelize America and the world, would be worthy of the respect and admiration of every liberal and Christian mind.

ARTICLE II.

RUSSIA.

It is not an easy task to penetrate the inner life of monarchical nations. Not until brought to view by the graphic pen of Macaulay did the true current of English history appear. Our acquaintance with the social manners and individual characteristics of the Slavie race, with the historic thread of Russian nationality, is still limited. Toward the power and policy, the development and progress of the great Northern Empire, the thoughts of men have, of late, been specially turned. We shall be happy if we may gratify the curiosity of our readers, and add a little to their present measure of information, by the fruits of our observation and experience, during two summers spent within and near the city of the Czars.

A trip in early June, from London to St. Petersburg, is among our most delightful recollections. We dare not hope to render it equally charming to the imagination of our readers. But we shall suppose ourselves to be in the British metropolis, using it only as a point of departure, first securing from the Russian consul a passport for St. Petersburg. To that dignitary we must first take a recommendation from our own minister or consul.

We have taken an English breakfast of toast and tea, stepped into a cab, been jostled through thoroughfares, over squares, past the Mint and Tower to the Custom House, where the ship is steaming for Cronstadt.

We step on board, followed by a file of waiters, from the superintendent of berths to the "episcopos" of boots. All claims satisfied, our equipage stowed away, and state-rooms taken, we have time to pace the deck and look at the wondrous world of hulls and masts about us while the vessel is hauling out.

We are soon winding from among the colliers, flat-boats

and barges that crowd the stream, and are on our way with what speed the living kaleidoscope of motion across our track will allow, down the turbid river. Soon the smoke that hangs over the metropolis, hiding the dome of St. Paul's, and causing the great Babel of sights and sounds to assume an air of solemn magnificence, is left behind. Deptford, Greenwich, Gravesend, are out of sight, and we are tossed on the Straits of Dover, heading for the North Sea. Day and night the waves play around us, and in sixty hours we cross the Cattegat, to find ourselves, at nightfall, nearing Elsinore, whose gloomy castle, replete with memories of Matilda and of Shakspeare's creations, frowns on the gloomy strait; while opposite, on the Swedish coast, Helsingborg frowns back again.

We leave for another occasion the rich historic and artistic materials which the old towns of Denmark furnish to the thoughtful tourist, and speed on to the Baltic.

Sailing has become more dangerous of late years in this sea, in consequence of the rising of the submarine bed above its former level, rendering soundings uncertain for any length of time, and lifting rocks which were once below the usual draught of vessels, so near to the surface, that often, even in the most calm and sunny day of summer, the keel strikes, and the little world of hope and life goes down into the sea.

We are safely landed at Cronstadt at midnight of the seventh day from London. At this hour it is difficult to rouse the officers who are to examine our persons, passports, and luggage; nor will the sentinels permit us to land without the ordeal.

At last, when the strength of the sick and feeble, and the patience of the strong and well, are exhausted, the officers appear. Now comes the question, whether we shall land only in *propria persona*, or with those little essentials which make up the first day's comfort of a tourist in a strange land. We have passed the ordeal before, and remember that nothing is more eloquent on such occasions than the "shining ore." We therefore open at once on the officials with such ammunition, though from a noiseless and concealed battery, and are first set at liberty with whatever we require; having learned, to our great advantage, that *the least exacting are best served*.

It is pitiful, though highly comical, to see some of our passengers, who have the idea that all whom they meet abroad are bound to do just as they are wont to have things done at home, to speak their language, understand what they say, and submit to their notions, obliged now to threaten and plead, and put on "the magnificent" in vain.

On entering St. Petersburg, or any other Russian port, whatever books the visitor takes are subjected to censorship; and if any thing be found in them not in accordance with the Greek Church or with the Government, or against any of the royal family, they are confiscated, and the owner is liable to a heavy fine.

The first step for the tourist, after reaching his hotel or place of residence while in the city, is to deliver his passport, and the next day repair to the *Alien Office* to procure a ticket of residence, where he is questioned in the following way:—"Were you ever in St. Petersburg before? How long do you intend to remain? Where do you lodge? By whom are you known here? What is the object of your visit?" Answers to these inquiries are recorded, and if satisfactory, a ticket is received, and the same ordeal is to be again passed in another office. For the ticket of residence, two dollars and a half must be paid, unless the visitor have a title, which must be noble, or military, or in some way official.

Cronstadt is a city on the Island Retufari, at the head of the Gulf of Finland, about sixteen miles from St. Petersburg. It is chiefly a military and naval station, but also the commercial port of the metropolis. It contains, in time of peace, forty thousand inhabitants, of which thirty thousand are soldiers and marines. The harbor is shut off from the gulf by a barrier enclosing space sufficient for forty sail of the Imperial Navy, and five hundred merchant vessels. The city is fortified by granite walls of great thickness and height, so as to withstand almost any warlike enginery. Admiral Napier, who, on the eve of his departure with a fleet for the Baltic, boasted that in eight days he would be in St. Petersburg or in heaven, found it expedient to retire without attempting to carry that citadel.

The walls of the city are built of solid red granite blocks,

some of them ten feet in length, and four in thickness. They are mounted with the largest cannon and bombs. Between them and the water-line, are mounds and dykes. These are equally guarded. There is no approach to the shore but by small boats, and scarcely for them, on account of rocks sunk for hundreds of rods sea-ward beyond low-water mark: and the only entrance into the harbor is narrow and defended on all sides. It would be difficult for a fleet to pass unscathed so far up the Baltic as the mouth of the Gulf; but it would need to be made of solid iron, successfully to meet its reception within a mile of Cronstadt. Acres of ground within the walls are covered with the heaviest cannon and stacks of balls. We once enjoyed there the rich excitement of a sham fight; the late Emperor, at the head of his fleet, attempting to take the city defended by the army of about 20,000. All day the air was rent with the roar of artillery, while the island and Gulf seemed in a blaze. The whole affair gave us a very vivid idea of an actual blockade, although we were saved from the horrid spectacle of slaughter; but banners were flying, and excitement shone out from every eye, while the faces of officers and soldiers were hideous with the stains of powder.

An important fact for the defence of the capital against foreign invasion is the shallowness of the Neva, the water not admitting vessels whose draught is over seven feet. All the ships of war which are stationed at Cronstadt, though constructed at St. Petersburg, are floated down on an immense raft, which they call the camel.

The Imperial city lies near the mouth of the Neva, partly on islands, partly on the main land. Its site was once a marsh. The city is built upon piles. It has a history running back one hundred and fifty-seven years. It is now one of the most spacious and splendid capitals of Europe; containing about 600,000 inhabitants, of whom only one-third are females.

The streets are broad and regular, adorned with magnificent palaces of granite and marble; churches, Oriental in architecture, and ornamented with polished column and gilded domes. The Neva is a majestic stream of clear water, bordered by magnificent granite quays, and filled with every variety of craft which the depth of the current will admit. A

vista, formed by the river, opens to an extent of *three* miles through the city. Sailing up this broad highway, we are amazed and delighted with the domes and spires reflecting their golden splendors, and with the wide streets and stupendous structures. Along the quays are spacious level walks and stairs leading down to boats and baths in the river. One hardly perceives the necessity of such massive and high walls along the sides of the stream, until he is told of the rapid rise of its waters and their terrible overflow at certain seasons. Indeed, but for these barriers of adamant, every spring at the breaking up of the ice in the river, and in Lake Ladoga, its source, the city would be overflowed. These quays running along the river banks to an extent, in all, of eighteen English miles, and elevated ten feet above the ordinary level of the stream, prevent that calamity.

Yet, on occasions when the ice breaks up suddenly by heavy rains; when the current is obstructed by masses of ice, and the waters of the Gulf are driven back into the stream by strong west winds, the three events in conjunction, almost inevitably produce an inundation. Such was the fact in 1826, when the terror of the population was at its height; when every street was like a canal, and every square a bay; when every habitation was flooded, and multitudes of the poor and feeble became victims of the flood.

These inundations are, however, becoming less frequent, in consequence of the progressive clearing of the inland forests, thereby depriving the lakes of those supplies which formerly poured their destructive abundance into the choked and tardy stream.

Entering the river from the Gulf, a spacious quay opens before you, two miles in extent, and bordering shores 1,400 feet apart. Along the right, as you ascend, are magnificent mansions of rich merchants and foreign ambassadors. On the left are seen the Academy of Arts, the granite bastions of the fortress, and other superb public buildings. The dwellings on the right equal, in finish and convenience, any in Europe. A court opens into each for carriages. On either side of it is a broad stairway, leading to apartments occupied by families, and to the bureaus of merchants and officers. This court is guarded

by a porter, like the "*concierge*" in Paris. The interior of the mansions corresponds with the solidity and magnitude of the exterior. The rooms are large and high; the floors are composed of narrow strips of solid wood, laid in zigzag, and without carpets, kept beautifully polished. The wall and ceilings are generally painted, often very tastefully. The apartments are heated by large ovens which they call "*peachky*," occupying one corner or part of a side of the room, extending from floor and ceiling, and covered with porcelain; so that, in a cold day, one can lean against it and feel the most delightful diffusion of warmth. In nurseries and chambers, convenient recesses are made in these ovens, in which an infant can be kept warm whenever it is put to sleep. Their fuel is usually wood and peat. The poorer portions of the city and the villages are composed of log cabins, some of them constructed in a neat and commodious style, others rudely.

Gliding up the river, we pass the mining-core, filled with Siberian metals, and with the machinery and statistics of mining operations, and the Museum, containing among many other objects of interest, the enormous skeleton, found amid the northern snows. Entering about a mile into the city, we reach a pontoon bridge across the Neva. This bridge is 900 feet in length, and rests on fifteen barges held by anchors. To let ships pass, two draw-bridges are opened every night at twelve o'clock. The mechanism of this pontoon is so simple, that on the approach of the frost and ice in autumn, it can be taken to pieces in two hours. When the ice is fixed, the bridge is again laid, and at the breaking up of the river in Spring, removed until the waters are clear, when the pontoons are again anchored for the summer.

The point of view from this bridge is charming. The breadth of the river; the magnificent granite quay along the bank; the elegant squares of houses on either side; the fortress; the golden spires and domes; the grand statue of Peter the Great; boats rowing to and fro; ships lying at anchor, or passing with spread canvass; the rolling carriages and laden carts, and multitudes walking for business or pleasure: all these meet and compose a scene that can be felt, though with difficulty described.

The freezing of the Neva is generally very sudden. Sometimes so rapid is the process, that those who have crossed it in a boat can return on foot upon the ice. The waters of the river and Gulf are frozen all the way from St. Petersburg to Cronstadt, a distance of sixteen miles. On the ice a highway is opened for pleasure trips and traffic. Along this road, on either side, are borders of fir and pine, in their ever-green, beautifully contrasting with the snows, and indicating the track when new snows fall. Along the way are several booths and guard houses, for the purpose of refreshment and protection.

The capital is intersected by four canals: the *Moika*, which was once a morass stream, winding about among many squares and across the streets. The *Katarina* was also a swamp stream. It is now a grand canal. Its banks are faced with granite, forming a fine foot pavement, and guarded by a strong iron railing. The *Nikolai* is furnished in the same manner.

The *Fontanka* is one of the greatest curiosities of the city. It was originally a pestiferous pool. The Empress Catharine gave it a salubrious restoration. Its length is 1,800 feet, its breadth about 70 feet, and its depth 7 feet. It is bordered by red granite, and a railing. Along this canal the wealthy citizens have erected stately mansions. Every fathom of this embankment, exclusive of the bridges, and pillars, and excavations, cost from \$75 to \$150; making an average of \$112,50; in all \$250,000. The whole canal, with its bridges, and columns, and machinery for draw-bridges, must have cost millions.

The houses of the city are generally lofty and spacious, excepting those of wood. These latter are very warm and convenient, and can even be transported. The streets of St. Petersburg are remarkable for their regularity and width; they run generally in direct lines, intersecting each other at right, obtuse and acute angles. These variations and the diversity of architecture, are agreeable to the eye. The broadest street is 180 feet in width. This is called the Great Perspective. The Nevskoi Perspective is two miles in length. The city is divided into twelve quarters, determined by the natural boundaries formed by the rivers and canals. These divisions are for the convenience of Government. Each is under a mayor,

and has a specific administration. But we have not space for particulars; and shall, therefore, omit many matters of interest, touching only on the most conspicuous.

Turning to the right from the Pontoon Bridge, we find ourselves in a spacious square, and approaching the Admiralty, the seat of naval councils and *rendezvous* of those engaged in marine service. It contains a great variety of ship models. The building deserves a brief description, as one of the most unique objects in the city.

The relief of the frieze represents Russia seated on a rock beneath laurel trees, with the emblems of strength and plenty by her side, and Peter receiving the trident from the hands of Neptune; while the Goddess of Wisdom, who stands beside the Emperor, contemplates the majestic stream of the Neva. At each angle of the entablature a statue, sixteen feet high, is placed, and from the centre rise the lofty tower and cupola; the former of which is quadrilateral, and surrounded by a canopied gallery, adorned with Ionic columns, each bearing an allegorical statue.

The cupola has an elliptic curve in four compartments, in one of which, facing the square, is a large clock. A lantern surmounts the cupola, with a narrow gallery around it, defended by a light iron balustrade; and from the lantern springs with tapering elegance the spire, to a height of eighty-four feet, including the colossal vane in the semblance of a ship under full sail. This spire is covered with the finest ducat gold, and from its great elevation, catching and reflecting the first and last rays of the sun, a fine view of St. Petersburg and its environs may be obtained.

The spire of the Admiralty was once bent by a storm, and no one was found daring enough to attempt its reparation. At length a serf was offered his freedom if he would effect the desired object. He accepted the offer; made preparation, and began the ascent, taking with him spikes, a hammer, and a strong cord, and making a ladder as he ascended, until he reached the top. On this ladder he passed up and down with whatever materials he required, and in a short time succeeded to the satisfaction of the Emperor, who fulfilled the promise of manumission.

The peasantry are very ingenious both in manual labor and in mental conception. The serf generally carries in his girdle a sharp hatchet, with which he cuts wood, makes a close joint, slices his bread and onion, spreads his butter, and shaves.

St. Petersburg is distinguished for its superb palaces and lofty public buildings. They constitute one-fourth of the whole city; and when, on occasions of national jubilee, all these edifices are illuminated and the streets thronged with the pomp of cavalry, and the equipage of fashion, and the air rent with the music of a thousand instruments; and throughout the palace gardens, and along the river and the canals, and in the squares, lights gleam, and life rushes—the exhibition surpasses the power of the pencil or the pen. In the suburbs of St. Petersburg are several palaces with magnificent gardens. The land is too low and flat for the highest style of horticulture. At Parvloffsky, however, and Peterhoff, is sufficient variety of hill and dale for picturesque and pleasing effect. At one of these royal residences, is an artificial lake, and in the centre of it an island, on which is erected a miniature palace, wherein the children of the royal family often play. In this little palace are a cabinet and philosophical apparatus. Every thing pertaining to it is Lilliputian.

In one of the imperial palaces, is a spacious and lofty apartment, in which is constructed an inclined plane, for the amusement of sliding down hill. The late Emperor was accustomed to sport with his children in this pastime, taking them by turns upon his back.

In the neighborhood of the city are many islands, formed by the Nevka. On these are mansions occupied in summer by the gentry. Birch and pine are the prevailing trees, whose boughs, in consequence of their rapid growth in the first return of the hot season, are pendant, laboring under their weight of leaves. In winter the scene is still more brilliant, from the snow-wreaths and frost-work which glitter in the sun.

One of the most unique objects to the eye of a stranger in St. Petersburg, is the winter flesh-market; where on a large area of trampled snow, all kinds of slaughtered animals stand frozen, having at a distance the semblance of living creatures. The whole scene is a solemn satire on death.

The metropolis is noted for monuments and statues of a high order. One of these is an equestrian statue of Peter the Great, a bronze cast, by a French artist. Its pedestal is red granite, taken from a swamp by draining. Its weight is said to be 1,500 tons. It was drawn from its bed to the river's bank by forty men, seated on its summit, by a windlass and friction-balls placed in grooves, whence it was conveyed on a raft, constructed for the purpose, to St. Petersburg. It is forty-two feet in length at its base, thirty-six at the top, twenty-one in thickness, and seventeen in height. When the statue that rests upon it is viewed at sunrise from the side of the Neva, the effect is specially striking, as the pedestal is hid from the eye, while the horse and rider seem gliding through the heavens.

Another monument erected to the memory of Alexander, stands in the Great Perspective in front of the palace. It is a solid shaft of red granite, eighty-four feet in height, and about ten feet in diameter, being cylindrical and beautifully polished. This shaft stands on a bronze pedestal, and on its summit is a statue of Alexander in bronze. It is probably the largest shaft of single stone in the world. It was brought from Finland in a rough state.

The fortress is an object of much interest. The walls are of brick, strengthened with five bastions. They encircle a small island. Within the walls are barracks for a garrison, a jail, and dungeons. In a separate part of the building is the mint. Near the fortress is the wooden hut in which Peter dwelt while the work was in progress in 1706. This *first palace* of the Czar is now sheltered from the ravages of man and time, by a permanent covering. Peter's old boat is there; one of his *boots* also, which indicates a *pedal* of the largest dimensions.

The Peter and Paul, Kasan and Nevsky churches are interesting, as the depositories of the distinguished dead and of the keys of cities taken by the Russian armies, and banners seized in battle. Among the flags suspended in Peter and Paul Church, is a Turkish one, on which is seen the bloody print of a warrior's hand, grasping it in the struggles of death.

A comparatively new church, the *Isaac's*, recently com-

pleted, has been in progress many years, having been commenced by the Emperor Paul. It is partly of stone, partly of bricks, faced with marble. Its central dome is richly gilded. Below and about it are gilt angels with expanded wings. Its pillars, two hundred and sixty in number, are of polished granite. The whole structure cost \$2,000,000. It is the most superb building in the city.

The Kasan Church was constructed after the model of St. Peter's in Rome, with those changes which the Russian ceremonies require. The plastic art, architecture, and painting, have united to render this church a magnificent ornament to the city of the Czars, and the rich decorations of its interior, covered with a profusion of gold, silver and bronze, have perhaps few equals. Doors and balustrades of embossed silver, are always rare; but more rare and wonderful are the ninety-five columns of granite, of colossal magnitude, each of one solid shaft, which sustains the body of the church; and the mosaic pavement, a work of great excellence, composed of different Russian marbles.

Sculpture has here erected, by masterly hands, six colossal statues in bronze. They adorn the peristyle of the church and the exterior niches of the nave. There are two entrance doors of bronze, on which are sculptured, in superb *basso relievo*, subjects from the Holy Scriptures; in the interior are subjects from the New Testament, sculptured on stone in splendid bas reliefs. The interior contains also many fine pictures. The shrine of Mary, to whom this church is dedicated, is rich and magnificent. Its jewels alone are estimated at two millions of roubles; or, in round numbers, one million dollars. The bust of the Virgin, together with the infant Jesus, is entirely covered with sapphires and emeralds. The aureole which encircles the head of Mary and the Infant, is gorgeous with jewelry and gold. This temple contains two objects of special veneration for a Russian. These are the trophies taken from the French during their invasion of Russia; and the ashes of the immortal Kutusoff. The flags are so hung as to point towards the tomb of the hero, as if saluting his *manes*. It is from this church, that after chanting the *Te Deum* to the Almighty, and imploring his august favor

towards the cause of the just, that this General departed to take command of the Russian army, accompanied with the benediction of the people of whom he was the favorite and the hope. After various successes against the French, and the enjoyment of many honors from the hand of Alexander, he died worn out with service. It was to this church that the grateful people bore his remains, with their sincerest affection and tears. The procession was large and solemn. The people took the horses from his funeral car—disputed the distinction of carrying the burden so precious to them all—while the air resounded with the acclamations of “Our Father! Our Benefactor!”

We omit, for want of space, a description of the Academy of Art; the University in which the best classical and mathematical culture is secured; the libraries, one of which, the Imperial, contains 450,000 volumes, and 20,000 manuscripts; the markets and bazaars equal to the brilliant halls of Paris; the *hundred and seventy-five* churches, without seats or fires, filled with trophies from battle-fields; the seven palaces of granite and marble, one of which presents a façade of 1,600 feet; the superb exchange; the theatres with street-hearths before them, at which, in winter, coachmen warm themselves; the cadet corps occupying an area of a mile square, filled with dormitories for soldiers, and containing an immense field for drilling; the college for young ladies, in which four hundred daughters of noble families, and four hundred of the burghers, go through a twelve years’ course, under the most healthful and pleasant discipline; the hospitals which are supported by the Crown, and furnish the best curative measures: these, and many other objects, must be passed by, with this simple allusion.

Our readers may be interested to know something of the loaning system, as illustrated by a bank in St. Petersburg. This bank lends only on real estate. The value of estates in Russia is estimated—or was, before the edict of emancipation—according to the number of serfs upon them, taking them at forty roubles per head; so that the proprietor of an estate, requiring the loan of a thousand roubles, must give five and twenty boors as his pledge. The loan is made for twenty

years, the mortgager paying annually five per cent. interest and three per cent. on the capital; so that at the termination of twenty years, he has paid back the whole loan. The loans are subject to no other limitations than those arising from the value and the security of the pledges, every one being allowed to solicit and receive as much money as can be secured by his estate. The bank, however, loans no sum under a thousand roubles, and only by thousands, for the sake of avoiding the perplexities of extensive and intricate accounts. The mortgaged property is subject to no suit, or confiscation, not even to any demands of the Crown. Every four years one part of the pledge or security is discharged; equal in value to the portion of capital already paid. The bank can redeem estates elsewhere mortgaged or appropriated to the payment of debts; and mortgaged estates may be sold, but in that case the purchaser takes upon him all the obligations which rested on the seller on behalf of the bank. The municipal magistracy of the government vouches for the worth of the pledge, and must be responsible for it. The interest is paid annually. The bank gives ten days' grace; whoever exceeds one month of arrears, pays a stated penalty per cent.; and this also holds good for the two succeeding months of delinquency. If payment be delayed longer, the mortgaged estate is taken in charge by the noble court of wards. Then the interest and fines are paid from the income of the estate, and the remainder handed over to the proprietor. We can hardly imagine a more lenient system, or one easier for the man whose industry and economy alone are to bear him to competence and comfort.

The edict of emancipation issued by the present Emperor, will necessarily change the *modus operandi* of this system. This act, which is but the fulfilment of the late Czar's wish, liberates 20,000,000 of crown servants, giving them opportunity of renting lands of the Crown, or of others, and of purchasing when able. It is a noble experiment, and will result prosperously, though, at the outset, attended with inconvenience.

We can hardly deny ourselves the pleasure of acquainting our readers with the process of a Russian bath, although they may have seen a description of it. At seven o'clock in the evening, multitudes assemble at what they call the *Crosnoy*

Mart, or *Red Bridge*, for the purpose of bathing. There are people of all ages and classes, male and female, with bundles of clothes. They enter halls devoted to the respective sexes, or into private apartments, as they prefer. On our way we meet the *Bantischeek*, or foreman, with a well-combed, flowing beard, and dressed in a thin red tunic, gathered about the waist. We are shown into a room where are all the needed arrangements for hot and cold water, a temperature of 100 or 120 degrees, and the whole paraphernalia of towels, switches, soap, &c.; and so, without farther ceremony, the subject proceeds to the operation. He undresses in his outer room, where he gets into a general perspiration. The heat, which, at first, almost suffocates him, soon becomes agreeable, and he is willing to have it increased. At this juncture, he is invited into the bath-room proper, where the foreman, in almost nudity, has been for some time engaged in preparing a quantity of soap-suds, and filling the various vessels with cold and tepid water. In this room the heat is twenty degrees higher than in the first stage of the process, and it increases as the bather ascends from one bench to another. He first tries the lower, then the second, and, if he can bear it, which we could not, the third, close under the ceiling.

The room is lighted by a lamp hung at the window, so that the atmosphere is clear, though dismal. The sensations before perspiration is fully established, are unpleasant. We now give the language of an experimenter:

“The head feels greatly oppressed and burning; the skin is hot; the respiration difficult. The *Parilstchick* now approaches to feel the state of the skin, and finding it not quite overspread with perspiration, opens the front door of the stove, and with force throws into it a bucket-full of water. Volumes of steam instantly pour forth from it into the room, and a thick fog pervades every part, bringing additional heat to the surface of the body, which breaks forth more quickly than can be stated into a deluge of perspiration, when the breathing becomes natural, and the head clear and light, imparting at once such a general sensation of comfort as I can scarcely describe. In this state, and while the atmosphere gradually clears away, the vapours returning to the upper

part of the room, the bather lies down in a sort of apathy and general relaxation, which are by no means disagreeable. The *Parilstchick* next brings his large panful of soapsuds, and grasping with both his hands a quantity of the inner bark of the lime-tree—commonly called bass—cut into fine slips, soaked in the soap-suds, rubs every part of the body, softly pressing on every joint, and bidding you turn whenever he thinks it requisite. After continuing this operation for some time, tepid or perfectly cold water, at the pleasure of the bather, is scattered over him as he lies, and lastly over the head and body while sitting. Some, at this stage of the operation, jump from the bench to the floor, and have pails of cold water thrown on them; others run out and leap into a snow-drift, or, if in summer, into a canal, and then return at once to the bath."

We were not able to reach the highest stage, but compelled the operator to desist *in medias res*—a matter by no means easy, for he has a professional pride to carry the thing through.

This bathing conduces greatly to the health of the Russians, and they resort to it for the cure of colds, rheumatism, cutaneous diseases and incipient fevers, with the best results.

With the general features of the Imperial government, our readers are supposed to be familiar; but of its executive machinery they may not be so well informed. This is extensive, and undergoes, from time to time, important changes; at present, it is substantially as follows:

I. *The Imperial Council of State.*

This is divided into four departments—Law; War; Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Political Economy. Each department has a Chairman, and all together are placed under a President. The Imperial Council is made up of the ministers; members of the commission on codes; members on petitions and members of the State Office, which latter is composed of Secretaries of State, Secretaries General, and Committee of Ministers.

II. *Etat Major*,

Or the Imperial Staff, embracing Secretary of State for War Department, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, of the Board of Ordnance, the Secretary at War, and Commissary-General.

III. *Executive Senate*.

This has eight departments, three of which constitute a Board of Land Survey, Census, Admeasurements of Estates, Territorial Limits, and Seignorial Property, Herald's College, and Public Records. The number and appointment of senators depend on the will of the Emperor. The members sit according to seniority. The Senate is a supreme court. Its chief duty is to promulgate the laws and ukases of the sovereign, and to see that they are put in force. It is the highest tribunal, and its decisions are final; the Emperor, alone, having power to reverse the sentence. The Governing Synod is the Supreme Court for all matters relating to the national religion.

IV. *Ministerial Department*.

1. Minister of Foreign Affairs, embracing the Minister's own office, State College for Foreign Affairs, Asiatic Department, and Diplomatic corps.

2. Minister of Marine, the Minister's personal office; and Admiralty College. Under this last are classed the Board of Admiralty, the navy, victualling, sick and wounded, and pay-officers, superintendence of naval architecture, naval academy, comptroller's office, and naval artillery department. The Admiralty publishes reports of the scientific operations connected with the navy.

V. *Home Department*.

1. Minister for the Interior, Minister's personal office; State Economy and Public Buildings; Executive Police, and heads of the Medical Profession.

2. Minister of Finance, including Chancellor of Exchequer, Board of Trade, Woods and Forests, Custom House and Excises.

Of the *Court* we need say nothing, save that it is composed of that infinitely diverse class of persons, ranging from the Czar

himself, down through the ranks of princes, counts, marquises, barons, and the whole governmental staff. The court language of St. Petersburg, as of all other European capitals, excepting London, is French—the language of politeness and fashion.

It remains to speak of the trading class which form the permanent population—the citizens.

The condition of burgher is the point of union for all the trading classes. A book is kept for the registry of all citizens' names. The privileges of citizenship consist in an entirely unlimited freedom of trade; its obligations, in submission to law, the payment of taxes, and furnishing of recruits for the army.

All persons enrolled in the burghers' book are simply townsmen inscribed for their possessions in city domains, or members of a guild, or of a free company.

There are three guilds. To the first belong all persons of every age and station, of either sex, who declare themselves in possession of ten thousand to fifty thousand roubles. They have a right to follow maritime commerce, to erect forges for working mines, and to establish manufactures; may be owners of ships, and may drive about town in a carriage drawn by four horses.

To the second guild those are joined who own a capital of five to ten thousand roubles. They are confined to inland traffic, may work mines, and set up manufactories, possess vessels and barks for navigating the rivers and canals, export and import to the amount of fifty thousand roubles, and may drive in town a chariot and pair. The capital for admission into the third guild is a thousand to eight thousand roubles. It is designed for shopkeepers and petty dealers; can only set up counters and workshops, keep public houses and bagnios.

The rates paid by these guilds consist in one per cent. on the capital delivered in. The statement of it "is left to the conscience of every individual; wherefore, no where and on no pretence whatever shall any prosecution be instituted, nor any examination entered into concerning concealment of any capital." The delivery of recruits is not required in nature, but this service may be performed by a sum of money according to the scale in a schedule published by authority for that pur-

pose. If, however, a burgher, or the son of a burgher, makes a voluntary offer to enter into the army, he is at liberty to do so, and his enlisting will be put to his account by the corporation at the next ensuing levy.

To the guild-fellowships also belong the eminent burghers and the guests. Among the former are reckoned all those who affirm to a capital exceeding fifty thousand roubles, or bankers who state their turns and returns at two hundred thousand roubles; likewise such of the learned professions and artists as are provided with diplomas; burghers who have several times served the city offices, &c. The privileges of these classes are nearly similar to those of the first guild, over and above which they are allowed to drive with four horses. By the term guests, are understood such persons from other towns and provinces, or from foreign countries, who cause themselves to be enrolled in the city register on account of their commercial affairs.

To the City Companies belong handicraftsmen, who are registered in the burghers' book. The rest of the city population, who are not ranged in any of the above classifications, are within the class denominated accessories.

The aggregate of all these classes forms the *City Corporation*, endowed with imperial privileges. They meet once every third year in winter to fill up the offices and posts to which the burghers are eligible. In these assemblies every citizen has a seat and a voice, and all who are twenty-five years of age and pay fifty roubles on their capital, may be elected to offices, of which the principal are these: that of President of the Corporation, Burgomaster, and members of the Council, elected every three years, aldermen and judges of the oral court chosen annually.

As their residence is also the capital of Petersburg Government, the choice of magistrates is made from the corporation, and the members of the court of conscience are selected from it. They likewise choose two commissioners for the police office, and the court of wards is filled from their body, on ordinary emergencies, or they apply to the governor, and in judicial cases are assisted by a solicitor.

We pause at this point, proposing to resume the subject in our next Number.

ARTICLE III.

VINCENT FERRARA.

Histoire des Hommes illustres de l' Ordre de St. Dominic. 4 Tom. Paris. 1746.

Nicolai de Clemengis Opera Omnia. Lyons. 1613.

Among the names which meet our eye at the opening of the fifteenth century—the century in whose soil the germ of the great Reformation was planted and struck deep its roots—not the least remarkable is that of Vincent Ferrara, or Vincent of Ferrara, as he is usually, but improperly, called. Few men of his time were his superiors in intellect, none equalled him in a reputation for devotion and eloquence. He came in direct contact with the mind of Europe more extensively than any contemporary, and there is scarcely another over the scenes of whose life and labours we could more willingly linger. His career is, as Clemengis has well called it, the single light that illuminates a wide-extended darkness. With a mind fitted by close and severe study to appreciate and appropriate all the advantages of the spreading light of the revived literature of antiquity, and with a heart of warm and quick sympathies, Vincent Ferrara represents a peculiar class in an age that witnessed at once the death of Petrarch and the burning of Huss, that could admire the eloquence of Jerome while it bowed to the logic of Gerson. The circumstances in which he was placed, or rather the Providence that ordered them, favoured him in a peculiar manner, or he too might have perished at the stake as a heretic. His prudence preserved him from giving needless offence. His austerities secured him the reputation of a saint. The purity of his life added to the effects of his wonderful eloquence, and such was the power he wielded, that in the rent state of the Papacy at that time, each rival claimant of the Pontifical Crown was infinitely more anxious to secure his favor than he was theirs. He survived only two years the duration of the schism, and all parties were ready to accord to him the canonization of a saint. We will

not forget that this Romish libel on holiness has sometimes been affixed to the names of good men, nor will we readily believe that many worthier members of the Papal church have been promoted to this unenvied distinction than Vincent Ferrara. He may never have felt the fulness of the Gospel in all its peace-giving power in his own experience, but his life and labours may well compare with those of a Baxter or a Whitefield.

Vincent Ferrara was born in Valencia, in Spain, January 23d, 1357. He was the child of William Ferrara, a man of respectable character and standing, and who could boast a descent from one of the most ancient families of Spain. Till some time after his marriage, he gave himself up largely to the pleasures of the world. But by some means, of which we are not aware, he was arrested in his career of vain amusement, and thenceforth devoted himself to works of pious charity. In this he was joined by his wife, who had also been the companion of his worldliness and gayety. All their yearly income except what was necessary to the support of their household, was distributed to the necessities of the poor.

The children of such a family might not unreasonably be expected to manifest the influence of such a training as they would receive. Two of them, Boniface and Vincent, attained a high reputation for piety—or what was accounted such—in their age. The first, as a lawyer, became highly distinguished, and was much respected for his integrity, learning, and talents. After the death of his wife, he entered, by the advice of his brother Vincent, a Carthusian monastery, and four years after was elected General of the Order. His influence during the closing period of the great schism of the western churches, was widely felt.

The youth of Vincent is said to have given promise of what he afterwards became. In the powers of memory and application he far excelled all his companions; and such were his candor and modesty, as well as attainments, that he commanded the respect, esteem and love of all around him. He seemed even at this early age plainly marked out for an orator. His powers of imitation were as remarkable as those which are ascribed to Whitefield. It was no unusual thing for him

to gather around him an assembly of his fellow-students, and entertain them with some discourse either drawn from the writings of others, or from his own invention. Assuming the tone, gesture and manner of the preacher, he would secure the close attention of his auditors, while he repeated sermons or portions of sermons which he had heard in the churches of his native city.

His conduct even at this early age was marked with unusual discretion, and was free from every taint of vice. His irreproachable life, his liberal charities, his sympathy with the poor and suffering, his careful observance of the rites and fasts of the Romish Church, secured at once the favor of all classes.

His application to his studies was constant and unremitted. At the age of fourteen he commenced the study of theology. Such was the progress which he made that his teachers soon despaired of maintaining their superiority in learning, and his companions regarded him rather as their master than their associate. His choice of an ecclesiastical life coincided with the cherished desires of his parents, and with their approval, he entered the Monastery of the Preaching Friars of Valencia.

At the age of eighteen years we see him entering upon a career which he pursued with increasing ardor to the close of a most laborious, and in many respects, successful life. Soon after his entrance into the Order, he was selected as teacher of philosophy for the younger members. At the age of twenty-three or four, he published his first work on *Dialectic Suppositions*. Whatever the merits or faults of the work may have been, and we have no means of determining except from the presumptions of the prevalent ignorance of the age and Vincent's youth, it was highly praised, and served to extend his reputation. It led, in fact, to his removal to Barcelona, as a place which, in the judgment of his Superiors, was a more fitting theatre not only for more extended usefulness, but for the display of his remarkable abilities, which they were ready to appropriate to the credit of their own Order.

But however much Vincent might excel in scholastic exercises, his taste, and perhaps also his piety and his desire of usefulness, would not suffer him to neglect the calling of a preacher, for which he was so remarkably endowed. Whenever he was expected to speak, the churches were crowded.

The "Acts of the Saints," recount his first miracle, which he is said to have wrought at this period. But a modern reader will discover nothing in it, more than what might reasonably have been expected from a man, who in the midst of the prevalent famine combined a shrewd intellect with a cheerful and hopeful spirit, and felt warranted to believe that favorable winds would soon waft to port a plentiful supply for a famishing people.

At the age of twenty-eight, Vincent received the honor of a Doctorate from the hands of the Pope's legate. But the people of his native city, Valencia, clamored for his return. In this they were joined by the Bishop who was a relative of Vincent's, on his mother's side, and by the rest of the clergy. Their urgent request was granted, and Vincent's return was hailed with enthusiastic joy. He was waited upon by the magistrates and the Chapter of his Order, and requested by them, conjointly with the Bishop, to enter upon a course of public lectures, expository of Scripture and theology. Vincent complied with their request, and the fame of his preaching was such as to attract not only the citizens of Valencia, but the inhabitants of the surrounding country and neighboring villages to listen to his eloquence.

In the midst of all the praise and flattering success which crowned his efforts, Vincent seems to have remained unaffectedly humble. His experience during this period, so favorable and prosperous in outward respects, reminds us of the language in which the monk of Erfurth has recounted his temptations. He passed through seasons of darkness and doubt, such as have become familiar to us in the records of Romish saintship, and which nothing but the clear light of gospel truth can completely and for ever dissipate. It was nothing to him that thousands hung entranced upon the utterance of his lips; that his praise was the burden of every tongue; that the devotion of his life and the austerity of his observances were made to exalt and consecrate the fame of his eloquence. His own heart was the scene of an internal conflict which would not suffer him to rest. Even crowns and tiaras would have seemed contemptible as a bribe to compensate for his spiritual anguish. His days were crowded with labor of a most

exhausting kind, and night brought him no repose. A troubled imagination disturbed his broken rest. His very dreams presented him with the seductive forms of beauty or the horrid phantoms of terror, before which he trembled alike.

To all these must be added, if we are to give credit to the legendary narrations of the "Acts of the Saints," attempts upon his virtue. His eloquence, learning, reputation, and the applause which he received, made him a mark for designing human tempters, in a fairer shape than hell usually assumes. The story of Potiphar's wife, with a few slight embellishments, is transferred to the history of this modern Joseph. But the monkish annalist, or perhaps we should say Romanticist, brings him forth triumphant from every temptation, and spared the discipline of the prison.

We have every reason to believe, that however mistaken in some respects, the devotion of Vincent was sincere and earnest. It is said that he always made it his aim, that his lectures, his studies, and labors should be a continual prayer. It is certain, at least, that the spirit which would enter prayerfully upon all its duties, is the one which he sought to cherish in others. In his "Treatise on the Spiritual Life," he says: "Would you succeed in your studies? let them always be accompanied by devotion, and count it less important to be learned than holy. Consult the divine Spirit more than books, and humbly seek of him, that he will make you understand what you read. Study wearies mind and soul; go then from time to time for relaxation to the feet of Jesus Christ and his cross; a few moments' repose in that sacred place will give vigor and new light. Interrupt your application now and then, by short but fervent ejaculatory prayers. Never commence or end your study except with prayer. Knowledge is the gift of the Father of lights, and you are not to regard it as the production of your own spirit, or the fruit of your own labor."

If these counsels were, as they are said to have been, the rule of action which Vincent adopted for himself, we cannot but respect his devotion, however blinded or erroneous it may have been in some respects. His sincerity, at least, cannot be doubted. His principal and favorite employment was that of preaching; and it is said that he never composed a sermon ex-

cept when bowed at the foot of the crucifix, which served to render his imagination of that scene from which he drew his most powerful motives to penitence and love, more vivid and impressive.

For ten years Vincent was the Evangelist of Valencia, sometimes enduring evil report; but, for the most part, almost adored by his fellow citizens. In 1390, Peter de Luna, legate of Clement VII., and afterwards Pope himself, by the title of Benedict XIII., visited Valencia, and had the opportunity of hearing Vincent, upon whom, by the direction of the Pope, he had twelve years before bestowed the honor of the Doctorate. The legate was so charmed with what he heard from others of Vincent's reputation and ability, as well as by his own eloquence, that he determined to secure his companionship in his embassy to the French king. The legate, on his arrival at Paris, was soon absorbed in matters of intrigue and diplomacy; but Vincent, unmoved by the splendor of the court, and indifferent to the various worldly allurements that might attract mere curiosity or ambition, could not restrain the ardor with which he devoted himself to what he deemed his own proper work.

For the three years of his sojourn in Paris, the scenes that had been witnessed in Valencia, were transferred to the French capital. Admiring throngs followed him every where that he preached. The common people as well as the nobles, swelled his auditories. It seems probable that he must have made himself familiar with the French tongue, and instead of Latin, the language of the learned, have addressed his hearers in their own vernacular, though this is denied by his monkish biographer. Gerson's Court sermons are in Latin, those addressed to his own parishioners mostly in the French of that age.

It was probably during his stay in Paris, that Vincent composed those works, for which the busy scenes of the remaining years of his life would seem to have afforded him no adequate leisure. His works embrace, beside the "Treatise on the Spiritual Life," already referred to, one "On The Lord's Prayer," one "On the Inner Man," and one entitled "Consolations in Temptations that assail Faith." The titles indicate the contents of the works, and we can readily believe that the author drew them forth largely from the pages of his own experience.

Scarcely had Vincent returned to resume his labors at Valencia, when Clement VII. died, and his former legate was elected to the vacant See. Benedict XIII.—the name assumed by Peter de Luna, at his entrance upon his pontificate—was himself a man of learning and of taste. His friendship for Vincent, his respect for his character, and his admiration of his talents, combined with the dictates of policy to urge him to secure as his ally, in the position that he then occupied of a rival claimant to the Popedom, then in a state of schism, the reputation and learning of Vincent. So urgent were his letters, and so pressing his requests, that the Spanish preacher was drawn against his own inclinations, to reside at the Papal court of Avignon, where he was appointed by Benedict, his confessor and theologian, and charged with the Mastership of the Sacred Palace.

But such honors as these were little to the taste of Vincent. He was soon dissatisfied with the circumstances in which he was placed. Many reasons conspired to produce in his mind a disgust with what he saw around him, that nothing could overcome. Less intent on worldly splendor than spiritual improvement and usefulness, he found the claims of his new employment continually interfering with the cherished purpose of his life. His humility scorned the bribes and greatness of a court. The corruption also which he daily witnessed, and which more than twenty years before, Petrarch had characterized in language that makes us shudder as we read it, must have sickened him of any desire to continue his residence in a place which his own experience taught him to consider the "Augean Stable" of the Church. He did not hesitate to address the Pope himself, in language marked by great freedom of reproof as well as friendship. He advised him, in accordance with the growing convictions of Christendom, as to what was necessary to heal the long continued schism in the Church, voluntarily to demit his office. But this was little to Benedict's taste. A perfect master in the arts of dissimulation, he seemed to all that came in contact with him, to reflect their sentiments, while his own purpose, directly opposite, was perused with a tenacity that nothing could shake. At first Vincent, like many others, had flattered himself with the hope

that Benedict might be swayed by the advice which looked disinterestedly toward the peace and harmony of the Church. But when new promises, new propositions, new difficulties arose every day to protract and defer that hope, Vincent could no longer remain blind to the base and unworthy policy by which the Pope for so many years succeeded in duping kings, princes and people, into the belief, that he was willing to cede his office. In these circumstances he asked permission to leave the Papal court, and withdraw from Avignon. This was denied; and the habits of respect and obedience to Pontifical authority, in which he had been educated, led him to submit to the prohibition. He was, however, permitted to retire a short distance from the city to a monastery of his own Order, where his eyes were spared the sight of the corruption, and his ears relieved from the incessant tumult and confusion of an infamous court. His nights were largely devoted to exercises of mortification and prayer, and his days to preaching in the neighboring villages. His whole life was such, amid all the vice and simony of the Papal court, that he was every where regarded, by the clergy as well as laity, as an angel of peace or a holy apostle. So greatly, according to his monkish biographer, did the sight of the sins and abominations which abounded on every side, affect his spirits, that in conjunction with his own austerities, they affected his health. He was seized with a fever which brought him to the brink of the grave. The meditations of his sick-bed, or as Baxter would have called them, his "dying thoughts," only kindled his fervor to a fiercer flame. He recovered from his dangerous illness only to renew, with increased zeal, the efforts which had already been crowned with marked success. In his hour of reflection he had become convinced that it was his duty to leave the Papal court and seek a more congenial field of labor where more docility, if less learning or courtliness was to be found, and this time, Papal influence and authority could not control his clear and evangelical conviction. In vain did Benedict attempt to dissuade him from his purpose. He was willing to retain, at a large sacrifice, a man whose spotless reputation, remarkable eloquence, and powerful influence, were allies of his cause, even while Vincent only remained near his

court. These he was unwilling to spare or run the risk of losing. But the Saint, as his biographer already calls him, was already a sort of Pope in his own right, at least in popular esteem, and Benedict no longer attempted to restrain him. He went forth, receiving from the Pope, the apostolic benediction and the authority of Legate, the more successfully to accomplish the work to which he felt himself called. From this date commences properly his missionary career. All that had preceded was but the prelude to what may truly be added his Apostolate.

It was near the close of the year 1398, and at the age of forty-two years, that Vincent gave himself up fully to the work in which all the feelings of his heart were so strongly enlisted. Spurning, as unworthy bribes, all the dignities and honors that invited his ambition, and were within his reach, he set forth upon his mission with a zeal that permitted no intermission of his labors, and scarcely the rest of a single day till the close of his wondrous life. Almost every portion of the Christian world was the scene of his labors, and the most surprising accounts are given of the effects of his eloquence. His fame spread from land to land, and princes and people were alike anxious to hear a man who conjoined to all his other qualities the reputation of a saint. Wherever he went invitations met him from abroad to visit distant cities and villages; nor was the desire to hear him gratified by a single visit. His longest abode in any place was usually but a few weeks, and when his work seemed completed in one city or neighborhood, he hastened to another. From Aragon, his native country, he went to Barcelona, thence to southern France, in the regions of Savoy and Dauphiny, thence to Switzerland, Geneva, and Lorraine. The Duke of Burgundy invited him to his territories; the King of England besought him to visit his kingdom, and sent a vessel to bear him across the straits. Not in London only, but in various parts of the kingdom, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, he gathered wondering throngs to listen to his words. The closing labors of his life had northern France, the regions of Normandy and Brittany, for their field of successful effort. At the time of his death there was not a voice in Christendom that had

been listened to by so many thousands—we might safely say millions—as his own. His career has no parallel in these later ages, unless in the course of Peter the Hermit, or our own Whitefield. A letter of his to the General of his Order—the Dominican—gives us some idea of the course which he usually adopted. “The incessant claims of my duties leave me but little leisure to write to you, as I should be glad to do. Crowds follow me wherever I go, and I cannot deny to them the bread of life. After having performed mass, I preach to them two or three times every day, and, beside this, I am obliged to journey from place to place, so that I scarcely find time to take repose or necessary food. While on my journey I prepare my sermons.”

In the course of his journeyings he fell in often with those whom he calls Heretics. With a wisdom that did not belong to all the members of his Order, he declined to employ against them, in order to their conversion, the weapons of the temporal arm. We nowhere meet with any evidence that he invoked against them the terrors of excommunication. The instruments of his persuasion were his own extraordinary eloquence, his blameless life, and a fervor which was at least the fruit of genuine devotion. His success was correspondent to his efforts. One village which he visited, and found so corrupt and vile, that its very name bore the stigma expressive of disgrace, was so changed by his instrumentality that it was henceforth known by an appellation quite reverse. His indignation at sin did not quench his pity for the guilty, and we may safely believe that a true benevolence was the impulse to labors that are marked with self-denial, and could expect no temporal reward. His language in the letter already quoted, when he goes on to speak of the errors which he found it necessary to combat, shows how deeply he felt for the erring, and how readily he traced the evil to its true cause in the prevalent corruption and negligence of the clergy. “The principal source of these errors, so far as I can discover, is in the profound ignorance and the lack of religious instruction which prevail. Many of the people of this country—he writes from Geneva,—have assured me that for more than thirty years they have neither seen nor heard any other preachers

than such of the Vaudois as have visited them twice each year. I blush and tremble to think of the fearful account which those ecclesiastical superiors will have to render to the Chief Shepherd when they neglect their sacred duty of seeking out and instructing the poor. Some of them are at careless ease in their splendid palaces or well-furnished houses, others will only labor in large cities, leaving the poor of the flock, for whom the Saviour's blood was shed, to perish uncared for. For the want of a faithful ministry that will break to this people the bread of life, they are forgotten and neglected; they live in error and die in sin. Never was it more true than now, that the harvest is great and the laborers are few. My constant prayer is that the Lord of the harvest will send forth himself laborers into the harvest."

One of the best testimonies to the sincerity and devotion of Vincent, is the effort, usually successful, which he made wherever he went to reconcile those whom he found at enmity with one another. Italy was torn into factions by the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, and of all dissensions these of diverse parties seemed most inveterate. But the presence and words of Vincent acted upon them like the breath of spring upon barriers of ice. Foes became friends, and harmony took the place of discord. He would not give over effort until he had seen malice subdued and vanquished.

Sometimes he was summoned to visit places which had been abandoned, or where the vices of the priesthood had been such that the people had rejected them as tyrants and impostors. Such invitations he never refused, and the men who saw the wolf only in their former pastors, recognized in Vincent a shepherd who cared for their souls. Some of his explorations have revealed a degree of heathenism and ignorance prevalent at that time, which seems strange even in that age of culminating corruption of the Romish Church. In the diocese of Lausanne, he finds still prevalent, what he does not hesitate to call by the name of Paganism. In the region to the north of this, lying between France and Germany, were those who publicly professed to worship the sun, and addressed their prayers each morning to this luminary. But the zeal of this apostle of the truth as he held it, shrunk

from contact with no superstition or error, and never turned back from fear of the people however rude or fierce, whom it was in his power to benefit. "The Lord," said he, "is my strength, and in his help I put my trust."

That Vincent was a man of prudence and discretion, is manifest not only from the manner in which through a long course of labors that often brought him in contact with difficult questions and evil men, he maintained unspotted the reputation of integrity and devotion, but from the important public duties which he was summoned to discharge, and which were disposed of to general satisfaction. On the death of the King of Aragon without heirs, he was one of nine individuals, to whom full power was given to elect his successor, and it was in a great measure due to the prudent measures which he adopted, that his successor, Alphonso, was quietly seated upon the throne.

As the schism of the Papacy, which had continued for nearly forty years a sore scandal in the eyes of Christendom, had led to the convocation of the Council of Constance, one of the most celebrated in the whole history of the Romish Church, the King of Aragon wished to be represented in it by Vincent, the most distinguished of his subjects. In this wish he was joined by the members of the Council who were anxious to secure not only his advice, but the great influence of his talents and reputation which might be exerted in its favor. The Council commenced its sittings in the latter part of the year 1414. Vincent was little attracted by the splendor which he was aware was gathered in the famous city where the Council was convened. His sympathies were not with the proud prelates and warlike nobles, congregated there like eagles to prey upon the carcass of a dead Church. The honors and dignities which there awaited him, had little power to draw him aside from labors more congenial and where he deemed that he might be more useful. It may be that his disgust with the corruption which he knew full well was nestled there, was heightened by the cruel executions of Huss and Jerome, with which, judging by the spirit that marks his life, he could have had but little sympathy. Instead, therefore, of hastening to discharge the commission of his earthly sovereign, he con-

tinued those labors which in his view were more directly calculated to promote the interests of that spiritual kingdom whose claims were infinitely superior. The rigors of winter did not quench the fire of his zeal, and we may readily believe the historian, that he found more satisfaction in instructing a poor peasant with his small family around him, in his humble cottage, than in preaching before kings and hastening to the applause of Courts.

But at length, after many delays protracted for months, he was again urged to appear before the famous Council. John Gerson, the celebrated Chancellor of Paris, was joined by his predecessor, D'Ailly, both of them at the time members of the Council, in the urgent request that he would hasten to share their deliberations. The circumstances in which the Council found itself placed were such that Vincent's position or arguments might exercise a decided influence. Of the three rival Popes, two had already been removed, and Benedict XIII., the former friend of Vincent, alone remained in the way of a new election. This artful man had played off his tricks upon the credulity of Christendom till his falsehood and blind ambition were too manifest any longer to be denied. Vincent had endeavored some years previously to persuade him to cede and resign the Pontificate for the peace of the Church and the removal of the schism. He had used in his arguments all the plainness and sincerity of a faithful friend. "The flock," said he, "is not for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the flock. Whoever has the love of Christ will be ready to lay down his life for the sheep. What then must be his crime who will calmly see them perish; what his punishment, who to retain the vain phantom of grandeur, will be the cause or the occasion of their ruin?" But all his remonstrances and arguments were vain, and at last, in the Royal Councils of Aragon, Vincent's voice was given for the withdrawal of obedience from Benedict XIII. The resolution thus taken, was ascribed by the Fathers of the Council to his influence, and they were more than ever anxious to have him among them. Vincent regarded the honor of the invitation rather in the light of an unwelcome restraint upon a career which he believed more useful and beneficial, than any he could pursue in such a place as Con-

stance where the titled corruption of Christendom was assembled.

His progress thither, as might have been expected was slow. Wherever he paused in his journey crowds of people gathered around him to listen to his words and protract his stay. Artisans left their work. Merchants closed their shops. Teachers and scholars deserted their lectures. Clergy, nobles and common people hastened indiscriminately to the spot where it was announced that he was to preach. More than once Vincent wrote back to his sovereign to apologize for his delay. A deputation from the Council went to consult with him on a difficult question and obtain his advice, as well as hasten his arrival. But it is even doubtful whether he ever reached the Council. His experience of the Papal court at Avignon had taught him how little congeniality existed between his own feelings and convictions and those of ambitious ecclesiastics. It may be that he suspected danger from the charge of heresy which was far more likely to be brought against him than against Gerson, who was forced even after his condemnation of Huss, to labor under this imputation. Some already had found fault with him that in his sermons he had dwelt too much on the scenes of the final judgment, evidently implying his comparative neglect of what might be regarded as ecclesiastical motives. Of this at least we are assured, that if Vincent ever reached the Council, his stay was short. We know that there could have been nothing to attract or retain him there but the mandate of his king. Before the close of the Council, the Duke of Burgundy urged him to visit his territories, and Vincent complied with the invitation. From Flanders his labors were extended through the north of France. The King of England met him at Caën, and urged him to visit Normandy. Here he toiled till his strength failed. He felt the grasp of disease upon him in the city of Vannes, and determined to seek his native air in the hope of a restoration to health. He set out for Valencia, but his sickness increased. He was worn out by his long and exhausting labors and was compelled to turn back to the city he had left. As he again approached the walls he was met by a glad welcome. Great and small, rich and poor, the youthful and the aged, hastened forth, enthusiastic

with joy at his return, and from many lips burst forth the shout, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." But the chime of bells, and the loud echo of popular joy fell upon a dying ear. As he entered the dwelling where he had formerly abode, he said to those who gathered around him, congratulating themselves upon his return, that he had come back to their city, not to continue his ministry but to find a grave. They soon found that it was but too true, and tears took the place of smiles.

The closing days of Vincent presented a scene in keeping with his life. In all his sufferings no complaint escaped his lips. We read of no superstitious reverence on his part to what might be justly deemed the mummeries of his Church. His time was mostly spent in prayer, and he wished few to be admitted to his chamber to disturb the current of his dying thoughts. On a single occasion he suffered the doors to be opened to receive a visit from the Bishop accompanied by the clergy, the magistrates, and a few of the nobility. He received them in the most affable and pleasant manner, and addressed to them his dying admonitions, with his fast expiring breath endeavoring to improve his last earthly opportunity of usefulness. He recalled briefly the counsels he had formerly given them in his public instructions, reminded them of their promises to reform abuses and abolish evil customs, as well as resist the renewal of those that had been already removed. He exhorted the clergy to diligence, the magistrates to fidelity, the nobility to humanity toward all their dependents.

The magistrates sent to him a deputation to learn where he would choose to have his place of burial, that his own declaration might anticipate any dispute that might arise upon the subject. With the humility that had ever characterized his life, he replied, that being but a poor and unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, all that concerned him was the care of his soul, and others might provide for his body; and yet, as if apprehensive of the veneration with which the citizens might regard his bones if left within the city walls, he added that for the end of preventing discord or dissension, they should be given to the Prior of his own Order, the nearest without the walls of the city.

As death drew near, he repeated the penitential Psalms, and asked to have the scripture narrative of our Saviour's passion read to him. The plenary indulgence which Pope Martin V. had given for his dying hour must have seemed to him a small thing in comparison with the rich consolations of the divine word. For the most part his soul seemed absorbed in prayer and divine communion. And thus, at the age of fifty-six years, on the fifth day of April, 1419, his spirit passed from earth.

In reviewing the life and career of Vincent Ferrara, we find much to admire and approve. In an age of corruption, his character and life, exposed for many years to the most public observation, were without a stain. It is possible that his zeal may have been misdirected, although we have never been able to discover it. More than any other prominent member of the Romish Church in that age, his conduct seems characterized with the love and humanity of a Gospel spirit. No harsh words, no incitements to harsh deeds fell from his lips. His unwearied strivings are put forth to reconcile those who had become alienated and hostile to one another. His sympathies extended to the lowest and most degraded. He scorned the highest dignities of the church, and even refused a Cardinal's hat, when these stood in the way of doing good, or were held out as bribes to seduce him from the path of duty. The prevalent vices of the age met his unsparing rebuke. Whatever offended against the purity of truth or the sanctity of religion found in him a faithful reprover. The character of his influence is defined in the very exaggeration of his biographer, who declares that the cities which he visited were in a manner changed into temples, where songs of praise to God replaced those of profanity, and works of mercy and piety, those of darkness and sin. In executing his avowed mission, he spared himself no fatigue, and gave himself but scant rest. He sought no worldly advantage, and was more than content with the reward of seeing the fruit of his labors in the conversion of the most abandoned, vile and blasphemous. He asked not whether his was a royal or a plebeian audience. If to instruct the ignorant and teach the simple, he had to use familiar words, it was a condescension which exalted while it abased.

But the most wonderful perhaps of all the gifts of Vincent Ferrara, was his extraordinary eloquence. If we were dependent for our knowledge of this on the language of his monkish biographer, we should be inclined to question the truth of the narration. But while the remarkable success that attended his ministry, confirms the conviction of his powerful eloquence, it is more than sustained by the testimony of a man who was in his day the best judge probably to be found in Christendom. Clemengis, who was at one time Rector of the University of Paris, and afterward Secretary of the Pope, and who still later in life, withdrew to his quiet retreat for the study of the Scriptures, which taught him—so he declared—in a few days more than all other books had in as many months—Clemengis, himself one of the most learned, eloquent and able writers of the age, must have had frequent opportunities of hearing Vincent. His testimony to his eloquence will not be suspected of being the mere blind admiration of an ignorant man.

“So great,” says he, “is the favor with which he is regarded by all, of every grade, order, sex, dignity, age and condition that he is received almost as an angel from heaven. Among living men, none probably can be found, whose memory is more richly furnished in sacred literature, who comprehends more clearly, or can apply his knowledge more fitly. The word of God from his lips, has such light and power, his utterance kindles to such a glowing flame, that hearts of ice are melted down, and flow forth in groans and sighs. With him that passage of Jeremiah is fulfilled, ‘The word of God is like fire, and the hammer that breaketh the rocks.’ To the more perfect understanding of what he says, he uses gesture wonderfully appropriate, setting the things which he treats of before the eyes of his hearers, sometimes feigning persons speaking, with language and manner most fitly adapted to express their character. So great is the eagerness to hear him preach, that not only those who belong in the cities where he stops, congregate around him, but from the fields, villages, and localities far distant, his hearers are gathered, and he takes his stand, as he finds it necessary, in order to accommodate the innumerable multitude in the midst of some open field or wide

extended plain, where all may assemble. His command of language is wonderful. Though a native of Aragon, yet when he spoke in Italian, I could understand it as well as from your lips. But what is more, his life and speech are not discordant. He is not one of those Pharisees who, while they occupy Moses seat, say and do not. Most faithfully does he observe his profession of poverty. He accepts neither gold nor gifts, and is content with plain raiment and frugal fare. A most vigilant laborer is he in the Lord's vineyard, daily engaged in his work, following that salutary counsel of Scripture, 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening, withhold not thy hand.' He does not tarry long in the same place, but journeys from city to city, and from province to province, everywhere preaching the Gospel and leading men into the way of salvation. Would to God that others who bear the preacher's office, would, in imitation of this holy man, carry out the apostolic institution! But, alas! such as he, are rare in this age. In fact, he stands alone. And because in the stormy darkness of our times, I was glad to discover even a single light, I wished you to know of it and share my joy, and with this object, I have written."

It seems evident from this testimony, that the eloquence of Vincent was as wonderful as his tireless energy and the purity of his life. The accounts given of the conversions wrought by his preaching among Jews, Mohammedans, Infidels, and abandoned men, might be reduced more than a half, and still remain almost too magnificent for belief. Monkish credulity and superstition have overloaded his biography with miracles, which as far as we can discover, he never claimed the power to work. But beneath all the fiction and exaggeration of subsequent writers, there is enough truth left to lead us to pronounce Vincent Ferrara one of the most memorable men of his age.

ARTICLE IV.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF 1860.

THE sixty-sixth General Assembly met in the Third Presbyterian Church in the city of Pittsburgh, May 17, 1860. It was opened with a sermon by the last Moderator, Rev. R. W. PATTERSON, D. D., which met with general favor, and by a unanimous informal vote of a large number of commissioners was requested to be published in this Review. It appears in the present Number. The Rev. THORNTON A. MILLS was chosen Moderator of the Assembly on the second ballot.

SETTLEMENT OF THE ROLL.

In accordance with the Report of the Committee on Church Polity, through their Chairman, Dr. CURTIS, the boundaries of the Synod of Pennsylvania were extended to the Potomac river so as to include the Presbytery of the District of Columbia; the Synod of Virginia, which has connected itself with the United (Southern) Synod, was stricken from the roll, and the Presbytery of Kansas was united with the Synod of Missouri.

ATTENDANCE ON THE ASSEMBLY.

We give a table containing the attendance upon our Assembly from the division of the Church, from which it will be seen that we are rapidly recovering all that has been lost through the various defections from our body; only one Assembly since the division, having had a larger representation.

Year.	Pres. Rep.	Ministers.	Elders.	Commissioners.
1839	74	85	62	147
1840	56	58	29	87
1843	75	73	41	114
1846	88	87	55	142
1849	87	86	49	135
1850	87	86	54	140

Year.	Pres. Rep.	Ministers.	Elders.	Commissioners.
1851	92	99	55	154
1852	96	108	73	181
1853	100	115	85	200
1854	103	120	80	200
1855	96	101	63	164
1856	104	116	90	206
1857	110	125	100	225
1858	94	108	91	199
1859	95	109	78	187
1860	100			206

CHURCH ERECTION.

The Report of the Trustees of the Church Erection Fund was presented by the Rev. Dr. M·LANE, the Secretary. The fund amounts at present to \$109,091.12. The whole amount of grants made has been 140; the total amount granted is \$52,396. The donations are 33, the loans 107. The average of the donations is \$186 and of the loans \$432. About fifty-two per cent. of the fund has thus been granted. The value of the church property thus helped to be secured, so far as reported to the Board, has been \$370,000.

The Report was referred to the Standing Committee on Church Extension, who reported, through their Chairman, Dr. PATTERSON, approving the action of the Board. In relation to a memorial from the Presbytery of Iowa City, the Committee recommended that in cities having five thousand or more inhabitants, and in which no other church of our denomination exists, the loans, at the option of the Board, might be increased to \$1,000. In regard to the time of re-payment and interest, the Committee recommended an adherence to the plan of the Board.

Mr. WALDO (Wisconsin,) moved to strike out 5000 inhabitants and insert 2000, which was lost. The plan recommended by the Committee was discussed by MESSRS. CURTIS, PATTERSON, COURTNEY SMITH, P. FRAZER SMITH, WHITAKER, and SEELYE, by Dr. M·LANE, the Secretary, and by Mr. GRIFFITH, a member of the Board, who though not a member of the Assembly, was invited to give his views. The Western members all advocated the enlargement of the loans in the cases mentioned, while the Eastern members all thought it better that the

original plan of the Board should be preserved intact, and the Assembly decided that no change should be made.

DEMISSION OF THE MINISTRY.

This subject was considered at the meeting of the Assembly last year, and was then referred to a Committee, consisting of Drs. Hatfield and Henry B. Smith, and W. S. Griffith, Esq. The Committee presented, through their Chairman, an elaborate report taking ground against the propriety of allowing demissions. The subject was debated by the elders SMITH, OSBORNE and MASON, Drs. WING, CLARKE, HATFIELD, WISNER and NELSON, and Messrs. DARLING, SEELYE, AVERY, M'GIFFERT and SCOFIELD. The report was adopted by a large majority.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Two reports were presented on Foreign Missions. The first was that of the Committee appointed by the last Assembly to confer with the American Board of Commissioners, of which Mr. Barnes was Chairman, the substance of which was published in the last Number of this Review, as the report of the Committee at the meeting of the Board in Philadelphia in October last, to which the subject was referred. The other was the report of the Permanent Committee on Foreign Missions, presented by Dr. POOR. These reports were referred to the Standing Committee on Foreign Missions, who reported through their Chairman, Dr. CHESTER. The report states that the requests made by the last Assembly of the American Board have been complied with, and that the Assembly, relying on the good faith of the Board to carry out the spirit of those requests, recommend continued co-operation with it, especially in this jubilee year. The report was adopted. Dr. WOOD, one of the Secretaries of the American Board, who was sent as a deputation, was heard at length on the subject of Foreign Missions. A missionary meeting was also held on one of the evenings during the sessions of the Assembly, at which addresses were made by several brethren.

EDUCATION FOR THE MINISTRY.

The report of the Permanent Committee on Education was read by Mr. MILLS, the General Secretary, other members

taking the Chair during the reading and the discussions which followed on subsequent days. After giving the statistics in relation to the Theological Seminaries of our Church, and the number of students supported and funds contributed, so far as could be ascertained, and stating that eight students had been supported directly by the Committee the past year, the report urged the necessity of a thorough sustaining of the plan of the Committee heretofore adopted by this Assembly, or its entire abandonment. The latter course, however, was earnestly deprecated. The report was referred to the Standing Committee on Education, who, on a subsequent day, reported through their Chairman, Dr. ALLEN, recommending continued efforts in the line of the Assembly's plan, with some slight modifications, and also Committees of Conference with the Western and Philadelphia Education Societies. An interesting and earnest debate followed, of which we shall endeavor to give our readers some idea.

Dr. BRAINERD said that he desired it to be understood in all his remarks, that he intended no disrespect to the Secretary. His whole desire was to make the Education Committee efficient for its purpose. He cared but little about the details of the plan. What he wanted to be certified of was that it would accomplish its great object. What is the practical difficulty in the way? The Secretary of the Committee he regarded as the main-spring of the whole operation. Now, the Secretary has gone through the churches making addresses on education and talking to students, but he has not addressed himself to the work of obtaining men and money. This is the reason that the local societies continue their existence, because they are doing the actual work of educating young men for the ministry, and the Assembly's Committee are not doing it. If you will establish a treasury, and the Secretary will go to work and get money and men, we will disband the local societies at once. As long as this is not done, we *must* keep up the local societies, because the work *must* be done by somebody. If your Committee will not do it, we must have another agency for it. We want you to accomplish it, and you do not accomplish it, and then blame us. When the American Education Society was in its palmy days, Dr. Patton

once requested Dr. Cox to visit the churches up the North river and make collections for the cause. The Doctor went and made such speeches as no man ever made, and on his return gathered a meeting of the Executive Committee to hear his report. He gave a glowing account of the good time they had had, when Dr. Patton asked, "How much money have you raised?" "Money!" said the Doctor, "I was not after money, but after mind!"

Mr. MILLS, the Secretary, said that he would take the field of the Philadelphia Education Society, take care of all their students and meet their responsibilities, if it were transferred to him with the cordial good-will of all concerned. He said that the Assembly's Committee was located in New York with the cordial assent of the brethren in Philadelphia, and yet that they gave their money to the Philadelphia Education Society. He insisted that his labors had increased the funds of the local societies, though the money had not come into the hands of the Assembly's Committee. He said that there is a commercial rivalry between Philadelphia and New York which prevented the Philadelphians from giving money to the Committee at the latter city, and also declared that he had been represented at Philadelphia as an abolitionist, and that this had hindered the work. An arrangement had been effected with the Synod of Pennsylvania, by which the Philadelphia Education Society was to confine its labors to the fields of the Synod of Pennsylvania, West Pennsylvania, and southward to the Potomac, supporting its own students and paying over its surplus to the Committee, but this plan had not been carried out.

He then proceeded to explain the Assembly's plan. It contemplates the making of every Presbytery an efficient working institution. This is too sacred a work to intrust to any society. It is the Church's own work. She is to be a great educational institution. We are aiming at self-development, not to collect a pile of money, and say to young men, "Come and get it." I resigned a pleasant and important pastoral charge to undertake this work. I want to put ideas into men's minds that will drive them like a steam engine. I do not want to be a pitiful beggar for money. I do not wish to identify myself

with any locality or particular institution, but to labor for the whole Church. The Permanent Committee want to do something for the cause of Christ and the Church or else retire. The faith of the Assembly is pledged to us, and ought to be redeemed.

DR. CLARKE (N. Y. City) said, that the difficulty with the plan seemed to be, that after proposing that the Presbyteries should do the work, it authorized also local educational societies to do their own work. Synods and Presbyteries who have men to be educated, but no money, are ready to cooperate with the Permanent Committee, but those who have money give it a different direction. He illustrated by a good New England story. The selectmen of a town voted to build a new jail out of the materials of the old one, and then voted that the old jail should stand until the new one was completed. Your Committee are in the condition of the contractor who was not allowed to touch the old jail, and yet was required to build the new one.

MR. DARLING said, that he desired to endorse the views of Dr. BRAINERD. The statement of the Secretary that any commercial rivalry between Philadelphia and New York, or any feeling in regard to the Secretary's views on the subject of slavery, had any thing to do with the failure of the Assembly's plan, was based upon an entire misapprehension. The simple reason why the Philadelphia Education Society is kept up, is that the Assembly's Committee do not accomplish the work, and Philadelphia and Pennsylvania insist upon having the work done in some way. To show that he, at least, had no opposition to the Assembly's Committee, he would mention, that four of the eight students which had been sustained by the Committee were supported by the ladies of his church in Philadelphia. He would pledge himself, that if the Assembly would create a working plan, that Philadelphia would cooperate with it, and that their Education Society would not stand in the way. The difficulty, and the sole difficulty is, that the Assembly's plan is utterly impracticable.

MESSRS. WILLIAMS, (Ohio,) and HURD, (Illinois,) thought that the labors of the Secretary had been useful, and were rousing up minds and hearts over the Church to a sense of the importance of this cause.

DR. ALLEN said that he had not been usually charged with being an abstractionist, but rather with being too exclusively practical. The fundamental idea of the plan is, that each Presbytery is to work in its own field; that it should not be influenced from without. The life of the Church is in the hearts of its members. It is true that when we needed money for this object in the West, we had sent to Philadelphia, and we had not sent in vain.

MR. SEELYE, (Albany,) said, that after the Secretary's visit to his people, they had set to work in the cause of education. It would not do to give up the Committee. The Synod of New York and New Jersey fails to fall in with the Assembly's plan. They say, "Come to the New York Seminary, and we will give you \$120 a year; but stay at home, and we will give you much less." This will not do; we must have a general effort for the whole Church.

MR. SHERWOOD, Secretary of the Education Committee of the Synod of New York and New Jersey, said: Three-fifths of the entire amount for education, comes from us; one of our churches sustains twenty-two young men, twelve of whom are at Auburn Seminary. One single member of that church sustains thirty-five young men. He answered at length, the intimation that the Synod of New York and New Jersey is hostile to the Assembly's plan. They may think it impracticable. They do not fully understand what it is. The Committee of the Synod claim the right to direct where their donations shall be applied.

MR. ELDRIDGE, (Detroit,) hoped that the plan would not be broken up. Good had been accomplished by it.

MR. WHITAKER, (Long Island,) spoke in a similar manner.

DR. HUNTINGTON, of Auburn Seminary, made a long and interesting speech, of which we can present only an abstract. He had doubts in regard to the Assembly's plan. It had been said that the Secretary was working through the Church, spreading light and power. He thought his motions were like the revolution of the earth, which *flattened it at both ends*. But his principal object was to say, that any plan adopted by the Assembly ought to be impartial towards all the institutions of the Church. It seemed to him that the Assembly's plan was

so managed as to work entirely for the New York Seminary. He did not mean to speak against that Seminary. But when he heard it represented as *the* Seminary, *par excellence* of the Presbyterian Church, and all other Seminaries as sectional, he could not help saying, that it really had no connection with our Church. It ignores the question of church government. Its American Theological Review refuses to consider denominational questions.

MR. SHERWOOD (interposing.) That Review belongs entirely to me, and has no other connection with the Seminary than that one of its professors is the editor of it.

DR. HATFIELD and DR. M'LANE (simultaneously,) Drs. Skinner and Robinson have always declined any connection with that Review.

The MODERATOR (DR. CHESTER,) Dr. HUNTINGTON will proceed. I think Mr. SHERWOOD ought to be obliged to him for advertising his Review.

DR. HUNTINGTON. Well, sir, I only repeated what I understood. I know that we at Auburn were invited by some one in connection with the New York Seminary, to sustain that Review. But let that pass. It had been said that Auburn had more attractions than any other place; they had the Orphan Asylum, the Theological Seminary, the State Prison and Senator Seward. (Laughter.) We, however, are modest, and do not press our advantages. We only ask strict impartiality. The reason why Auburn Seminary was closed for a while, was that the former faculty were so very able that they could not keep them. The present faculty were selected with a view to permanency. (Much laughter.) It had been published that the New York Seminary would pay every student that would come there \$120. Now, the difficulty was, that Auburn had not the money to pay any more students. They went on up to eighty and ran out of money. If they had had \$120 for each student, they might have increased their number indefinitely. Give us an impartial educational system, and Auburn will do well and be perfectly satisfied.

MR. BABB, (Cincinnati,) moved to refer the Report to a Committee of Fifteen, to report the next day.

MR. FIELD, (New York City,) made a few remarks in which

he said, that the plan of the Assembly had been characterized as *impracticable*. For his part, he considered it *unintelligible*. Dr. Stearns understood it one way and Mr. Mills another way. He then moved a substitute for the motion; that the whole matter be referred back to the Permanent Committee, with the addition of three persons; one from Philadelphia, one from Auburn, and one from Cincinnati; that the whole Committee thus constituted, shall confer with the local Committees and Societies, revise the Assembly's plan, and report to the next Assembly.

The previous question was moved and sustained. MR. BABB's resolution was postponed, and MR. FIELD's adopted.

The next day the subject was re-considered, and the following was adopted:—

Resolved, 1. That the Permanent Committee continue their work as heretofore; and, that they be instructed, at an early day, to revise the present plan of the Assembly, and submit the revised plan to the Presbyteries, with the earnest request, that they express their views and wishes concerning it to the Permanent Committee, previous to the next Assembly; and, that Albert Barnes, D. H. Allen, Ezra A. Huntington, and Henry B. Smith, be appointed to confer with said Committee concerning the revision of the plan.

Resolved, 2. That this Assembly are gratified to learn that the Permanent Committee have begun to aid students from their own treasury; and that the churches be earnestly requested to replenish that treasury, that the work may go on in a manner worthy of the cause and of the Church at large.

PUBLICATION.

The Report of the Permanent Committee on Publication, was presented by MR. DULLES, the Secretary.

The Financial Report includes but eleven months. The operations were:

Balance,	-	-	-	-	\$740.02
Donations,	-	-	-	-	8,095.81
Cash from Sales,	-	-	-	-	10,942.95
					\$19,778.78

Paid for Stereotyping, printing, binding, salaries, &c., \$19,692.62

Balance, \$86.16

The cash received does not show the *amount* of sales, as in many cases, only balances in favor of the Committee go upon the books. The sales of eleven months have been \$15,043.05; being an advance of fifty per cent. on the preceding year. Donations of books and tracts have been made to the amount of \$287.91.

Two tracts of the first and two of the second series, with the Almanac, have been published. Five volumes have been added to the Sabbath-school Library. Other books are: The Shorter Catechism with Analysis and Scripture Proofs; This One Thing I Do, and The Martyrs of the Mutiny; The Sabbath-school Hymn Book with the Shorter Catechism, and The Eclectic Tune Book; Forms for Dismission of Church Members, and for Reports of Church Session and Presbytery, have also been published. Other works are ready, or in preparation, but cannot be published for want of funds.

The donations came mainly from Philadelphia, where a special subscription was made of \$10,000, of which John A. Brown, Esq., gave \$5,000. Rev. Charles H. Chester has been acting as Agent for the Committee in Central and Western New York, since November 15th last.

The Report of the Standing Committee was presented by the Rev. J. G. ATTERBURY, and adopted.

The most important recommendations are:

1. That the Publication Committee be endowed with a working capital of not less than \$25,000.
2. The churches are enjoined to make a special contribution for this object in the month of October next.
3. That the Committee be authorized, at their discretion, to employ an agent for the furtherance of this design.
4. The pastors are enjoined to preach to their congregations on the subject, in connection with the October collection.

MR. WILSON, (Wabash Presbytery,) moved to strike out the authority to employ an agent.

After remarks by DR. BRAINERD and WISNER, and Messrs.

DEHAVAN, MASON, and BUTLER, MR. WILSON withdrew his motion.

MR. DULLES then addressed the Assembly, and was followed by Mr. RIGGS, when the Report was adopted *nem. con.*

A very interesting sermon was preached on the subject of Publication, by the Rev. J. AMBROSE WIGHT.

PRESBYTERIAN HOUSE.

The Report of the Trustees of the Presbyterian House, was read by Mr. WALLACE, the Secretary. All the current expenses of the House were met from the rents, and \$500 had been funded to meet the balance still due upon the debt of the House. By a resolution of the Board, the same sum is to be invested annually in safe and reliable securities, until the debt is paid. The Report noticed, in appropriate terms, the death of two of the Trustees, the Rev. George Chandler and Charles S. Wurts, Esq. It was referred to the Committee on Publication, who reported through their Chairman, Mr. ATTERBURY, approving the action of the Board, and nominating the Rev. E. E. Adams and Charles S. Wurts, M. D., in place of the Trustees who were deceased, and the re-election of the other Trustees whose terms had expired. The Report was adopted and these gentlemen were elected.

CHURCH EXTENSION AND HOME MISSIONS.

The Fifth Annual Report of the Permanent Committee on Church Extension, was presented by Mr. WALLACE, the Secretary.

The increase of funds has been *fifty per cent.* during the past year, and the average annual advance has been *fifty per cent.* from the establishment of the Committee. The increase of missionaries during the past year, was more than *one hundred per cent.* The following are the receipts for the four past years:—

Year ending May, 1857, -	-	-	-	\$2,908.19
“ “ “ 1858, -	-	-	-	6,234.59
“ “ “ 1859, -	-	-	-	9,258.57
“ “ “ 1860, -	-	-	-	14,101.13

The number of missionaries employed for the year ending May, 1859, was *seventeen*; the smallness of the number being

due to the fact, that the Committee was engaged in paying off a debt previously contracted, so as to conduct their operations in future without debt. For the year just closed, the number of missionaries was *forty*; and this result had been reached without any debt: every approved application before the Committee had been met, and with \$1,200 remaining in the treasury.

The case of each missionary was taken up separately, though briefly, and a synopsis, as far as possible, given of his labors for the year.

The Rev. Augustus T. Norton has been appointed District Secretary of the Committee for the West, and the Rev. Alfred M. Stowe for the Synods of Utica, Geneva, Genessee, Onondaga, and Susquehanna. These brethren have only been in the field a part of the year, Mr. Norton having commenced his labors in October, 1859, and Mr. Stowe in January, 1860. They have had good success, which is an earnest of still better operations next year.

The Report briefly referred to the nature of the work as being carried on in conjunction with the Presbyteries and Synods. Thus, the Presbytery of Alton support the most of their missionaries, but at their request, the Committee have sustained two of them. The Presbytery of Schuyler support their missionaries except three, to whom they give one half of their missionary support; the Committee, at their request, furnishing the other half. The Presbytery of Monroe support their missionaries within \$200; and, at their request, the Committee furnish this amount. In all cases where the Committee can secure it, a Committee on Church Extension is appointed by the Synods, or one on Home Missions by the Presbyteries, on whose recommendation usually the missionaries are appointed. The concurrence of the church courts is secured in all cases where it is possible.

The Committee are extending their operations into the newer regions of the country. There have been missionaries the past year in Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska and Pike's Peak. An application has been received from the Synod of Alta California, for an exploring missionary for the Pacific coast, to which a favorable response is expected to be returned.

The Report was as concise as it could be, considering the range of the topics discussed, and was referred to the Standing Committee on Church Extension.

A Report was also made by Dr. STEARNS, from the Commission appointed by the last Assembly "to ascertain, by a thorough investigation, the facts [in relation to complaints against the American Home Missionary Society;] and to procure such other information as may be in their power, relating to the history of our connection with the work of home missions, and our present relations to it; also to learn the principles and modes of the administration of the American Home Missionary Society over the entire field of its operations; and to submit the whole, well authenticated, to the next General Assembly."

This Report was very long, occupying nearly two hours in reading. It went minutely into the history of our home missionary operations, from the beginning of the Church in this country, including that of the formation of the Assembly's Board of Missions, the United Domestic Missionary, and the American Home Missionary Societies. It showed that Presbyterians mainly supported the American Home Missionary Society at first, and that Congregationalists came in later with efficient support. For example: the first six years of the Society showed the following results:—

	From New England.	Out of New England.
1827,	\$3,842	\$20,035
1828,	1,641	20,350
1829,	8,094	26,997
1830,	13,821	33,929
1831,	16,089	48,124
1832,	17,900	49,422

The fact that the Society was established on unsectarian principles, and that this was frequently announced, was dwelt upon, as also the rules of the Society with its auxiliaries, which in early times were entirely at variance with those adopted in relation to the Alton Presbytery, &c. The impropriety of the rule in relation to slaveholding churches was shown, as subversive of all proper church discipline. An elaborate view was given of the relations of our Church with the Society. The

Church Extension action of the Assembly was vindicated, both as to the necessity for the establishment of the Committee and the enlargement of its powers. The alleged "rules" of the Society were shown to be unfixed and apparently wavering according to circumstances, and the Society shown to be in the wrong in the agitations and jealousies that have grown up through it, between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The Report concluded with a *resumé* of the whole matter under several heads, in which, though there is no recommendation of a course of action to the Assembly, as the Commission were not instructed to make any, there is an evident impression that a separation between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the work of home missions is, in all probability, inevitable.

The Report was referred to a Committee of Fifteen, consisting of the Standing Committee on Church Extension, and eight other persons: the whole Committee being constituted as follows:—Messrs. PATTERSON, LITTLE, NELSON, SEELYE, STEARNS, BRAINERD, ALLEN, M'HARG, and DELAVAN, with the Elders, PINNEO, ASHMEAD, WOOD, FARNHAM, LATIMER and MASON.

Dr. PATTERSON subsequently presented the Report of this Committee, on which an interesting debate arose, of which we give the main points.

The Report was as follows:—

The Committee to whom was referred the general subject of Home Missions, together with the Report of the Commission appointed by the General Assembly at Wilmington, to make investigation respecting the same, submit and recommend for adoption, the following paper:—

1. We regard the statements and representations made in the Report of the Commission, as essentially correct and just; and, we believe, that the lucid and faithful exposition of facts and principles, if brought before our churches and the public at large, would remove many misapprehensions and do an important service to the cause of truth. It is, therefore, ordered that at least 5,000 copies of the Report be printed, under the direction of the Stated Clerk of the Assembly, for general circulation.

2. We deeply regret that our relations to the American Home Missionary Society seem to grow more and more complicated and embarrassing. We see no prospect of any effectual removal of the difficulties which have sprung up between that Society and our Church as will fully re-establish the harmonious and beneficent co-operation in the home missionary work, which was so happily maintained in former years. All endeavors to effect

a satisfactory adjustment of the matters of difference between us and the Executive Committee of the Home Missionary Society have proved fruitless. And the position which has been assumed in relation to our church extension operations and the action of the General Assembly by the leading Congregational Associations with which we are in correspondence, indicates a deep and settled feeling on their part which appears to foretoken a speedy dissolution of the co-partnership in Home Missions, unless we shall consent to abandon a great work which we believe Divine Providence has set before us, and shall retrace steps which we have taken under a most solemn conviction of our duty to God and to his Church.

3. It is with us no longer an open question whether we should continue to prosecute our Church Extension work, so as to supply any lack of service that may exist in our field, according to our own judgment and ability. In maintaining this position, we are guilty of no breach of good faith to the Home Missionary Society. For we have never expressly, or by remote implication, bound ourselves to make that Society the exclusive agency of our Church in the home missionary work.

In pursuing our Church Extension work, we feel that we are only discharging an imperative duty, which the Great Head of the Church has laid upon us. The necessity for this work is becoming increasingly urgent, in consequence of new circumstances over which we have no control; and we must go forward and not backward in the prosecution of it.

4. While we deem it incumbent on our Church to maintain firmly the principles and policy regarding the subject, which have been heretofore adopted and acted upon by the General Assembly, we earnestly desire to effect a good understanding with our Congregational brethren. We have no disposition to take any advantage of them in our co-operation with them nor do we assert any right or liberty for ourselves which we do not freely accord to them.

We have earnestly desired continued co-operation with our brethren, in the work of Home Missions, provided it could be carried forward in consistency with the proper liberty of our churches, Presbyteries and higher judicatories, and in fraternal confidence. But, if a separation must take place, we trust it may be effected in Christian love, and solely with a view to the greater peace and efficiency of both denominations.

And that we may do all in our power to secure a wise and Christian adjustment of the difficulties by which we are encompassed in relation to this subject, the General Assembly hereby appoint a Committee of Ten, to meet in a fraternal conference, a Committee of Congregational brethren, (should such a Committee be appointed,) consisting of two members from each of the Congregational bodies with which the General Assembly is in correspondence, namely: The General Association of Connecticut, the General Association of Massachusetts, the General Convention of Vermont, the General Association of New Hampshire, and the General Conference of Maine. To carry into effect this arrangement, the Committee of Conference are hereby instructed to address a communication to each of the bodies already named, inviting them to appoint a like Committee to meet the Committee of the General Assembly.

5. It shall be the duty of the Committee of the Assembly herein provided for, to use their utmost endeavors to secure such an understanding between us and our Congregational brethren in regard to our co-operation with them in the work of Home Missions, as may conduct to an equitable and final settlement of this whole question.

It shall be the duty of this Committee to make a full report to the next General Assembly, and to recommend to that body such plans and measures pertaining to the home missionary work, as they may deem wise and necessary.

6. We would lay no restrictions whatever on our Presbyteries or churches as to the exercise of their liberty in choosing for themselves, through what agency they shall bestow their contributions for the promotion of domestic missionary work. But we would earnestly urge them to do all in their power for the furtherance of this great cause, either through the A. H. M. Society, or the Church Extension Committee, or both, or through some other agency, and to suffer no feeling of suspense as to the channels through which they are to send forth the waters of life, to dry up the fountains of their Christian beneficence.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Mr. LATIMER (Western Reserve) said that he did not wish to be understood as approving the Report. He should not, however, make a minority report nor oppose this, as it seemed to be a foregone conclusion.

Speeches were limited to ten minutes.

Mr. TAYLOR (Alton, Ill.) liked the Report because it was fraternal and Christian, but should vote for it more out of deference for the Committee than because it satisfied him. He was for something more thorough. We need organic unity in our Church. The Presbytery of Alton wish not to injure Congregationalists, whom they love in their own sphere, but to do their own work. They did not like the name, "Church Extension," and they wanted a thorough system of Home Missions, by our own Church. He did not wish to be ungrateful to Philadelphia, and to the Church Extension Committee for what they had done, but he hoped, at least, that the name of the Committee would be changed.

Mr. DOWNER (Illinois,) would vote for the Committee of Conference, not because he thought it would do any good, but because it would do no harm. He thought the time for separate action on Home Missions had come, and that we had better part in peace from our Congregationalist brethren.

Dr. WISNER was opposed to the Report, and he would tell

why. He agreed with it as far as it stated facts, but was satisfied that there was no room for further conference. They have told us that they do not wish to act further with us. They tell us that we are mere paupers hanging on to their funds. I am opposed to any further conference, to any further friction. Let us separate in kindness, like Abraham and Lot. I desire to go home and say to my people that without unkindness, we have separated.

Dr. PATTERSON said that there was no desire to patch up a further arrangement of co-operation, but that the object of the Conference was to arrange a plan by which we might peacefully separate.

Dr. ALLEN said that it had been proposed in the Committee to change the name of the Church Extension Committee at once, but in view of the apparent necessity to digest the whole matter more fully, they decided to postpone that matter and to appoint the Committee of Conference.

Dr. SLATER (Monroe Presbytery) said that he only wished to make a statement. His Presbytery had been cut off by the A. H. M. S., and have since acted independently, and have done better for acting independently. We only desire now to do our own work independently of any society, and in our own way.

Dr. CURTIS, (Illinois,) said that he was in favor of the Report. For five years he had felt that co-operation in spirit was gone. Where twenty years ago in his vicinity, where were twenty, there were now but six Presbyterian churches, although the population has vastly increased. Still to give another year for adjustment he thought was wise. He hoped the Conference will agree to bury the dead body of co-operation. The New England Associations are as well convinced of the uselessness of further attempts at co-operation as we are.

Mr. ELDRIDGE, (Detroit,) said that he had felt somewhat dissatisfied with the Report as read. On further reading it seems to be rather more practical that he had at first supposed. The step of progress proposed seemed to him very slight. This policy of masterly inactivity will not avail us. On the other side, they are acting with shrewdness and effi-

ciency. The drift of things is that year after year the A. H. M. S. is getting beyond Presbyterian control. While we are waiting they are hard at work. He desired to say some things about the Church Extension Committee. He thought it had better be removed to some other place. Philadelphia had a Home Missionary Society which took care of interests immediately around it, and he supposed that the attention of persons there was taken up very much by their own locality, and that they did not look comprehensively at the wants of the whole Church. If we could get our whole home missionary movement removed from the control of those who have *axes to grind*, it would be far better for the Church. If we could have a Secretary who had not so peculiar literary tastes, and could give his whole time to the business, it would be more satisfactory.

Mr. DARLING said, in reply to Mr. ELDRIDGE, that the affairs of the Philadelphia Home Missionary Society had nothing to do with those of the Church Extension Committee. They were under entirely different management; had separate Secretaries and made separate collections. Philadelphia had given largely and cheerfully to the Church Extension Committee, and this distinctly and intelligently for the West. The liberality of the churches there was founded in love for the cause of the Redeemer and for our own Church; it did not depend upon the locality of the Committee. They wished the Committee to be placed just where it would do the most good.

Mr. WALLACE, Secretary of the Church Extension Committee, said that he wished to make a few remarks at the proper time, both on the subject of the Committee generally and particularly in reply to the Commissioner from Detroit, but he was not in a hurry about it, and perhaps it would be better to defer it until the Report on Church Extension was presented.

Dr. PATTERSON said that it seemed to be taken for granted that the whole Church was ready to abandon co-operation. He would therefore mention that there were several memorials before the Committee in favor of continued co-operation.

Mr. WIGHT, (Chicago,) said that whether we hear the voices of those who are in favor of co-operation or not, there are such, and they should not be entirely disregarded.

There is evidently here a decided spirit favoring extreme action. The Report of the Committee meets my views because it has not recommended immediate dissolution of our co-operation with our Congregationalist brethren. Probably there is no use in attempting further co-operation. But let the separation be decently made. There is a great struggle for a mighty land and each Church prefers to make its own efforts to obtain it. He should like to have the name of the Church Extension Committee changed at once to that of Home Missions, and did not see that that could embarrass the Committee of Conference.

Dr. HATFIELD said that he had been a member of the Executive Committee of the A. H. M. S. for many years, and wished to state that whatever bias there might have been there from Congregationalist feelings, he did not believe that there was intentional partiality.

Mr. PATCH, (Indiana,) made an interesting and amusing speech. He said that the poor Commissioners from the West were so weak from hard work and poor feeding that they could not compete for the floor, and he doubted whether he should ever have obtained it had he not been well fed since he came to Pittsburgh. He wished to say that though all the talking had been on the side of those who were in favor of separation, that this did not represent the feelings of the Church. The Assembly ought to think a little of the effects of separation on the missionaries in the West. Gentlemen may raise a prodigious flood that will appear majestic, but they may forget such small matters as the houses and green fields that will be destroyed by it.

Dr. BRAINERD said that he concurred in this Report because it is harmonizing. Properly understood, it pretty much gathered into one the views of all the brethren. The truth is just this. There is a great, vital, radical change in the feelings of Congregationalists towards Presbyterians. Formerly we worked in entire harmony and good feeling together, and there was very little thought or care whether the churches planted were of one denomination or the other. No one here has stronger reasons to love New England than I have. But the spirit of co-operation is gone. We will work apart more

harmoniously and better and do more good. Let us then in a fraternal and dignified manner prepare everything for an amicable separation.

Mr. SEELYE, (Albany,) would go for the Report. He favored separation, because with co-operation we cannot have real Christian union. He was very anxious that nothing unkind should be said of his New England brethren. Four generations of his family have been educated, lived and died in the Congregationalist Church, and he loved New England and ever expected to do so.

Dr. NELSON, (St. Louis,) said the case was simply this, that the families which when they were small lived in one house, were grown too large to occupy it and would be more comfortable and useful in two houses. He could trace his ancestry through an unbroken line of New England deacons. The men who go most strongly for separation are New Englanders. The negotiation referred to in the Report is not intended to effect further co-operation, but a friendly separation.

Mr. TAYLOR, (Alton,) having referred to Mr. LEAVITT as representing the *Independent* newspaper, apologized and withdrew the remark.

Mr. LEAVITT said that he did not represent the *Independent* on this floor, but the Presbytery of Columbia. He did not approve of the opinions of that paper, though he revered one of its editors more than any other living man. (Mr. LEAVITT was understood to refer to his father, the Rev. Joshua Leavitt.) But the paper advocated the separation of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in benevolent operations, and to this he was opposed. He stood here as a mourner at the funeral announced by Dr. CURTIS. He hoped the body would be decently buried and that there would be no quarrel about the property before the obsequies were concluded. We should feel as

"Angels who learn the good man's sin,
Weep to record and blush to give it in."

Dr. CURTIS begged to say that it was a great mistake to suppose that he rejoiced in this separation of brethren. No man regretted it more deeply. He only accepted it as a painful necessity.

Mr. WOOD (Presbytery of Hudson, N. Y.) made a very humorous speech which much amused the Assembly. He thought that all his fellow presbyters would vote for the Report. It depended on circumstances whether co-operation between denominations was the Christian spirit. It was his opinion that, in our circumstances angels would rejoice in the separation, as a means of spreading the Gospel more widely. But he pitied this Committee of Conference that were going to New England. Mr. WOOD drew a very humorous picture of Dr. Hawes, declaring his constant love for Presbyterians, and Dr. Bacon, declaring that in regard to this matter the New England Committees had *no jurisdiction*. He then expressed his hope that we would drop the name "Church Extension," which the people could never be got to understand. He hoped that they wouldn't call it "*Domestic Missions*," for the common people would think it an intelligence office to provide them with domestics. He hoped they would call it "The Committee of Home Missions." We all loved that name and could rally as one man around such a Committee.

The subject was further debated by Messrs. MEGIE, MASON, FULLER, GROSVENOR, ATTERBURY, E. CURTIS, BARTHOLOMEW, SCOFIELD, Prof. ANDREWS, and Dr. STEARNS.

The Assembly had previously decided to take the vote at 4 o'clock, Monday afternoon, May 30. On motion of Mr. FIELD, Dr. WISNER led the Assembly in prayer for divine direction, after which the Report of the Committee was *unanimously* adopted.

Dr. PATTERSON then presented the Report on Church Extension. It was *unanimously* adopted, the resolutions with which it closed being as follows:

Resolved, 1. That the Report of the Permanent Committee on Church Extension be approved, and that the Committee are hereby instructed to prosecute their work with all the energy they can command.

Resolved, 2. That we urge our churches that make application to the Committee for aid, to use their utmost endeavors to help themselves, and to ask the Committee for the smallest amounts with which they can adequately support their ministers.

Resolved, 3. That we request all the churches in our connection that are not aided by the American Home Missionary Society, to take up collections at an early day for the Church Extension cause.

Mr. WALLACE, the Secretary of Church Extension, said in substance: I wish to call the attention of the Assembly to the fact that they are laying a very heavy burden upon the Church Extension Committee. You have determined to make no change this year in your home mission operations, but you have placed the whole matter in precisely such a position as to put us in danger of these two results:—1. A very great increase of applications to the Committee. It will be remembered that every case rejected by the A. H. M. S. comes within range of this Committee. Every Presbyterian Church that does not get aid there, and that needs it, will come straight to our Committee. Then the exploring agency greatly needs expansion. We want to enter at once upon the Pacific coast and all the other new regions of the land. 2. The second result, I fear, from the unsettled condition of things, will be a withholding of funds in the hour of our greatest need. To prevent this, I now appeal, for the Committee, to the Assembly and the churches.

And now as to the attack of the Commissioner from Detroit upon myself and upon Philadelphians. A little history will put that in the proper light. Of the Committee that established the Church Extension Committee at St. Louis, in 1855, Dr. Bullard was Chairman, and I was Secretary. I wanted then to call it the Committee of Home Missions, but he insisted upon the other name, which it now bears. I had no more idea of being Permanent Secretary of the Committee than the brother from Detroit. At the meeting held to choose a Secretary, I favored another person whom the Committee did not think it best to appoint, and in my absence I was appointed and at that same meeting. Two years afterwards I stated to the Committee the necessity of enlargement in their operations and offered to resign if the Committee thought it best, and let some other person conduct those enlarged operations. I retired from the room that they might deliberate on what I said and they enlarged my powers and doubled my

salary. Now, Mr. Moderator, no man's individual interests or those of any locality ought to stand in the way of great Church movements. In reply further to the rather ungenerous attack in question, I have only to say, that I am ready now, and always, to put the interests of this Committee, which has been unanimous in every vote it has ever taken, in any hands that can conduct them better than I, and *so far as my private and personal interests are concerned*, the Assembly can put the Committee wherever they think best, at New York, Buffalo, Chicago, St. Louis, or any where else. As to efficiency, will gentlemen, instead of vague talk, look at the figures? From the first year of this Committee the increase has been steadily *fifty per cent. per annum*. *Precisely the same rate of increase in five years more—the time that the Committee has already existed—would produce \$112,000, about twice as much as our Church has ever given to Home Missions, in one year, through all channels.* It might be well to consider, before contemplating seriously the removal of this Committee from Philadelphia, all that has been done there for our Church; how Philadelphians have stood firmly by every Presbyterian movement; and that so far from taking narrow views, they have poured out their wealth freely for every part of the Church. Still Philadelphia is so liberal, unselfish and comprehensive that she will stand by every Committee of the Church wherever located.

Dr. BRAINERD here advanced to the platform on which the Moderator and Clerks sat, and made some very noble and generous remarks in regard to the Secretary of the Committee, but the relation of the Secretary to this Review forbids any report of them. The matter is mentioned here, because to omit it would be injustice to Dr. Brainerd.

MR. ELDRIDGE disclaimed any intention of being personal in the remarks he had made.

Dr. NELSON followed in some remarks as to the necessity of greater enlargement and liberality in the work of Home Missions.

Messrs. NELSON, M'LEOD, BABB, SPAULDING and M'NARG, were appointed to nominate the Committee of Conference on Home Missions, who subsequently presented the following as the Committee, and their report was adopted:—

Rev. Albert Barnes, Drs. Stearns, R. W. Patterson, Edwin Hall, Asa D. Smith, D. H. Allen, with Messrs. T. A. Mills, S. T. Seelye, Wm. Jessup, and Walter S. Griffith.

SLAVERY.

This subject came up in two ways. A Memorial was presented, inquiring "whether respect for the action of former Assemblies, does not demand from our Southern Presbyteries, some explanation of the condition of the churches under their care, in relation to slavery?" To this Memorial the Committee on Bills and Overtures, reported the following reply, which was adopted:

"Your Committee have not been supplied with any information which brings before us, in a manner authorized by our Book of Discipline, relations, practices or delinquencies in relation to slavery, which demand or render desirable any action of the Assembly on that subject at the present meeting."

Dr. WILLIAMSON of the Presbytery of Dakota, offered a resolution proposing to instruct the Permanent Committee on Church Extension, "to extend aid to no church which has among its members one or more communicants who are slaveholders, and that they instruct those whom they may send out as evangelists to receive to the communion of the churches which they may form, no person who is known to be a slaveholder."

This was referred to the Standing Committee on the subject. On their Report, Dr. WILLIAMSON addressed the Assembly at length; after which short remarks were made by several members and different propositions offered, all of which were negatived, and the Report was adopted as follows:

The Standing Committee on Church Extension, to whom was referred the above resolution, report thereon as follows:

1. The Permanent Committee on Church Extension is appointed to act for the whole Church, being an organ of the General Assembly which represents the whole Church; and we see no defensible principle on which such a Committee could make discriminations on moral grounds between churches that are recognized as having the same ecclesiastical standing under our common constitution.

2. The position of our Church is well understood to be one of opposition to the spirit and system of slavery; and we have no reason to believe that any

churches connected with us are using their influence to sustain or fortify that institution.

3. If it be true that any members of churches in our connection hold slaves, under mistaken views of their duty towards them, we do not see that this affords sufficient reason for withholding from them the Bread of Life, and such enlightened teachings as we believe our ministers are qualified and disposed to impart in relation to all the principles of Christian duty. We sympathize with all Christian endeavors to remove imperfection and sin from the Church of Christ, but we think this end is to be accomplished, not by withdrawing the Gospel away from those who need it, but by affectionate and prayerful efforts to apply the principles of our holy religion to the heart and conscience of every Christian who is willing to receive instruction.

4. The Permanent Committee on Church Extension are fully aware of the ground which our Church occupies with reference to this subject, and we have confidence that they will conscientiously discharge their duty with an enlightened regard to the promotion of righteousness and holiness in the Church and in the world.

MINISTERS FROM OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

Dr. BRAINERD offered the following preamble and resolutions:—

Whereas, In time past the Church represented by this General Assembly has sustained serious detriment from ministers of other denominations, who have assumed the Presbyterian name for their own convenience, and who, asking our confidence as true Presbyterians, have nevertheless shown no affection for our doctrines or polity, or regard to our good name and progress; and, whereas, some of these, after sharing the highest offices and honors of our Church, have left us at their own caprice, and consorted with and strengthened the ranks of our most unscrupulous and bitter opponents, therefore,

Resolved, By this General Assembly:—

1. That our churches and congregations, especially in cities and large towns, be advised to seek as their pastors and stated supplies such, and only such ministers as give evidence of love to our Church, and a desire for our unity and enlargement.

2. That the Professors in Theological Seminaries, patronized by our denomination, who call themselves Presbyterians, are expected to give due watchfulness and care that our rising ministry understand and appreciate the doctrine and polity of our denomination.

3. That in selecting Professors for our Theological Seminaries, Trustees belonging to the Presbyterian Church, are hereby advised and requested, other things being equal, to give a decided preference to men, whose long membership in our Church and usefulness in it, offer pledges adequate, that our church interests shall be safe in their hands.

Dr. Brainerd stated that he did not wish to have the resolu-

tions discussed or adopted by the Assembly, but merely offered them as suggestions. In accordance with his request, the consideration of them was indefinitely postponed.

MILEAGE.

The plan now adopted on this subject, which has hitherto proved so perplexing, is to assess each Presbytery in the proportion of five cents to each church member. This plan has worked so admirably, that at the present session the largest sum ever paid into any Assembly, was realized—\$3,364.57—leaving, after paying every Commissioner his travelling expenses in full, to the amount of \$2,489.95, the sum of \$874.62 for the Contingent Fund.

RETAINING A LETTER OF DISMISSION.

A question arose in the examination of the records of the Synod of Ohio. A minister had been dismissed by a Presbytery, received his certificate, but had not yet presented it to the Presbytery to which he was accredited. The Synod decided that he must return his certificate or he could not vote with the body which had granted it. This Assembly disapproved of this deliverance, and declared the minister entitled to full privileges in the Presbytery dismissing him, until he presents his letter to the Presbytery to which he is accredited.

TRI-CENTENARY OF THE REFORMATION.

Dr. Adamson, now of South Africa, having memorialized the Assembly on the subject, Drs. Adams, of New York, Jenkins, of Philadelphia, Thompson, of Cincinnati, and Mr. Booth, of Connecticut, were appointed to represent the Assembly at the celebration in Scotland, of the Tri-Centenary of the Reformation.

NO JUDICIAL BUSINESS.

Dr. BRAINERD, Chairman of the Judicial Committee, congratulated the Assembly on the fact, that no judicial business had come before them, and asked the discharge of the Committee, which was granted.

RELATION OF ELDERS TO ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

The Assembly decided that elders are not to lay on hands in the ordination of ministers.

USURY.

Loaning money at exorbitant rates of interest, was pronounced by the Assembly an immorality.

FORM OF ADMISSION.

The subject of a Form of Admission was indefinitely postponed.

PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Address before the Assembly, by request of the Historical Society, was delivered by the Rev. Samuel M. Hopkins, D. D., of the Auburn Theological Seminary. It is published in this Number of the Review.

RELATIONS TO OTHER CHURCHES.

The Assembly invited the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, (Covenanter,) to meet with them for prayer and Christian conference. The Synod, which was in session in Allegheny City, came over in a body. The front seats in the middle aisle, were reserved for the members of the Synod. The Assembly arose to receive them as they entered. The Moderators were seated side by side. Psalms were sung from Rouse's Version. The prayers and addresses were voluntary. The following gentlemen took part in the services: Of the Synod: The Moderator, Mr. STERRETT, Mr. STEWART, Dr. WILSON, Dr. M'MILLAN, and Dr. WYLIE. Of the Assembly: Mr. MILLS, Dr. WISNER, Dr. BRAINERD, Mr. M'LEOD, Mr. AVERY, Mr. SEWALL, Dr. STEARNS, Mr. BELL, and Mr. RANKIN, the delegate from Vermont. The whole occasion was one of unmingled enjoyment. The Children of the Covenant met our Assembly most cordially, and the archaic sound of the old Psalms and the associations which they called up, added to the deep interest of the occasion.

Delegates were received from the Congregational Churches of Vermont and Massachusetts, from the Reformed Presbyterian, the Lutheran, and the Cumberland Presbyterian Churches. In addition to these, the Assembly elected Delegates to the Congregational Churches of Maine, Connecticut, and New Hampshire; the German Reformed Church, and the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin.

The Assembly were greatly pleased with the genuine, unostentatious kindness of the citizens of Pittsburgh. While our brethren of Dr. Kendall's Church made every exertion, and most successfully, to make the stay of the Commissioners pleasant, our brethren of the other Assembly also assisted most kindly in their entertainment. Every pulpit, we believe, in Pittsburgh and vicinity, of our brethren of the other branch of the Church, was thrown open to members of the Assembly during both Sabbaths of the session.

A number of members of the Third Church invited the Assembly to a social entertainment at the residence of Mr. Leslie, at Oakland. The grounds, on the bank of the Monongahela, are extremely beautiful, and every thing passed off very agreeably.

The position taken by the Assembly as to denominationalism, was in the line that has been pursued for some years past. The action on home missions was passed by a unanimous vote. Separation from the American Home Missionary Society and separate denominational action, in the work of home missions, are inevitable. Yet all the steps in this movement were taken with deliberation and with entire kindness towards our Congregational brethren. It is no wonder that our action is commending itself to our brethren of other denominations, and to the sister branches of our own Church.

We have reason to thank God and take courage. The clouds that seemed ready to envelop us, have nearly all passed away. Our Church has never stood in so steady, so united, and so prosperous a condition, since the division. It is at once firmly denominational and truly catholic. Its tendencies to ultraism in co-operation, have been checked by the severe lessons of experience. Henceforth our Church addresses itself to suitable care of our own household, while cordially uniting with all other Christians in those good works which lie properly beyond the sphere of ecclesiastical action.

While these pages are passing through the press, we learn that the New England Associations refuse to appoint Committees to meet the Committee appointed by our General Assembly. After so long and friendly a connection in the home missionary work, our Assembly, loath to sever hastily so

many ancient and kindly ties, first attempted to confer with the American Home Missionary Society and was rudely repulsed. It then, in a manly and Christian spirit, turns to the Congregational Associations, makes a last effort, if not to remain in co-operation with them, at least to settle some plan of friendly separation. They refuse even to meet in Committee; refuse to consider the question whether we have not mutual rights in the Home Missionary Society, and whether it is not due to the cause of religion that this great movement of separation should take place with dignity and mutual kindness.

When, again and again, in this Review, we have defended our Church against Congregational attacks and contended that the *animus* of separation and division was in them and not in us, we were met, on both sides, with the charge of uncharitableness. We ask our readers, we ask all men, to look at the position of our Church and that of the Congregational Associations, and decide between us and them. We ask whether facts have not vindicated the course of this Review and the course of our Church.

There is another train of reflection which these events—no light movements, but lying within the sphere of history—are forcing upon us. Our brethren of the other branch of our Church, in taking a position somewhat similar to ours, a quarter of a century ago, took it in a very different manner. If they had acted with the calmness and dignity which has characterized our General Assembly; if they had allowed two or three years of patient waiting and of friendly conference to have passed by, we hazard little in saying that there would have been no division of the Presbyterian Church.

It was freely said then, in every form, and it has been repeated ten thousand times by our brethren, that we were not true Presbyterians; that we were Congregationalized; that we were willing to betray the Church of our fathers; that we were not to be trusted with the solemn charge of the Ark of that Covenant which has borne so many trials and outrode so many furious storms. Our brethren cut us off; they cast us out of the Presbyterian Church; they declared us heretics; they pronounced us out of sympathy with that grand Church

which has been the bulwark of republican liberty and of the Calvinistic faith from the beginning.

And now we turn to our Presbyterian brethren and say, Look at our acts! When this Review boldly defended our Church as faithful to the truth and order of the Westminster Confession, it was received with a smile of incredulity. We now say to our brethren, Look for yourselves! We are not surprised that the organs of our brethren—in common with every other not Congregational—have taken our side in the present contest. Good men, as our Presbyterian brethren are, cannot but feel a strong sympathy for us in such a contest; they cannot but feel that they have wronged us; their hearts cannot but throb with admiration of the irrepressible power of that Presbyterianism, which we share in common with them. Fighting at every odds; with forebodings from every quarter; with fearful powers pressing in upon us everywhere to crush out our very existence as a Church; with an untried path before us; with every possible allurements to leave the rugged but safe way of our fathers; with dangers whose fearfulness, even as we look back at them from a safe place, makes us shudder—in all, and through all, and over all, our covenant God hath led us. Through moist eyes of gratitude we render our thanks and praise to His high and holy name!

ARTICLE V.

DR. BUSHNELL'S SERMONS.

Sermons for the New Life. By HORACE BUSHNELL.

THE title itself is simple and suggestive. It assures us of thought upon the momentous questions connected with the new life of the soul. These twenty-three sermons are arranged with some reference to the logic of the subject, beginning with a proper position and reaching a sound and just conclusion. It is set forth, first, that the Almighty has a plan for every man. This is illustrated by man's capacities, even in his ruin, by his redemption and by all the appliances toward his purification and sanctification. There is much of beauty in these sermons. There are flashes of exquisite sentiment, shades of thought which need study rather than a hasty glance. The sermons vary in interest, but they are valuable as giving the range of thought of an acute and vigorous thinker.

We follow the example of Paul, the apostle, in noticing, first, the points of favorable criticism, and secondly, those of an adverse character.

Before we proceed to this, however, it is proper to remark that we make ourselves in no way responsible for any peculiarities in the theology of Dr. Bushnell. We have in a former number of this journal* expressed our views in regard to the crude speculations of this gentleman, especially upon the subject of the Atonement. In what we now say, it is to be understood that we give no countenance to those speculations, and it is especially because the present volume is comparatively free from anything of this kind that we give it our *quasi* commendation.

* Pres. Quart. Review, No. VIII.

I. There is *an apparent originality*. Old truths are uttered in a new and striking way. We call it an apparent originality, for though sometimes real, it is not always so, and yet it may even then awaken the attention and interest of the hearer and carry him into new fields of thought. And indeed it is always true that much that seems new will be found an old friend or enemy in a new dress. We do not thereby disparage the new, but keep it from vaunting itself beyond measure.

The first sermon in the volume is entitled, "Every man's life a plan of God." In confirmation of our criticism, we quote one or two extracts: "Every human soul has a complete and perfect plan, cherished for it in the heart of God, a divine biography marked out, which it enters into life, to live. This life rightly unfolded will be a complete and beautiful whole, an experience led on by God and unfolded by his secret nurture, as the trees and the flowers by the secret nurture of the world; a drama cast in the mould of a perfect art, with no part wanting; a divine study for the man himself and for others; a study that shall forever unfold in wondrous beauty, the love and faithfulness of God; great in its conception, great in the divine skill by which it is shaped; above all great in the momentous and glorious issues which it prepares." P. 14. What is this but the statement in another form of the doctrine of God's sovereignty, goodness and wisdom?

So also the following from the same sermon:—"We are able, as free beings, to refuse the place and the duties God appoints, which if we do, then we may sink into something lower and less worthy of us. That highest and best condition for which God designed us is no more possible. We are fallen out of it and it cannot be wholly recovered. And yet as that was the best thing possible for us in the reach of God's original counsel so there is a place designed for us now, which is the next best possible. God calls us now to the best thing left and will do so till all good possibility is narrowed down and spent. And then when he cannot use us any more for our own good, he will use us for the good of others—an example of the misery and horrible desperation to which any soul must come when all the good ends and all the holy callings of God's

friendly and fatherly purposes are exhausted. Or it may be now, that remitting all other plans and purposes in our behalf, he will henceforth use us, wholly against our will, to be the demonstration of his justice and avenging power before the eyes of mankind."—P. 15. Is there anything in this really new, and yet does it not strike us with the force of something new?

Again from the same sermon:—"No man is ever called to be another. God has as many plans for men as he has men, and therefore, he never requires them to measure their life exactly by any other life. We are not to require it of ourselves to have the precise feelings or exercises or do the works or pass through the trials of other men; for God will handle us according to what we are, and not according to what other men are. * * * God's plan must hold and we must seek no other. To strain after something new and peculiar is fantastic and weak, and is also as nearly wicked as that kind of weakness can be. To be a copyist, working at the reproduction of a human model, is to have no faith in one's significance, to judge that God means nothing in his particular life, but only in the life of some other man. Submitting himself in this manner to the fixed opinion that his life means nothing and that nothing is left for him but to borrow or beg a life-plan from some other man, what can the copyist become but an affectation or a dull imposture?"—P. 19. This must suffice for examples of this kind. They exhibit the ease and grace of the author, and we can plainly see that he follows no master, but is determined to be himself alone. We are pleased and gratified that even old truths can be made to shine in so new and sparkling a dress.

2. These sermons are distinguished for *simplicity*. The language is mostly clear and appropriate. We have some compound words in almost every sermon, but they explain themselves. There are occasional examples of an involved style, but, on the whole, the author does not leave us in doubt as to his meaning. His thoughts are sharply cut. We make an extract from the sermon entitled, "Respectable Sin:" "We need, first of all, to clear the influence of a false or defective impression, growing out of the fact that we ourselves

are persons that live so entirely in the atmosphere of character and decency. Our range of life is so walled in by the respectability of our associations that what is on the other side of the wall is very much a world unknown. Hence, we have no such opinion or impression of sin anywhere as we ought to have. It is with us all our life long and in all our associations, much as it is with us here in our assembly for worship. The offensive and repulsive forms of sin are almost never here, by so much as any one sign or symptom. The sin is here, and sin that wants salvation, but it is a sin so thoroughly respectable as to make it very nearly impossible to produce any just impression of its deformity."—P. 330. "Respectable sin is not less guilty because it has a less revolting aspect. A feeling is very generally indulged even by such as are confessedly blamable for not being in the Christian life, that their blame or guilt is a thing of higher and finer quality than it would be under the excesses and degrading vices many practise. They measure their sin by their outward standing and conduct, whereas all sin is of the same principle. The sin of one class is in fact the sin of the other, as respects every thing but manner and degree. There are different kinds of vice but only one kind of sin, viz.: the state of being without God or without allegiance to God. * * The respectable sin therefore, shades into the unrespectable, not as being different in kind, but only as twilight shades into the night. The evil spirit called sin, may be trained up to politeness and made to be genteel sin; it may be elegant, cultivated sin; it may be very exclusive and fashionable sin; it may be industrious, thrifty sin; it may be a great political manager, a great commercial operator, a great inventor; it may be learned, scientific, eloquent, highly poetic sin; and being that, has in fact the same radical or fundamental quality that in its ranker and less restrained conditions, produce (s?) all the most hideous and revolting crimes of the world." p. 332. Much of the same clear and simple truth follows. The writer evidently does not intend to be misunderstood. Other discourses would furnish specimens equally attractive. The grand distinctions in moral character are not concealed by any transcendental mist. God is holy, just and good, and man is a

sinner that must be born again before he can dwell with God or God with him.

3. These discourses are distinguished for *close application*. They do not deal with abstract truth merely. They do not aim to present a system of theology, but to reach men with some of the leading truths of religion in a plain and practical way. This is done oftentimes indirectly. We have not the labored addresses to Christians and impenitent men, which mark other preachers; but the sword cuts as keenly if we are not deliberately led up to the block. We seem to behold an angel of the Lord, standing in the way. He has come unexpectedly before us and we must turn back or die. It magnifies in our eyes both the truth and the preacher. As an example, we quote from the discourse, "Every Man's Life a Plan of God." "You are never to complain of your birth, your training, your employments, your hardships; never to fancy that you could be something if only you had a different lot and sphere assigned you. God understands his own plan, and he knows what you want a great deal better than you do. The very things that you most deprecate, as fatal limitations or obstructions, are probably what you most want. What you call hinderances, obstacles, discouragements, are probably God's opportunities, and it is nothing new that the patient should dislike his medicines, or any certain proof that they are poisons. No! a truce to all such impatience! Choke that devilish envy which gnaws at your heart, because you are not in the same lot with others. Bring down your soul, or rather bring it up to receive God's will and do his work in your lot, in your sphere, under your cloud of obscurity, against your temptations; and then you shall find that your condition is never opposed to your good, but really consistent with it." p. 19. Who does not feel the force of these words, when he remembers his bitter repinings, and his feeble endeavors after God and all good? Who that does not need to be inspired by them to patience, perseverance and an humble trust in God? "Ten, twenty, fifty, seventy years ago, you came into this living world, and began to breathe this mortal air. * * What now, O soul, hast thou done? What progress hast thou made? How much of the blessed life-plan of thy Father hast

thou executed? How far on thy way to the good, best end, thy God has designed for thee? Do I hear thy soul confessing, with a suppressed sob within thee, that up to this time thou hast never sought God's chosen plan at all? Hast thou, even to this hour, and during so many years, been following a way and plan of thine own, regardless hitherto of all God's purposes in thee? Well, if it be so, what hast thou gotten? How does thy plan work? Does it bring thee peace, content, dignity of aim and feeling, purity, rest? Or, does it plunge thee into mires of disturbance, scorch thee in flames of passion, worry thee with cares, burden thee with bitter reflections, cross thee, disappoint, sadden, sour thee? And what are thy prospects? What is the issue to come? After thou hast worked out this hard plan of thine own, will it come to a good end? Hast thou now courage to go on and work it through?" p. 24.

The most of these discourses close with an appeal of a searching character. Those who heard them must have felt that they were intended for them, and that they had failed of much that God gave them to do.

4. These sermons are distinguished for *a general tone of piety*. Whatever may be the metaphysical heresies or theological perversities of the author, we cannot but feel that he loves the Redeemer and his kingdom more than all things else. The general spirit, therefore, of these sermons, is worthy of all commendation. They reveal a heart humble before God, and an earnest desire to make men better. Listen to a few words from the simple and touching sermon entitled "The Personal Love and Lead of Christ." "Here, then, is the beauty and glory of Christ, as a Redeemer, a Saviour of lost man, that he goes before, always before and never behind his flock. He begins with infancy, that he may show a grace for childhood. He is made under the law, and carefully fulfils all righteousness there, that he may sanctify the law to us and make it honorable. He goes before in the bearing of temptations, that we may bear them after him, being tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. He taught us forgiveness, by himself forgiving his enemies. He went before us in the loss of all things, that we might be able to follow in the renouncing of the world and its dominion. The works of love that he re-

quires of us in words, are preceded and illustrated by real deeds of love, to which he gave up all his mighty powers from day to day. He bore the cross himself that he commanded us to take up and bear after him. Requiring us to hate even life for the gospel's sake, he went before us in dying for the gospel. And then he went before us in the bursting of the grave, and the resurrection from it; becoming, in his person, the first fruits of them that slept: and finally, he ascended and passed within the veil before us as our forerunner, whom we are to follow even there. In all which he is our shepherd, going before us and never behind; calling, but never driving; bearing all the losses he calls us to bear; meeting all the dangers, suffering all the cruelties and pains which it is given us to suffer, and drawing us to follow where he leads." Page 134. Many other passages might be adduced in which Christ is evidently set forth as our Saviour and our hope. The sermon entitled, "Obligation to God a Privilege," sets forth in a very plain and touching manner, this great fact. The topic itself tells of submission to God as our crown of rejoicing.

We come next to points of adverse criticism. These we touch more briefly. It should afford greater joy to commend than to reprove.

1. There is, occasionally, a *strained or affected manner*. Words and phrases are used which would not be readily comprehended by a congregation. The style sometimes appears involved. Indeed, some of the discourses will bear reading better than hearing. Men would have too much of their time occupied with the language of a discourse, to grasp its meaning or feel that it was a message sent for them. Only to a congregation very highly cultivated, would they be sufficiently plain. The writer speaks of being "medicated in God," p. 66; "of dismantled eternities," p. 304. At the commencement of his sermon on regeneration, he says: "This very peculiar expression, *born again*, is a phrase that was generated historically in the political state,"—a much more peculiar expression,—"then taken up by Christ and appropriated figuratively to the spiritual use in which we find it." p. 106. This would be rather a foggy opening to a man who was anxious to know what he must do to be born again. So also in the same discourse:

"Having a certain quality of freedom, this bad mind, state or disposition may be represented analogically by a bad governing purpose, though it cannot be identified with that. It is to the character what the will is dynamically to the actions; a bad affinity that distempers and carnalizes the whole man." p. 117. Here, again, the manner appears a little strained. It would require some time to analyze such sentences on the part of plain hearers, and they would lose half of the sermon in the attempt. They are serious objections in sermons on questions of so great and practical interest.

Again: from the sermon on "The True Problem of Christian Experience." "Where the transition to this state of divine consciousness, from a merely self-conscious life under sin, is inartificially made and distorted by no mixtures of tumult from the subject's own eagerness, it is in the birth a kind of celestial state, like that of the glorified; clear, clean, peaceful and full, wanting nothing but what for the time, it does not know it wants—the settled confidence, the practically instructed wisdom, the established and tried character of the glorified; and yet all the better is it imparadised in this glory, this first love, this regenerative life, this inward lifting of the soul's order, that a prize so transcendent, is still in a sense, to be won or fought out and gained as a victory." p. 257. There are occasional examples of this involved style, and the use of new-coined words which detract from the simplicity of the gospel.

There are occasional inelegancies, but so few that they are readily forgiven amid so much that is truly beautiful.

2. There is a *stronger statement than truth will bear; or, truth thrown out of its natural relations.*

This is seen in the general impression derived from some of the sermons. From the first, "Every Man's Life a Plan of God," we would rather infer that every man was designed to be a great man. He might have been a general where he has fallen to the condition of a subaltern or a private. As a citizen, he should have risen above that which was common, to something exalted—a governor, a member of Congress, it may be. This is a little gratifying to pride, but is it not rather highly colored? Is it not rather an unjust or false impression to be

derived from God's plan? Do not the Scriptures advise us to "mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate?" (Rom. 12: 16;) and "to be content with such things as we have?" (Heb. 13: 5.) And thus, in most of these discourses we are startled by the boldness and force with which the author's sentiments are uttered. We are, indeed, led captive by the language and rhetorical style. But when, with the sober second thought, we inquire for bare truth, we are led to modify our first impressions and feel that things are thrown out of their proper connections. This tends to unsettle our faith in the author as a safe guide. From the discourse entitled "The Hunger of the Soul," page 82, we extract the following: "Or if we speak of care, the corroding, weary, ever multiplying care, of which you are every day complaining, what again is this but your hunger? We like to speak, however, not of care, but in the plural, of cares; for these, we imagine, are outside of us, in things, not in ourselves. But these cares are all in ourselves and of ourselves, and not in things at all—things are not cares; cares are only cravings of that immortal hunger which the swine and food of earthly things cannot satisfy." If the author has not found cares in things, his experience has been different from that of most men. In the purest efforts for the Redeemer's kingdom, men may be well nigh overwhelmed by the greatness of their cares. The thought of so much to be accomplished; the feebleness of human agency; and the limited time for work, may burden the soul almost beyond relief, and if it were not for the grace of God coming in at such a juncture, men might well despair.

The sermon entitled "*The Reason of Faith*," has the following passage; page 97. "It is committing one's character wholly to the living character of Jesus, so that every willing, and working, and sentiment, shall be pliant to his superior mind and Spirit; just as a man, trusting himself to some superior man in a total and complete confidence, allows that other to flow down upon him, assimilate him, and as far as he may, with a superiority so slight, conform him to the subject of his trust: only there is in the faith of salvation, a trusting in Christ vastly more interior and searching, a presence internal to parts internal, a complete bathing of the trusting

soul in Christ's own love and beauty." So also in the same discourse, page 99, the author says: "The taking immortality by trust and acting one's mighty nature into it, proves it, as it were, by the contact of it." This seems a little after the Headley style—somewhat inflated. The acting of man's mighty nature into immortality, is seldom to be seen or hoped for until the mortal is clothed upon with the light and glory of the future. These are specimens which crop out occasionally, showing the uneven nature of the drift. It may be considered the tendency of every earnest thinker. He is not willing to be trammelled by human law or reduced to rule. Nor would we entirely disapprove of this. We only counsel care and moderation.

3. The author excels in *singular texts and side issues rather than in the plain presentation of the Gospel.*

He loves to play around it, or skirt about its graver teachings. It may be that these discourses do not form the staple of our author's preaching. They may be the unique specimens thrown in to give variety. It is true that we have some of the great doctrines of the Cross. But these are not presented in a simple, clear, direct manner. These are not the subjects that are mainly attractive in the book or for which we should consider the author remarkable. It is rather for such peculiar topics as are embraced in the sermons "Every Man's Life a Plan of God," "Light on the Cloud," "Unconscious Influence," "Respectable Sin," &c. As a collection of occasional discourses, the volume is very interesting, but we doubt whether the young convert would find here what he expected.

It is plain that a minister of the Gospel should give his main strength to such topics. There are many temptations to pursue a different course. The demands of the age are for novelty and stirring excitement, and it is difficult to resist the appeal. This does not imply that the preacher should measure everything by homiletic rule; that he should despise the use of fact or fable. Anything which may illustrate the truth or bring it home with greater force is to be welcomed and properly used. But every truth should crystallize around the Cross. The youth of our Church need instruction; the faculties of manhood must be increased and strengthened; old

age must be elevated and comforted. This must be by a plain interpretation of the Word of God. Every man must be allowed his own method. Each has a mould peculiar to himself. We ask no tame uniformity. But we would have the same great subjects illustrated from every possible position and with every tone of human lips.

We think of Edwards and Dwight, John M. Mason and Erskine Mason, the Alexanders, and the other fathers who have gone, as being distinguished for their plain and powerful advocacy of all the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel. The negro gave Bellamy a very high encomium when he said that no preacher "made God so big."

Dr. Bushnell leans a little too much towards the "sensation" style, which seeks, by new-coined phrases and startling themes to arrest attention. But these are not the things to last. The human must be lost in the comprehension, possession and enjoyment of that which is divine.

It is a mistake in Dr. Bushnell to *seek* originality. There are many men who need this. Their range is so commonplace that they need to cultivate original thought and to find fresh words. But there is enough in him to authorize a simple treading in the ordinary path. The new and striking ideas will come without seeking for them, and will be all the more effective that they have the dewy freshness of nature's own loveliness that cannot be imitated.

ARTICLE VI.

THE POSITION AND MISSION OF OUR CHURCH.*

THE Church is not a merely human institution; not a voluntary association, to be governed by any laws or rules which may be enacted by a majority of its members. It is God's husbandry, God's building. Considered as a vineyard, we find in it the vines of God's preparing; and the increase is from Him, though Paul may instrumentally do the planting and Apollos the watering. If the Church be regarded as a temple, its foundations have been laid and its superstructure reared by God's efficiency, whatever may have been done by the hands of his dependent servants. From God comes the truth by which every member of the spiritual kingdom is regenerated and sanctified; and this truth is made efficacious only by the working of divine power in the souls of those who are the subjects of the effectual calling. Thus are the vines prepared for their places in the vineyard; or the materials to be used in the building of the holy temple in the Lord. Then, also, God has made provision for the *organization* of his people in the visible Church, and for the guidance and control of the united body under laws and arrangements which he himself has prescribed. It is not for the Saviour's followers to take their choice whether or not they will be joined together in Christian Covenant, or to determine for themselves what classes of officers they will have, or by what principles they will be

* The following Article is the Sermon delivered by the Rev. ROBERT W. PATTERSON, D. D., as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Pittsburgh, May 17th, 1860. At an informal meeting of a very large number of Commissioners, its publication was requested in this Review, with provision for the issuing of a large number of extra copies. The texts were, 1 Cor. 3 : 9 : "Ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building;" Eph. 4 : 16 : "From whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." It is thought best to preserve the peculiarities of the sermon form.

governed. These questions are all decided for them by the Great Head of the Church. Only subordinate questions are left to be resolved by the prudence and discretion of the Christian body, under the supreme authority of the ecclesiastical constitution which God has caused to be written in his word.

The Church, as God's husbandry and building, is constituted for a great purpose. As being established by Christ, who is God, the Mediator, the whole body is fitly framed together and compacted by that which every joint, or ligament, supplieth, and every part is adjusted according to, or so as to provide for, the effectual working which the measure or capacity of each requires. And being thus constructed and adapted to harmonious working, the body makes increase so as to be edified in Christian love, in proportion as its several members are kept in fit exercise and co-operation according to their appointed measure and relations. The Church was ordained to grow by a law of inward vitality, under God's fostering care and by his energizing power: but it is a temple of living stones; a body of members who have each a *free personality*, and therefore its edification or enlargement is *by the working together of each part*, under the superior guidance and the mysterious inworking of God. For in the whole process divine and human agency are conjoined, as created and uncreated life acting together. It is man working *out* salvation, and God working *within* to will and to do. Thus the great facts of man's dependence and responsibility are beautifully and practically balanced in the development of the true Church life and power.

Leaving, however, these general views, we propose to come down to an application of the principles which have been briefly indicated, to the case of the important branch of the Lord's Church, which is represented here in this holy convocation. We desire to show how, as God's husbandry and building, we are called to fulfil a high mission. God has evidently been moulding this Church for some important end. What is that end? and how must we co-operate with Him in order to the best fulfilment of our appointed mission? These two inquiries indicate the leading points to be considered in the present discourse.

No apology is offered for the introduction of this subject to your notice on this occasion. It is the subject which Divine Providence has most clearly assigned; and the discussion will be made as comprehensive and practical as ability and time will enable and permit. And if in so doing too heavy a tax shall seem to be imposed on your patience, the high importance and the wide range of the theme must plead the only claim upon your indulgent forbearance. While these views and convictions touching some facts and features in the history of our denomination as *contradistinguished* to that of other kindred branches of the Church, with which we feel ourselves to be in close spiritual sympathy, are frankly and honestly presented, we trust nothing will be said which will seem inconsistent with that true charity, which can recognize differences not fundamental as having a serious importance, and at the same time can love brethren across all such lines of distinction and partial separation.

I. *The Church of Christ is, in a high sense, one; having one Lord, one faith, one baptism.*

All branches of the true Church acknowledge and worship the same Lord Christ, are built on the one foundation by the same kind of living faith, though differing as to many points of doctrinal belief, and are baptized into the one body by the same renovating and sanctifying Spirit. But there are various branches of the one great spiritual vine, and each of these branches has received its own characteristic shaping, development and direction from the guiding and quickening providence and Spirit of God. God is not, indeed, the *author* of all the errors and imperfections that appear in the character and history of each Christian denomination. But he does so restrain, combine and balance the various elements that enter into the organic life and development of each tribe in the one Israel, as to determine its fitness to occupy its own peculiar position and to do an appointed part in the great work of setting up his kingdom in the world. In this sense every denomination of Christians, as such, is God's husbandry, God's building.

Let us see if we can trace out the chief lines of God's spiritual and providential operations, by which the peculiar mission of the Church here represented seems to have been determined and indicated.

In the history of Christianity, there have always been apparent, except in ages of utter stagnation and darkness, three phases of thought, feeling and tendency, which have worked out three distinct classes of elements in the general body of nominal Christians. These classes have appeared under the banners of *bold innovation*, *pertinacious and arbitrary conservatism* and *conservative progress*. For the most part they have been providentially so disposed and adjusted in relation to each other, that they could not be all gathered into three distinct communions according to their characteristic affinities; but they have been distributed in various communions, whenever the crushing hand of ecclesiastical and civil despotism has been so far lifted as to permit anything like a free development of thought and life in the religious world. Yet one or another of the three tendencies which have been indicated, is accustomed to show itself with more or less distinctness in the shaping and policy of each branch of the Church: thus in the development and progress of the various Christian denominations, each is made to operate as a check and balance to every other, so as to rein up extremes and keep wise moderation from degeneracy on either side of its secure middle position. In a broad, general view, we find the Roman and Greek Churches standing through their history of centuries, as the representatives of an iron conservatism which has suffered change only by the gradual incorporation of old corruptions which human nature has evolved in the night of pagan darkness. Over against this forbidding extreme has appeared in different ages, and as by re-action, a spirit of reckless rebellion against the established faith and ecclesiastical denomination, which has swung away into the realms of absolute unbelief, or of gross heresy and fanatical independence. Midway between these extremes were, first, the friends of piety in the overshadowing communions of the middle ages, who remonstrated against the abuses of a false catholicity; and after the Reformation all those branches of the Reformed Church that settled down essentially on the true scriptural foundation. But passing from this general division, and fixing our attention upon the history of those Reformed communions that have mainly adhered to the Protestant basis of faith, we de-

fect a subdivision into three classes whose limits and features are due to the same general tendencies which have been defined. We see *forms of Church polity* shaping themselves chiefly according to three leading ideas. One form is hierarchical, and seeks to link itself to a supposed primitive hierarchy by an unbroken chain of historical succession, through which all ministerial authority is believed to come alike, by a mechanical and spiritual process, and by which an organic unity of the whole visible Church on earth is sought to be established and identified. On the opposite side we find a form whose shaping idea requires that each particular church be an independent democracy, creating its own ministry, pronouncing from time to time on its own articles of faith, initiating and concluding all its matters of discipline, and performing all the possible functions of Christ's visible Church on the earth. Intermediate between the two forms which have been referred to, we find a scheme of representative government, which recognizes the divine origin of the Church and of her ministry; seeks to follow apostolic precedent in organization and administration where analogous circumstances permit; establishes a cöordinate dependence between the ministry and the particular churches, and unites the local churches in one visible body, as far as Divine Providence seems to render such an organic unity practicable, and for the common edification. These three forms of ecclesiastical order obviously represent the sternly conservative tendency, the radical tendency, and the balanced combination of elements, whose natural working is towards a conservative, but practically free and sure progress.

Then, a like classification may be made in respect to the *theology and rites of the Church*, in professedly Reformed communions. In making this classification we sometimes carry our lines across the classification which has been indicated in relation to church order; but, for the most part, the conservative and radical tendencies and elements, and the intermediate combination in relation to theology and rites, are bounded by the limits of the three forms of ecclesiastical polity which have been defined. The strongest apparent exception to this remark, appears in the history of modern Methodism;

which, however, has always presented to us the features of a peculiar aggregation of elements, both in point of doctrine and polity, that owe their combination not so much to logical and philosophical relations, as to the uniting force of providential circumstances and spiritual affinities. And it remains to be seen how long this great organism can resist the demand for such modifications as may conform it to the common law which works so powerfully towards a consistent union of only homogeneous elements in the same system.

In the Protestant Churches we find, in the first place, a large class of Christians who exhibit a strong proneness to make their theology and their modes of religious service, very closely historical; looking back to the scriptural standard always, and almost exclusively through the medium of churchly interpretation and usage. This class do not generally, in words, acknowledge any other infallible standard of faith and practice besides the Bible; but they are inclined to measure the original Standard by the established faith and practice of the Church during her history, considered as a whole. And the theology which is thus settled and defended, is usually one which exalts human agency in connection with ritual observances and priestly intervention, and represents God as doing his saving work in the world through the mediation and merit of man, as well as through the superior mediation and merit of his Son. The tendency to this error in the Reformed Churches, has developed itself most commonly, as it ever will, under the prelatial form of ecclesiastical order, because that form relies chiefly for its defence on its alleged historical connection with the apostolic Church by an unbroken line of succession running through all the darkness and corruptions of the long intervening period. There has been a strange manifestation in our day, of a bald ritualism, and a closely related theology, in one or two excessively radical communions, that contend for the saving efficacy of baptism, while they insist that every disciple has a right to administer that ordinance. But that is only a temporary exception to the general fact which has just been stated—an exception which owes its existence to the same disposition to substitute the body for the life of religion, which gave rise at first to the historical ritualism of the Church.

Every such ritualistic sect must either be absorbed after a while into some more historical communion, or gradually melt away and perish.

Over against the conservative class of Protestants that draw their faith and rites *chiefly* from the history of the Church, we find another class that make little or nothing of historical theology, and esteem all rites, ceremonies and modes of worship as of small value. They profess to go directly and alone to the Bible for their faith and forms of service, relying altogether on their own judgment and reason as the only and sufficient interpreter of Scripture. This class of Christians may at first be sound in doctrine, but they give exercise to a spirit of *individualism and self-sufficiency*, which speedily exalts human nature and sets aside the agency of God in the illumination of man's darkened understanding, and the sanctification of his corrupt heart; while they so magnify the office of human reason as ere long to cause a partial or total eclipse of faith. Such a rationalistic tendency sinks more and more God's visible ordinances, the sacraments, the ministry, the organized Church, and even the written word. And it reaches its fit results in Socinianism and the chaos of a religious communion without rites or definite methods of service.

The intermediate class of Protestants is composed of those who heartily recognize the Bible as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and always appeal *first* to its teachings in relation to every question touching doctrine, order and rites, but who respect and reverence the judgment of the evangelical portion of the Church in past ages, as it regards the import of God's word, and make use of carefully considered symbols of faith, as bonds of fellowship and tests and terms of ministerial and official qualification and communion. This class of Christians exalt life above form, while they believe that the Church has a body as well as a soul. They unite faith and works, human agency and Divine agency, creed and spirit. With them the central ideas are—The word of God only; the sacrifice of Christ only; the work of the Holy Spirit only; but they cluster around these central ideas, the visible Church, an official ministry, the Christian rites, and the historical communion of saints in essential faith and life.

Under this general class several distinct communions of Protestants have taken and maintained their places, with more or less of characteristic firmness and constancy; some of them in logical harmony with their avowed systems of order and doctrine, and others under a combination of elements not perfectly homogeneous. In Europe and Great Britain, the middle ground Churches, as those of Switzerland, France, Holland, Scotland and England, have suffered sadly from the incorporation into them of elements and ideas that were inconsistent with their true genius and spirit, and that have very far modified and darkened their history. On the Continent the alliance of the Church with the State, together with the mistake of the early Reformers regarding the sanctity of the Sabbath, have wrought a lamentable degeneracy into formalism and ritualism, and then by reaction under worldly influences into Rationalism. And in Scotland, the results of the same unhappy alliance have been, first, an excessive symbolism, and then the cold Moderatism of the last generation. In England the Presbyterian Church early gave up its distinctive principles, retaining only the name, for the sake of union with a portion of the Independents; and suffered the usual consequence of such vague and indeterminate combinations—an ultimate apostacy from the evangelical faith; while the purer Independency which adhered to the use of well defined articles of faith, maintained its essential soundness, until symptoms of serious defection began to appear within the last score of years.

In our country, the Churches have been, from our earliest history, divided into the three classes which have been indicated. At first, the middle class was represented chiefly by the Congregational Churches of New England, whose platforms were a compromise between Presbyterianism and a form of Congregationalism which disavowed all sympathy with strict Independency. These platforms recognized and affirmed the superior authority of Synods, the lawfulness or even the scriptural authority of ruling elders in the churches; and the same system of faith which had been accepted by the Calvinistic Churches of Great Britain and the Continent. Established on such a basis, the churches of New England

prospered and did a noble work for themselves and the world during the first century and a half of their history. Meanwhile the purer Presbyterianism of our Church was planted in the States further south, by emigrants from Great Britain, Holland, France and New England. The American Presbyterian Church rapidly struck its roots deep into our soil, and spread its branches far abroad. It grew not only from within, and by conversions from the world, but by large accretions from two dissimilar quarters; from the partially Presbyterianized communities of New England, and from the more rigid Presbyterian communions abroad, which had felt the stiffening and deteriorating influence of the overshadowing church establishments. The rapid incorporation into our body of such diverse elements, as might naturally have been expected, gave rise to questions of difference, which would never have sprung up had the Church been enlarged only by development from within and conversions from without. God had a purpose to achieve in the union of the three classes of elements which were brought together in the progress of our Church. In the days of our early weakness it would not have been well had all the Calvinistic families and ministers from Scotland, Ireland, Holland, France and New England, been divided into small and jealous sects on the same territory. It was a blessed thing for the general cause, that they were, for the most part, drawn into one common organization and fellowship. But it was an evil incidental to such an union of elements, that while the native Presbyterians in the body were homogeneous, the accessions from Europe and New England were not able to sympathize fully either with each other or with the more strictly American portion of the Church. And this evil grew more serious as time advanced, because the semi-Presbyterianism of a part of New England, as was natural, gradually gave place to a purer Congregationalism bordering on Independency; which bore its legitimate fruit at last in the great defection to Unitarianism. During the earlier stages of this growth of pure Congregationalism, the accessions to our ministry from New England were doubtless increasingly repelled by the temper and spirit of the sterner Presbyterians, who came in fresh from the Churches of Great Britain and the Continent.

And they again, were stirred up by re-action, to watch carefully against laxness and heresy.

By such causes the difficulties which were partly healed by the liberal Adopting Act of the original Synod in 1729, were again aggravated and brought to their crisis in the division of 1741. This breach was healed by another generous and Christian compromise in 1758; and after this time until the organization of our Assembly in 1789, the unity and peace of the Church were but little interrupted. Our growth was unprecedented, and the sympathy of our orthodox New England brethren with us was, no doubt, greatly increased by the progress of defection under their own ecclesiastical system at home. Had the accessions to our Church from other bodies been made from the beginning only by European immigration, we should have lost our true American genius and spirit, and have become a stiff, ultra, symbolical body, to the great disrepute of our free system. Had our accessions been only from New England, we should have been swerved from our genuine Presbyterianism and have incurred the danger of losing our ecclesiastical identity as a middle ground Church. In 1801, the celebrated Plan of Union, so cordially approved by our Assembly and the General Association of Connecticut, brought into close connection with us a large number of our Congregational brethren. This union had its great providential use in offsetting and modifying any tendency to excessive rigidity and formality, from the incorporation with us of so many elements from abroad; and still more, in shielding the churches and the ministry in the new settlements of the North-west, from the dangers of an extreme radicalism. This arrangement may not have been wise for the mere denominational interests either of Presbyterianism or Congregationalism; but it has clearly contributed to the preservation and furtherance of evangelical Christianity as a whole. It might have destroyed the balance in the Presbyterian Church, even to her final subversion, had its relaxing tendencies been met by no special influences of a counter nature and bearing. But the growth of the Church from her own children and by evangelization, and the continued reception of foreign Presbyterians,

including the reception of the Associate Reformed Synod in 1822, tended to preserve the balance.

It could not be, however, that elements so heterogeneous would always remain essentially harmonious in the same body. The antagonism of which the different parties in the Church gradually became conscious, as the body grew larger, showed themselves in connection with the outgrowth from the Plan of Union, of a new system of missionary effort, whose chief characteristics were, independence of the Church and the co-operation of Christians of two or three different denominations in the same voluntary associations. This system was most naturally suggested by the close sympathy which existed between large portions of our Church and the Churches of New England. Its early working was attended with some jealousy between its friends and those in the Church who had been always accustomed to use the machinery which our ecclesiastical system provides for conducting missionary work. But the differences in this regard might easily have been accommodated, had there not been at work beneath them deeper tendencies towards a very liberal construction of the Calvinistic system on the one side, and a very rigid construction of it, on the other side, together with corresponding tendencies towards laxness over against excessive strictness in the administration of Presbyterian government. The under currents and the upper currents soon ran closely together, insomuch that friendship to ecclesiastical Boards or voluntary Societies, became the test of sympathy with New England theology and liberal Presbyterianism, or with ultra Calvinism and a stern ecclesiastical administration. It coincided with these causes and occasions of conflict, that the accessions to our Church from New England, were located mainly in the non-slaveholding States, and those from foreign Churches, chiefly either in the slave-holding States, or near the dividing line.

With such disturbing forces in the bosom of the Church, it is not strange that a great crisis was rapidly brought upon us. A stipulation with the Synod of Pittsburgh for the transfer of the Western Foreign Missionary Society to the General Assembly, which had been entered into by authority of the Assembly of 1835, was rudely broken up by a bare majority of

the Assembly of 1836, under the lead of influential friends of the American Home Missionary Society. This act precipitated the division of the Church, which was virtually effected by the violent and demonstrably unconstitutional measures of 1837. The strife now became one for power between two parties; the one party embracing chiefly the moderate Calvinists, the friends of a mild Presbyterian administration, the advocates of voluntary associations for missionary purposes, and the more anti-slavery portion of the Church; and the other party embracing the extreme Calvinists, the champions of a stern ecclesiastical regimen, the friends of ecclesiastical missionary Boards, and the great body of the more resolute defenders of slavery. The abrogation of the Plan of Union, and the Excising Acts of 1837, were the work of the latter party; and adherence to those measures in 1838, made a rupture of the Church a necessity, unless the minority had consented to submit to the most grievous injustice, and this at a sacrifice of their most cherished principles and convictions. By the division of that day, the tendencies in the Church towards extreme conservatism, carried with them our institutions, and the prestige of majority and power; and the tendencies among us towards radicalism in doctrine and polity were so released from their former restrictions, and so stimulated by antagonism and re-action, as for a time to threaten the dissolution of our body, insomuch that preparations were actually made on either side of us for taking possession of the share that seemed about to fall to each of the waiting expectants. But God's counsel is not to be overthrown. The prospect of a speedy dismemberment of our body gradually grew dim; then many of the men who had led us in the conflicts of 1836, 1837, and 1838, forsook us, and took their places in the ranks of Independency. By degrees the radical elements of every class, and the extremely conservative elements sought their fit homes in other communions; so that before half a score of years had elapsed we began to emerge from the sea of conflict, like a new continent, a homogeneous, middle ground Church: and beginning to cast about us for appliances and means to fortify ourselves in the position assigned to us by divine Providence, we found ourselves without church institutions, without organic strength,

with nothing but the consciousness of rectitude and vital force, and a clear perception that God had set a great work before us as American Presbyterians. At the same time our Congregational brethren having been aroused to a new consciousness of denominational life, rescinded the Plan of Union on which our co-operative missionary Societies were founded, and entered upon the earnest propagation of strict Independency, as a doctrine and a practice.

With the reviving consciousness of our distinctive church life, a disposition sprung up among us, to take effectual care of our own churches and provide for the extension of our own denomination, so far as the needful appliances for these ends were not found to be afforded by existing arrangements. At the same time it began to be seen more and more distinctly on all sides, that co-operation between denominations that are not practically one, in the training of ministers and the planting of churches, is liable to become increasingly an occasion of jealousy and collision, instead of being permanently an expression and a means of brotherly fellowship and united efficiency. The conviction gains ground also alike among our Congregational brethren and ourselves, that the conduct of missions, especially home missions, by an agency entirely independent of the Church, is as *foreign* to the *genius* of Presbyterianism as it is *consonant* with the *spirit* and *necessities* of Independency; and that it tends to disparage and weaken our organic unity, by separating our discipline and governmental supervision from our evangelical work, and by transferring the affections of our people to an organization external to us, which is made strong in proportion as it succeeds in creating distrust of the Church itself, as an organic power for evangelization. Thus, by the drawing of denominational lines, and by the practical working of co-operative and voluntary educational and missionary societies, it is made inevitable that without seeking it, our Church will be at last compelled to use her own well-adjusted machinery, for raising up her own ministry and planting herself in new missionary fields, where the various denominations occupy the same territory. This result may be reached, and yet we may long continue to co-operate with our Congregational brethren in the foreign missionary

work, where collision on the same territory can be avoided; and we may still co-operate with our brethren of *various* names in *all* evangelical labors at home, that do not contemplate directly the training of ministers, the circulation of denominational literature, or the establishment of particular churches. This shaping of our educational and missionary affairs is due to the same guiding and overruling providence of God, by which we have been progressively developed into a distinctively middle ground Church. In spite of all former commitments, we have been *forced* to take care of our own suffering interests by the fit agency of the General Assembly; and yet, being a body composed in part of elements drawn from various denominations, we cannot, if we would, adopt any *exclusive* policy in our benevolence. We cannot abjure wholly either the voluntary and co-operative policy, or the ecclesiastical policy. We must, in this, as in other respects, stand midway between extremes.

We are *God's building*, in like manner, as it regards our *reformatory* position. All attempts to make us a radical body, or a sternly conservative body, in relation to the temperance question, or the anti-slavery question, have failed, leaving us here also, on the middle ground of moderation and sobriety. In respect to slavery we have never affirmed any radical or unscriptural dogmas; and at the same time we have clearly perpetuated the true Presbyterian succession as an anti-slavery body, standing firmly and consistently where our fathers stood, and only advancing as to the careful *application* of the principles which the Church has always affirmed. This reformatory moderation has driven from us extreme men on either side; while our brethren, on either hand, have profited numerically by considerable accessions from our ranks. Our more conservative Presbyterian brethren have never, as a body, since the division in 1838, never since 1818, never within the life-time of the acting generation, ventured to make one distinct expression of anti-slavery sentiment. Our Independent brethren, on the contrary, have very far committed themselves to positions which seem to imply a condemnation of our Saviour and his apostles. We have stood, and do stand, on an intermediate ground, unequivocally condemning and discountenancing sla-

very as a system, but carefully and kindly making a discrimination between a temporary and unwilling legal connection with the system, and sympathy with its spirit and a disposition to apologize for and fortify it, and to give practical countenance to its unrighteousness. And with us, not as with some of our brethren, this great question has been *practically settled*.

Having now, at so much length, and in a manner seemingly desultory, traced out the general lines of God's providential dealings with us up to this point in our history, we think we have shown that we are shaped and destined to be, *distinctly a Church of the middle class*, to maintain a balance in the Pedobaptist and Calvinistic families of this land, between two classes of our brethren who represent the two opposite tendencies to excessive conservatism and a perilous radicalism. Many, very many exceptions to this general classification, doubtless exist in each of the divisions which have been indicated. Unquestionably a large portion of our "Old School" brethren have very little sympathy with some of the distinctive tendencies of their own Church; and multitudes of our Congregational brethren, especially in New England, have no sympathy with the spirit of modern Independency. But this admission does not affect the justice of our general classification of the characteristic *tendencies* which have been recognized as appearing on either side of our beloved Church. And these tendencies will be developed and separated by lines of ecclesiastical demarcation more and more, in the progress of emigration and social change in the communities of our land. In all the newer sections of our country, and to no small extent in the older, our religious people will be drawn into different ecclesiastical communions, according to their several affinities in relation to extreme conservatism, radicalism, or conservative progress. And our Church will be seen to have its appointed place as essentially a Pedobaptist, Calvinistic body, characterized by conservative progress. Our distinctive features as such a body are, and are to be, the following:—

1. *Moderate Calvinism* and the toleration of a generous and liberal construction of the Westminster Confession of Faith. In this respect we are contradistinguished from our brethren

who, while they tolerate a *silent* diversity as to some points in the Calvinistic system, propound as the only faith to be openly taught, a type of Calvinism which is sustained largely by appeals to the theology of the Reformers, and which never has been, and never can be satisfactorily defended against the charge of setting aside, logically, all real human freedom and responsibility, by its extreme doctrines regarding Divine sovereignty, imputation, inability, the nature and extent of the atonement, and the nature of regeneration.

We are also contradistinguished at this point from those of our brethren, who have no uniform definitions of faith, and who seem to treat as allowable, the denial of several Scriptural doctrines which are at least relatively fundamental in the evangelical system.

We believe that our scientific theology is essentially correct, but that it may yet be improved by a continuous and earnest study of God's word, in the light of church history and of Christian experience. And herein we differ from our brethren who are ever appealing to the creeds of the Reformers, as if they afforded the final test and boundaries of all theological truth and knowledge.

2. Our second distinctive feature is, *a liberal Presbyterianism*, to be administered rather by moral influence than by sheer authority. At this point we find ourselves still protesting against the disruptive and oppressive measures of 1837 and 1838; while we love a constitutional government, as contradistinguished to the instability of Independency.

3. A third characteristic feature of our Church, is seen in *our position touching Christian ordinances and fellowship*. While we insist on the baptism of children, as a rite and usage of the Church, and deprecate any tendency to discontinue it and bring it into disrepute, and while we discard all attempts to fence about the Lord's table by reformatory tests which the word of God does not set up, we yet reject utterly the teachings of those brethren on one side of us, who contend for such a construction of infant church membership, and of church fellowship in general, as would admit to the sacred Supper all baptized persons who are free from scandal, *with or without credible*

evidence of their love to Christ, and their personal interest in his salvation.*

4. The fourth characteristic feature of our body is, that *we are governed by no exclusive policy in regard to modes of benevolent effort.* We are adapting ourselves to the altered condition of affairs into which divine Providence has brought us. We must, and will maintain and defend the independence of our local judicatories and our particular churches, against all efforts on the part of voluntary societies, to starve them into submission to any arbitrary rules which they may choose to enact; and, at the same time, we must not, and will not, attempt to *coerce* any portion of our people into the support of our church institutions. And it will best comport with our position and our general principles, to shape all our benevolent arrangements in the Church in such a manner as to avoid the extremes of merely local and sporadic endeavors, on the one hand, and an overawing centralization on the other. We cannot afford to incur either the weakness and inefficiency of mere presbyterial and synodical agencies for self-development, or the undue control of one great middle wheel, which is itself the whole machine; like the central forces in some sister Churches, and in the most or *all* of our co-operative Societies.

5. Our fifth distinctive characteristic feature, appears in *our middle position touching reformatory questions;* which has been sufficiently defined already.

6. Finally: it is worthy of notice, that Divine Providence has given us *a middle ground, in respect to the geographical location of our greatest numerical, social and financial strength.* Our churches have been largely planted within the central belt, between the extreme North and the extreme South, where the influences from all the remoter sections of the land meet and mingle. From this central zone we ought to make our modifying influence felt in manifold ways, on either side of us, for the restraint of extreme tendencies; while receiving in turn from either side, such salutary impulses or admonitions as may serve to perpetuate and invigorate our distinctive church-life, and to fit us to exercise an increasingly beneficent agency to

* See Princeton Review, Vol. XXX., p. 250.

bless all the tribes of Israel, and to send salvation to the ends of the earth.

We have not referred to the alleged use of new measures in revivals, as characteristic of our body, because there is not now, if there ever was, any real ground for such a distinction between us and our "Old School" brethren.

After what has been said, we trust that we need not stop to point out the mistake of those who would have us believe that our body exists simply for the sake of *co-operation* with our Congregational brethren in the missionary work. Surely the very statement of such a proposition is its sufficient refutation. Is it credible that 140,000 Christians and 1,600 ministers have separated themselves from the majority of their own brethren and exist as a separate Church, simply for the sake of co-operation with another denomination in missionary efforts; the *form* of which is a mere matter of human expediency? God forbid that our beloved Church should be charged with any such folly as this! *No*; co-operation was a superficial *occasion* of the mournful division of our Church in 1838. The real, efficient *causes* of the division were far deeper than voluntary societies; and they remain in the minds and hearts of scores of thousands among us who believe that co-operation in home missions is a fruitful source of discord and weakness, since the abrogation on either side of us, of the Plan of Union, out of which the co-operation grew up. If we exist as a distinct denomination, only to perpetuate this co-operation with one single sister denomination, the sooner we disband our organization, the better. For God will not smile upon any such organic division, for the sake of an inorganic and chiefly nominal fellowship in the missionary enterprise. But certainly we stand on a broader and more defensible basis, which no change in our missionary policy can disturb. *God* has planted and built us, and not the honored champions who fought the battles for co-operation twenty-three years ago, and who have, for the most part, long since found their real home in the bosom of Independency. "Ye are *God's* husbandry; ye are *God's* building." Let us yield to the voice and the drift of *God's* strong Providence, and let our pride of commitment on a single point of minor moment go to the winds. Providence

has eliminated from us the discordant elements, until we are nearly prepared to enter upon the great and necessary work of establishing for ourselves those institutions, without which a steady decline and ultimate dissolution must be, and ought to be, our ignominious fate.

Our ministry and our laity are feeling more and more that our first duty pertains to the protection and feeding of our own denominational household; and they are becoming effectually disabused of the erroneous impression, that Christian charity requires us to make common stock in all our benevolence with brethren of other names. And the growth of this new sentiment among us will only make room for the exercise of a more genuine charity towards our brethren, who in some respects, differ from us. We shall, after a while, learn how to love our brethren on all sides of us, who join issue with us as to minor matters, and who do their evangelical work by methods different from ours; instead of cherishing the narrow thought, that we cannot warmly sympathize with any but those who are *our working partners* through the same outward organizations. Then, and not before, shall we be distinguished by the broad expansive charity of our Saviour's Gospel.

II. We now beg your kind indulgence, while we notice, very briefly, the great practical question, What must we do to fulfil aright our appointed mission as a Church? What is conceived to be the true answer can but be indicated. *Self-protection and self-development* must be our motto. Any denomination of Christians that relies for success on an ethereal sentimentalism regarding the beauty of unsectarian self-abnegation, will soon find its best elements gathered into the warm embrace of other denominations that have practical wisdom enough to make their distinctive and organic life felt in the land and the world. A vigorous denominational life and efficiency may be denounced as sectarianism by those interested partisans who dread their progress; but they will be respected by every man who desires to see vital Christianity operative in all her actual forms. Organic denominational life is not of necessity sectarianism. Every thoroughly evangelical denomination is bound to put itself in working order, and to use all its organic appliances

for the extension of the faith and the forms which it believes to be most consonant with the word of God. If we do not honestly think that our Church, *as such*, has a distinct work to do for Christ, we ought to scuttle the ship and let her go down. If she has a work to do, she must prepare herself for it, and go forward with a strong heart and arm.

1. We must build up educational institutions that shall be so in sympathy with us, as to be centres of intellectual and spiritual power among the people. The strength of every religious denomination that is widely respected, is derived, to a great extent, from the literary and theological institutions that are practically controlled by it. Take away the colleges and seminaries of New England, and where would be the power of Congregationalism in the land? Blot out Princeton and all the other fountains of learning, which so far constitute the pride of our "Old School" brethren, and where would be their great advantage over us as a tribe in Israel? We must have colleges and seminaries which we can justly call *ours*, to represent us in every large section of our land, if we are to diffuse our denominational life through the communities of this nation. These institutions may, or may not, be directly under our ecclesiastical supervision. No matter; if they belong to us as really and effectively as Princeton to our "Old School" brethren; or Yale, or Williams, or Amherst, to our Congregational brethren. And let it be provided most especially, that our theological seminaries shall be manned by professors who will heartily sympathize with our Church life, and teach our moderate Calvinism, and our American Presbyterianism, and not some other theology—and no definite polity at all.

2. We need to see to it that our candidates for the ministry are trained under the supervision of the Church, and in our own institutions of learning. If we either look mainly to other denominations for our ministry, or send our young men to institutions where influences adverse to our interests have the ascendancy, we shall continue to reap the bitter fruits, as we have done, in the subversion of our churches, and the gradual disintegration of our body. Let us learn wisdom in this regard from our brethren of other names, and offer the requisite inducements to gather all our young men into our own insti-

tutions, and keep them in unbroken sympathy with us while they are preparing to instruct our children, and to be the angels in our churches.

3. We must *use the press*, as all other prosperous denominations do, to defend our faith and policy, and to mould the sentiments of our people. This we have begun to do with a faltering zeal. We must make our Publication Committee a *power* in the denomination, if we are to stand our ground, and bind our churches and our families together by any common principle of cohesion. On this subject we begin to see men as trees walking,—we shall soon see every man clearly.

4. We must see to it that *our missionary work* shall be so adjusted as at least to balance the centripetal against the centrifugal forces of the Church. It is fundamental on this subject, that our people be left *free* to choose for themselves what agency they will use for the spread of the Gospel. Any attempt on the part of this Assembly, to restrain the liberty of our churches or of any portion of their membership, in regard to the bestowment of their benevolence, would be so far an abandonment of our characteristic position, and would surely work re-action and disaster. The attempt of the Home Missionary Society to control our churches and Presbyteries on penalty of starving all our feeble churches, is a departure from its original aims and principles, which it is our duty to resist with all the moral force we possess. We have, as a Church, no organic connection with that Society, but we are indirectly connected with it through its patrons in our churches; and having recommended it to our people, we have a right to remonstrate against its arbitrary enactments; and it is our solemn duty to take care of our feeble churches and of our missionary work wherever they seem to us to suffer through a lack of adequate assistance from agencies external to the Church. If the American Home Missionary Society chooses to appropriate to our feeble churches only so much of its resources as come to its treasury from our denomination, we have no word of complaint to utter against such a discrimination. But we are bound to protest against its endeavor to cripple our weak churches in the West by way of enforcing the submission of our local judicatories

to new rules which it has never applied to our Congregational brethren, and by which it must, to be consistent, cut off our whole Church.

The necessity of our Church Extension Committee's operations, as a means of *maintaining the independence*, and enlarging the usefulness of our Church becomes daily more evident. Our Constitution binds us to supervise and provide for the missionary work, and we are the proper judges for ourselves how far voluntary societies are adequately doing this work for us. The moment it seems to us necessary to supplement such external agencies, or to create new or co-ordinate agencies for missionary purposes, we ought to follow our convictions, without conferring with flesh and blood. We have no disposition to advise our people to abandon the Home Missionary Society to the other partner in it. It belongs to us not less than to our brethren. It is only for us to refuse subjugation even for an hour to its demands, when they seem to us unrighteous; and if it shall cut off our churches, we must take them up and provide for them. And if we are all cast off for this offence, we shall stand before the world as the wronged and aggrieved party, and it will be seen how far it is possible to reconcile the constitutional liberty of a Church with the practical working of the voluntary system in missions. Meanwhile, let every one of our people patronize the Church Extension Committee or the Home Missionary Society, or both, as his convictions of duty may impel him; but let no attempt be made to coerce uniformity on this subject in any Synod, Presbytery, or particular church; and in the end we shall all see eye to eye in relation to the expediency of committing the financial power of the Church to hands that are in no wise responsible to the Church in regard to their exercise of this power.

With respect to the foreign missionary work, there seems no present occasion for anxiety or re-adjustment; and possibly our *domestic* work only requires increased efficiency, so far as the Church herself is concerned. We must not falter in the support of the Church Extension enterprise. Our growth and our very life, in the newer sections of the country, hang on it. Let it go forward and enlarge the scope of its opera-

tions as it has done, precisely in proportion as the Home Missionary Society shall, by its lack of service to us, create new necessities to be supplied by the Church herself. If our people become more and more convinced, that they ought to do their missionary work through the machinery of the Church, to preserve our unity and multiply our efficiency, let them have their heart's desire; and if some still deem it a privilege to do their benevolent work by agencies external, or even antagonistical to the Church, let them freely follow their own convictions; and God will in due time give us unity and peace in and through our free development and unconstrained progress.

We shall make our progress in a conservative way; but we shall make it. A new consciousness of organic life, and of fraternal interest is beginning to pervade our whole body, and Christ is showing himself more and more to be our denominational Head, from whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love. Our very moderation forbids that we should be cemented on worldly principles or with great rapidity. We must *grow* together through the consciousness that God is with us and for us, if we are to become permanently cohesive and mighty for great achievements. And this growth is going forward. The rains, the dew, the light and the winds are promoting it, and the Holy Ghost is the inhabiting and quickening soul by which the body is animated and built up by sure and healthful accretions towards its appointed beauty and beneficent power.

Let us wait on God in steadfast faith; and let us humbly invoke his best benediction on this Assembly, that we may all have the wisdom which the present emergency demands, and that the deliberations before us may have their issue in a great increase of charity and practical unity and evangelical life, that shall send its impulses abroad through the world and far down into the coming generations.

ARTICLE VII.

DOCTRINAL PREACHING.

It is a common remark that "religion is not a doctrine, but a life." This is only true in part. The very *idea* of religion includes both doctrine and duty. Without the doctrines, religion is a blind superstition; without the duties, a "dead orthodoxy." These, united, form the true Christian life. In the doctrine, the life has its roots; in the duty, its blossom. The doctrine is the germ; the life, the growth. The life *is* the doctrine, taken up by the soul as the vital, organic principle of character.

The implantation of this Gospel doctrine in the heart, and the cultivation of its growth, are the work of the preacher. Hence the end of preaching is *practice*. A sermon is a reduction of Gospel principles to practical life. A doctrinal sermon, therefore, is not a theological treatise; a cold, bare skeleton; but a living thing. It comes not with a sparkling tribute to the splendors of genius, the delights of culture, or the glory of the humanities; but it is a speaking picture of the things revealed. Now, we see the outlines of Jehovah's excellence, the majesty of his government, the surpassing splendor of his redemption. Again, the human heart is laid bare. Its rampant lust, its pride, its fearful guilt are there. Thus the doctrinal sermon is "a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Now, it holds celestial fire; now, heavenly love; now law; then mercy. It is a dispenser of the truth,—truth revealing, truth condemning, truth justifying, truth sanctifying. Hence *doctrinal preaching is the direct application of primal Gospel truths to the human heart.*

I. The first reason in favor of doctrinal preaching, thus defined, is that it is *instructive*.

In these days mind is all astir. Thinking is contagious. The mental workshop runs night, and day. But yesterday,

thought; to day it is an appetite. Never was there such a demand on the pulpit for wakeful and vigorous mental power. The preacher must meet this demand. He must think, as well as feel. He is to lead mind, not to be led. He is to be the teacher, while all the world are scholars.

Instruction is a specific department of his work. But no preaching is so instructive as doctrinal preaching, *by reason of the fertility it gives to the preacher's own mind*. Mind is very much as its objects of thought. If a child should ever confine his thoughts to his playthings, he would always be a child. Every day we see the fact illustrated that mind takes on the type of its pursuit. If the minister aim at what is technically termed "popular preaching," where matters of taste or culture or the tragedies of the day, are the principal topics of discourse, he may be a sensationist, but not an instructor. He may utter soft sentimentality; he may sparkle, and flash, and catch the fancy and the imagination; but from the nature of the case he cannot be a fruitful preacher. Some flowers may blossom there; but the vigor that comes from striking down into the soil below, grappling with its forces and extracting its juices, will be wanting.

The doctrinal preacher comes into direct communion with the mind of God. He listens to the still small voice as, truth by truth, it unfolds the sublime mysteries of godliness. That truth enlists his energies, and develops his mental forces as no other truth can. It clarifies his reason; opens the springs of thought, and stirs the profoundest depths of his soul. The discourse puts his soul aglow. He sees as he never saw before; thought chases thought; truth is linked with truth; his mind is brimming and he must speak. These inspiring doctrines are like the cherubim and flaming sword of Eden, which turned every way. They point wherever Omniscience has left a thought. They reach from the "minutest animalcule to which a drop is an ocean," to the burning seraph on high. Theirs is the central science, from which all others catch their meaning and glory. Thus the doctrinal preacher kneels at the shrine where all truth pays homage, and to him high thoughts spring up, as a poet said of his, "like free children of God, crying—'Here we are.'" He comes to his people with a mes-

sage of "glad tidings" indeed. He gives warning to the careless; hope to the fearful; comfort to the sorrowful, and wisdom to the simple. "To the weak, he is as the weak, that he may gain the weak; he is made all things to all men, that by all means he may save some."

II. The *second* reason in favor of doctrinal preaching is, that it is *aggressive*.

Just so certainly as there is a positive antagonism between truth and error, sin and holiness, the preacher must engage in the conflict. The Master "came not to send peace, but a sword," and the servant must use it. When truth is enthroned in each soul; when the celestial fire glows in every heart, then peace shall crown the triumph. Till then it is a strife and struggle. In the meantime doctrinal preaching is the instrument of power and the grand condition of success.

It has been truly remarked by a brilliant writer, that "all great revolutions have their origin in an abstract principle." It is the abstract principle working *conviction* that incites to noble action. It is a first truth germinating in the soul, radiating its life through all the heart, throbbing in every pulsation, that realizes any high achievement.

Doctrinal preaching recognizes these essential principles. It appeals to the primal forces of the soul. It besieges the main citadel. A radical transformation of life is its crowning object. It rests only when the central purpose, the regal will, are committed to the struggle for eternal life. That it may gain these, it summons conscience into action, and nothing but the doctrines of the Gospel will effectively move this high faculty. The preaching that spends its strength on the mere moralities, or civilities of life, or declaiming against mere opinions, and manners; preaching that deals in caricatures more than in the Gospel, stupifies the conscience, instead of arousing it. Law degenerates into a mere instinct, however noble, and the love of the Cross into a sentimentalism. But to the doctrinal preacher there is a reason for that law and love. This reason he lays upon the conscience, which then rests upon the soul

"Like fiery tongues at Pentecost."

Life, God, and heaven take on their true significance; holy action begins, and grace has triumphed.

The doctrinal preacher, for example, gives true place and prominence to the justice of God. He magnifies that justice as expressed by the Atonement. He demonstrates that justice, as well as mercy, radiates from the Cross. Love for man is the motive, but it is justice that demands the sacrifice. There is compassion, but only as it is righteous; there is pardon, but not at the expense of law. The pity of God would be weakness did it compromise his integrity. Men are ready to cry out against the civil authority when its undue leniency subverts the foundation of justice. Much more shall God's unwavering fidelity to law, his wonderful respect for justice produce its proper impression on his universe. As a father he would bend over his children with restoring pity; as a holy God he would lift the creature from the degradation of sin, and open to him the liberty and glory of holiness; but he could not do this at the forfeiture of his integrity. He could afford to stoop to earth, to incarnation, to Pilate's judgment hall, to Calvary, to the grave; but he could not afford the surrender of his throne and his kingship. It is this stern adherence to justice, running parallel with God's love, that excites the wonder of angels as they desire to look into these things; it is this that gives vitality to grace, completeness to salvation; it is this, as much as love, although he may not think so, that arouses the sinner from his lethargy to the pursuit of eternal life.

We are well aware that a "liberal Christianity," as well as the diluted orthodoxy of our times, would ignore the principle of fear in our nature. It is called harsh, unphilosophical, repugnant to a refined sensibility, and even unchristian. The "liberals" would contend that in the strivings after a sublime manhood, in the struggles, and "upreachings of divine souls," amid the sublimated impulses of true hero-worship, fear would be slavish and is to be scorned. But the fear of doing wrong, and the consequences of wrong-doing, in view of justice and the right, underlie the entire structure of society and government. This is the soul of patriotism. Respect for justice was a characteristic element in the greatness of Washington, and the faith of the people in this fact was one deep source of their

faith in him. Histories and civilizations sometimes turn on a single occasion. The trial and execution of Major André was one of the crises in our Revolutionary history. It revealed to the world the true character of Washington and the dignity of the cause which he represented. The father of our country holding the death warrant, as yet unsigned, listened to the appeals coming from all parts of the world that André should be saved. He heard the entreaties and the threats of the English general, the melting petition of the British mother, the pleadings of bosom friends, he felt more than all these the quiet dignity of the noble prisoner, but above everything he heard the calm, serene voice of justice. Our countrymen thus learned that they were not fighting for an aspirer, nor for a name, but for a *principle* dearer than life. The old world, too, caught the lesson, as therein they saw the spirit and aim of the Revolutionary struggle. If Washington's sense of justice, speaking through the death of an unfortunate soldier, could so reach his countrymen and the civilized world, how much more is that unparalleled utterance for justice and right in the death of the Son of God, saving the condemned criminal without violating justice, fitted to arouse a sinning world!

The past is full of monuments to the progressive power of doctrinal preaching. What had Luther done, and where had the Reformation been, were it not for the doctrine of justification by faith? Was it not this that went crackling and flaming through the dry rubbish of centuries like a current of fire? What but the *doctrines* of Christianity gave Calvin and Knox power to create Scotland and America? Whence than these, came the trumpet tones of Whitefield? And were not these the right hand of our giant Edwards? And by parity of reasoning, what but the preaching of these truths is to stay the incoming tide of infidelity in the future and grapple with "spiritual wickedness in high places?" The hard struggle for the freedom of both body and soul, ay too, for the primal doctrine of inspiration, is yet to be fought. Past conflicts are but preliminary skirmishes to the great battle, "like the booming of cannon on the morning of Austerlitz."

Goethe's Faust is not a dream. There are men ready to sell their souls for the glory of intellectual supremacy. If sin

were one huge lump of passive matter, at the base of which we could dig, until we had undermined it, and then see it fall by its own weight, the work were easy; but it is a mighty volcano, with seething, boiling fires within; at intervals there is a terrific eruption; the mount is all ablaze; the flaming currents leap from either side in a deluge of fire; presently these currents cool and harden until they become "motionless cataracts" of adamant. What now shall rend this rock and grind it to powder save that "word" of the Lord, "like as a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?"

III. Doctrinal preaching is *permanent* in its influence.

Real success must combine advance with permanency. The law of growth demands this. There must be assimilation as well as extension. The growth must be organic to be enduring. The tree pushes its roots farther down and enwraps itself with new coatings, while it unfolds the bud and fruit. So with preaching; it ought to be not only progressive but conservative. The first element, without the latter, is fanaticism; the latter, without the former, is bigotry. To the first belong the "things new," to the latter the "things old." The one is the new life in its breathing shapes, its child-like trust, its heavenly peace, its high aspirations, its Christ-like actions; the other is the life-giving principle, the eternal reason of love and prayer and action.

Doctrinal preaching, only, meets these conditions. It consolidates while it advances. This appears because it has an exact conformity with the universal reason of men. It is an expression of the mind of God: hence, the very essence of rationality. It takes on a divine fitness, and a harmony and authority which compel the allegiance of the intellectual forces. Here are first truths, where reason begins and where reason ends. In this light, only, does the mind find a solution of the great problem of time. Here we learn the significance of life and death. Here cause and effect, fact and event, take on their meaning.

Permeated by these, history is wisdom crystallized; science is wisdom expounded; eternity is a luminous circle, the cross of Christ the central glory. So long as mind is made to know,

so long must doctrine have a permanent hold on its fundamental convictions. If this be not so, why is it, for instance, that the doctrine of future punishment, so distasteful to the natural feelings, is a doctrine of so universal belief? It is because the mind has its own laws, its own judge, and holds its own court.

The preaching that has given religious character to the ages is not the profundity of Barrow, or the "silvery sweetness of Tillotson," or the "pomp of Horsely." Is it not rather the loftiness of Howe, the fervor of Usher and Flavel, the pungency of Baxter and the seraphic power of Edwards? These were men whose souls were not smothered by a dead orthodoxy, but inspired by the living doctrines in which the Holy Ghost abides, whose legacy may be traced in the literatures and institutions of to-day. At this hour there are slumbering in these doctrines, the civilization of coming times, the hopes of the nations and the immortal destinies of a race. These are the instruments, baptized in heaven, for the preacher's special mission. It is with the magic power of these, as by the lyre of Amphion, that he is to touch the souls of men, that each one may move to his place a polished stone for that spiritual temple which shall be the habitation of God.

With these let the preacher cherish close fellowship; by prayer let him ascend the mount where they all radiate from the Cross; there let him stand till the love of his crucified Lord suffuses his soul, and when he comes down, glory shall be on his brow, as on the face of Moses; his themes shall be alive with the mystery of godliness, and what seemed to be a dry skeleton shall, like the bones of Elisha, be life from the dead to mankind.

LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

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FRANCE.

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ENGLAND.

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Life of Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy, F. R. S., D. C. L. By his Son, M. A. Shee, of the Middle Temple, Esq. 2 vols.

Passing Thoughts on Religion. By the Author of Amy Herbert, (Miss Sewell.) 2d Edition. The "John Bull" speaks highly of it.

The New Volume of the Calendars of State Papers is, Ireland, from Henry VIII., to Elizabeth. Edited by Hans Claude Hamilton, F. S. A., Assistant Keeper of H. M. Public Records, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the Sanction of H. M. Secretary of State for the Home Department. pp. 662.

The new Volume of the Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages is, Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. Edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M. A. Incumbent of Hampton Gay and Domestic Chaplain to Lady Falmouth. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of H. M. Treasury under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. 2 vols.

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The Medical Knowledge of Shakspeare. By John C. Bucknill, M. D. Lond. Author of the Psychology of Shakspeare. 300 pp.

British Moths. By the Rev. F. O. Morris, B. A. With colored figures of 30 Species on the Average. Monthly.

Life of Amy Scheffer. By Mrs. Grote. pp. 174.

Mr. Strickland's Life of Bishop Asbury is reprinted with an Introduction by Mr. Christophus, of Manchester. The fifth thousand of his Peter Cartwright is announced.

- † Christ in Life: Life in Christ. By J. C. M. Bellew. pp. 401.
 Mr. Boardman's Higher Christian Life. *Eighth thousand*.
 Inquiry into the Origin of the Belief in Predestination. B. F. W. Cronhelm.
 Sketch of the History of Flemish Literature, from the 12th Century to the Present Time. By Octave Delepierre, LL. D. From Flemish Sources. pp. 230.
 Alpha and Omega: a Series of Scripture Studies. By George Gillilan. 2 vols.
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 The Isizulu: a Grammar of the Zulu Language. By the Rev. Lewis Grout.
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 Leigh Hunt's Memorials of Kensington, Regal, Critical and Anecdotal. pp. 392.
 The Nature-Printed British Sea-Weeds. By W. G. Johnstone, F. B. S. E. In 4 vols. Vol. 3. Melanospermeæ.
 Travels, Researches and Missionary Labor during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa. By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf. pp. 590.
 Prolegomena Logica: an Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes. By Henry Longueville Mansel. 2d Edition, enlarged.
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 Exposition of the Song of Solomon. By the Rev. A. M. Stuart. pp. 540.
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 The Poem of the Book of Job done into English Verse. By the Earl of Winchilsea.
 Britain and the Gael: with some Notes on Early Britain, the Saxon Church and the Reformation. By William Beal. 2d Edition, enlarged.
 Mr. Paley, the Editor of Æschylus, &c., is bringing out an edition of Hesiod.
 Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. 2 vols. Among the Authors are Alford, Farrar, Howson, Layard, Rawlinson, Stanley. The Americans are: Conant, Felton, Hackett, Stowe, J. P. Thompson.
 Dr. Bloomfield's N. T. Lexicon. 3d Edit.
 Dr. Bushnell's Sermons are announced under the Title: "The New Life."
 Dr. J. M. Mason's Sermons. With Memoir, by Eadie.
 Prof. Mitchell's Planetary and Stellar Worlds, and Popular Astronomy, are advertised.
 Rev. T. Phillips on the Welsh Revivals.
 Prof. Henry Reed's Lectures are advertised.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

I. OCCASIONAL SERMONS AND ADDRESSES. By Samuel W. Fisher, D. D., President of Hamilton College. New York: Mason Brothers, 1860, pp. 568.

President Fisher has here collected, in four groups of four each, his Addresses and Sermons delivered on the many occasions when he has been called before the public. There are, 1. Educational Discourses, delivered at his inauguration as President of Hamilton College; before the Rhetorical Society of Auburn Seminary; before the Ohio Female College; and at the Anniversary of the Cooper Female Academy. 2. Literary Addresses, on the Supremacy of Mind, delivered at Albany; Secular and Christian Civilization, at Wabash College; Missionary Effort in the Ancient and Modern Church, at Boston; Natural Science in its Relations to Art and Theology, at Miami University; 3. Historical Discourses and Essays, on John Calvin from this Review; William Penn, delivered at Cincinnati; John Calvin and John Wesley, at Oxford, Ohio; History, the Unfolding of God's Providence, on the occasion of the Death of Judge Burnet. 4. Occasional Sermons, before the General Assembly at Chicago on retiring from the Moderator's Chair; Presbytery, at the opening of the Synod of Cincinnati; Baccalaureate, at Hamilton College; The Financial Crisis, at Cincinnati, in 1857.

These Discourses, all of them, have the unmistakable characteristics of President Fisher. He is remarkable, above most men, for his *practical character*. He deals with the concrete reality of things, not with theories or fancies; and while aiming high, both in a literary and religious sense, his aim is none the less practical. It follows, that he possesses much of that excellent quality, *common sense*. He sees the occasions of things, he understands their tendency, he attempts nothing overstrained or romantic, his plans have the elements of success in them. His *knowledge of men* is keen, and his practical skill in directing them, admirable, and this, we need hardly say, is of vast importance in the President of a College, especially one about which so high hopes cluster as Hamilton. While all these traits appear in these discourses there is another which, especially in these times, we value very highly.

Dr. Fisher is *hopeful*. He does not give in to the idea that the country is going to pieces; that republicanism is a failure; that this land is not a fit place for a gentleman to live in; nor any other of the *flunkey* notions that are interfering with the efforts of true Americans to carry out the glorious future of our land. Above all, *Christianity, the Gospel*, is with President Fisher, paramount to everything else. He asserts it on all suitable occasions and goes nowhere without bearing with him this grand idea.

II. HARPER'S GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS.

1. *Æschylus ex novissima Recensione Frederici A. Paley. Accessit verborumque præcipue notanda sunt et nominum index.* New York: Harpers, 1860. pp. 292.

2. *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia ex Recensione A. J. Maclean.* Same publishers, 1860. pp. 211.

A scholar's eyes will sparkle at sight of these beautiful editions. They are got up on fine paper and with clear type. There is nothing but the text, no note or comment. There is a short preface in Latin, which should have been in English, and in the *Æschylus* the list of words mentioned in the title quoted above. The binding is flexible. They are small enough to be put into a moderately sized pocket. Editions of other Latin and Greek authors are in preparation under the auspices of the same indefatigable publishers.

III. THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPEDIA: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Volume IX. Hayne—Jersey City. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Philadelphia: for sale by John McFarlan, 33 South Sixth Street. 1860. pp. 784.

The *Cyclopedia* still holds on its way, always full of valuable information. The Articles vary much in value, as is natural, when we consider the great variety of authors, perhaps sixty or seventy to a volume. We regret to find still in some of the Articles a hesitancy to take decidedly Scriptural ground. For this reason the work must be read with caution, and its statements cannot be implicitly received.

The *Cyclopedia* continues to be very full in American biography. Some of the larger articles in this volume are, Hebrews—which contains the rationalizing tendency to which we adverted—Hegel, Patrick Henry, Herpetology, Hieroglyphics, Hindostan, History, Homer, Hudson's Bay Territory, Hungary, Indian Languages, Ireland, Iron, Washington Irving, Italy, Andrew Jackson, Japan, Thomas Jefferson.

IV. THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS. By Rudolf Stier, Doctor of Theology, Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkeuditz. Volumes Seventh and Eighth. Translated from the second revised and enlarged German edition. By the Rev. William B. Pope. New Edition. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. pp. 490, 458.

These volumes with the Ninth, previously furnished, finish Stier's

interesting and valuable work. These two volumes are the best of all. They include the Words of the Passion and of the Risen and Ascending Lord. Stier is a very interesting example of the reaction in Germany from Rationalism; he every where seeks for the spiritual meaning, the unction of Scripture. A German is likely to be in extremes, either a cold neologist or a superstitious mystic, but Stier, in general, holds well the golden mean. Thus in the Sacrament: "The living, essential centre of the New Covenant economy is the incarnate *Person* of Christ, the Redeemer himself; the middle point of His *redeeming work*, again, is His death; not, however, as death in itself, but as it is turned into *life* and procures life for us. The *fruit and the influence* of this death which is our life, of this life which springs from death, is attained no otherwise than by the *self-communication of the Lord to us*, by which He, who died for us, implants Himself in us as living, or by which we partake of Him as our meat and drink."

V. HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE REFORMATION.
From the German of PROFESSOR KURTZ. With Emendations and Additions, by the REV. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, Ph. D., author of "History of the Jewish Nation." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. pp. 526.

We have spoken in former Numbers of this Review of the very great value of the History of the Old Covenant, by Dr. Kurtz. This Church History has the same characteristic excellences. The research is very full; every authority within reach seems to have been carefully examined. The following is the general outline:

I. Preparatory History of Christianity. Preparation under the Hebrew-Oriental form of culture; preparation of classical culture, as the outward form under which the coming salvation was to become universally applicable.

II. History of the Planting of Christianity. Conflict between the Jewish and Grecian forms of culture.

III. History of the Development of Christianity.

A. Under the Antique and Classic form.

First Period, from the year 100-323, or to the final victory of Christianity over Greco-Roman heathenism.

Second Period, to the close of the doctrinal development of the Old Church (680,) and the commencement of the estrangement between the Eastern and Western Church (692.)

Third Period, to 1453, or the taking of Constantinople. Decline and decay of the ecclesiastical movement under the antique and classic form.

B. Under the Germanic Form, and 1. Under the mediæval Germanic form of culture.

First Period, comprising the 4th–9th centuries, from the foundation of the Germanic Church to the close of the Carlovingian Age.

Second Period, comprising the 10th–13th centuries to Boniface VIII. Prevalence of those elements which gave to mediæval culture its distinguishing character—Papacy, Monasticism, Scholasticism.

Third Period, comprising the 14th and 15th centuries, to the Reformation.

2. Under the modern Germanic form of culture:

First Period, from 1517–1648, or to the peace of Westphalia, as closing the struggle of Protestantism for legal recognition.

Second Period, from 1648–1750, to the appearance of Naturalism and Rationalism.

Third Period, from 1750 to 1814, to the end of the French wars. Prevalence of Naturalism and Rationalism—age of enlightenment.

Fourth Period, 1814 to the present time. Re-awakening of a Christian and ecclesiastical spirit—hostile movements of Communism and Pantheism.

It will require another volume to finish the work. The translator has undertaken to make it fuller than Professor Kurtz had written it, on the Calvinistic Churches. This volume comes down to Erasmus and Ximenes. On the Early British Church, an exceedingly interesting question, upon which this Lutheran author can have no bias, he says:

“It is certain that since the close of the *second century*, Christianity had struck root in that part of Britain which was under Roman domination. Up to the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, (in 449,) the British Church entertained close and continual communication with the sister churches on the Continent. But, after that, Christianity ceased to be professed, *except along the west coast, and the relations between the British and foreign churches were interrupted*. When, after the interval of 150 years, a Romish mission arrived (in 597,) it appeared that the British ecclesiastical system differed from that of Rome—which during that period had developed—*on many points* connected with worship, government and discipline. Rome insisted on conformity—a demand which the Britons strenuously resisted. The chief objection of the British Church lay against the claims of the Romish hierarchy. * * * At first, indeed, Britain seemed to incline towards the national Church; but ultimately the contest ended in the complete suppression of the British Confession.

“In Germany, where the conflict was renewed, it terminated in the same manner, notwithstanding the exertions made by the British missionaries. *A very deep interest* attaches to this contest. If the British

Confession had prevailed, as at one time seemed probable, not England only, but also Germany, would, from the first, have stood in direct antagonism to the Papacy,—a circumstance which would have given an entirely different turn both to the ecclesiastical and political history of the Middle Ages.”

The reader sees the importance attached by Dr. Kurtz to this matter. The account given of the manner in which the Romish prevailed over the British Confession, is this :

“Oswald, the son of a former king of Northumbria, whom Edwin had expelled, restored to that country its independence. This youth had, when a fugitive, found an asylum in Iona, where he was educated a Christian. In order again to raise the Church of his country, the monks of Iona sent one of their own number, the excellent and amiable Aidan, to the court of Northumbria. Oswald himself acted as his interpreter, till he had acquired the Saxon tongue. The success of his labors was truly unparalleled. Oswald founded an Episcopal see in the island of Lindisfarne; and aided by other missionaries from Iona, Bishop Aidan converted, in a few years, the whole north of England to Christianity. Irish missionaries now joined the laborers from Iona, emulating their service, and in 660 all parts of the Heptarchy had adopted Christianity, and—with the exception of Kent, which remained faithful to Rome,—adhered to the ancient British Confession.

“Oswy perceived the danger occurring to the State from religious divisions among the people. Eanfleda, his wife, a daughter of Edwin, was a zealous partisan of Rome. She was seconded in her efforts by Wilfrid, a man of great energy, prudence and perseverance. By birth a Northumbrian, and educated in the monastery of Lindisfarne, he had visited Rome; on his return he employed the whole force of his eloquence, and every artifice which intrigue could suggest, to subject all England to the Papacy. Added to this were other and more general reasons for the decision of the monarch—such as a preference for what was foreign, the splendour and the power of the Romish Church, and above all, the old national dislike of the Saxons towards everything British. When the secret negotiations had issued in the result desired, Oswy convened a General Synod in the nunnery of Streaneshalch, or Whitby, (Synodus Pharensis,) in 664. There all the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the Heptarchy assembled. The Romish party was represented by Wilfrid; the British by Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne. The Paschal question was the first topic of discussion. Wilfrid appealed to the authority of Peter, to whom the Lord had said—“Thou art Peter,” &c. Upon this, Oswy turned to Colman, with the inquiry, whether the Lord had really addressed these words to Peter. Colman, of course, admitted it; when Oswy declared that he would own the authority of him who had the power of opening and shutting the gates of heaven.”

Now, though Dr. Kurtz is not willing to admit that there is any historic ground for the opinion that Christianity was planted in Britain directly from the Asiatic churches of the Apostle John, and while he

denies that "apostolical Christianity had been preserved in its purity among the ancient Britons," yet he states afterwards that they reckoned Easter time differently from Rome; that their tonsure was different; that they refused to submit to clerical celibacy, and to acknowledge the primacy of Rome; that they rejected auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, the tenet which made marriage a sacrament, and the strongest ordinances of Rome in regard to degrees of fictitious affinity.

We find Ninian among the Picts and Scots in 430. Columba went to Iona in 563. Oswald, educated at Iona, died 642. Oswy's Synod was in 664. Fridolin, who was Irish, founded the monastery of Seckingen on the Rhine, 510. Pelagius was at Rome in 409. Columba, with twelve missionaries, established Luxeuil. Driven from thence they went to Tuggen, in Switzerland, on Lake Zurich. Their next field, especially under St. Gall, was at Brengenz. Columba went to Italy, and founded the monastery of Bobbio. St. Gall died 646. Magnold, the pupil of St. Gall, founded the monastery of Füssen, in Swabia. Trudpert, said to have been Irish, labored in the Breisgau, 643. Half a century later, Pirminius founded Reichenau. He founded afterwards Hornbach, in the diocese of Metz, where he died, 753. When about that time Bonifacius visited Alemannia, he found the whole country nominally Christian, and the Church regularly organized. About 650, Killian, from Ireland, preached with great success near Wurzburg.

The reader sees that the British Church was Culdee, of separate origin from that of Rome, while the Anglo-Saxon Church was Romish. We now clearly trace the Culdee Church by its missions down to the eighth century. The error which has been perpetuated in Church history lies in representing the Culdee Church as having yielded entirely to Romanism, after Oswy's Synod. It retired into the west of Scotland mainly, but did not become extinct, as the establishments of Iona, and then of Whiterne show, as well as incidental allusions that have hitherto not been explained. The words "monastery," "abbot," "nun," "bishop," have misled inquirers in connection with the ancient Scottish Church. The ascetic system is much older than Popery. Augustine had an anchorit establishment in North Africa, and St. Anthony was still earlier. These monasteries were harmless at first, and the abbot was only the "father" or pastor of those who placed themselves under his care. The bishops were pastors of churches. St. Patrick is said to have ordained near four hundred in Ireland. In short, the Culdees established the system which developed into the Presbyterianism of Scotland.

Wickliffe was born in 1324, and the "Lollards of Kyle," in the west of Scotland, eagerly embraced his opinions as kindred to their own. John Resby, a Lollard, was burnt in Scotland in 1405 or 1407, and in 1433, Paul Crewar; and the first archbishop of Glasgow, in 1494, attempted to revive the persecution, but was stopped by James IV. These were the predecessors in blood and faith of the Cameronians, "the wild *westland* whigs" of Walter Scott. There were three universities in Scotland in the fifteenth century.

Dr. Kurtz is a very interesting historian. His book is alive. One can read it with more pleasure than that of almost any man who has written on the subject. His prejudices are tolerably strong on the Germanic and Lutheran side, but for these allowances can be made. Church history has not yet been written, however, in the style of secular history. Neander is very valuable, but his book is very heavy reading. Dr. Kurtz is too fragmentary. We need a Gibbon, a Prescott, or a Macaulay in genius and style, with an overflowing evangelical heart.

VI. HISTORY OF THE GREAT REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, GERMANY, FRANCE, AND ITALY. By Rev. THOMAS CARTER. New York: Carlton & Porter. Philadelphia: for sale by Perkinpine & Higgins. 1860. pp. 372.

This is an extraordinary book, in one particular. It writes the history of the Reformation with scarcely an allusion to Calvin, and what it does say of him is so venomous that we can only account for it by the opinion of a venerable predecessor of ours in a pastoral charge we once held, as to the views of a certain person. He said that if he held such views, "it was not for want of ignorance."

We will quote every word in this book of 372 pages, which professes to be a History of the Reformation, in which Calvin is mentioned. It claims to be a work which "seizes the main facts, and completes the history of each century by itself, possessing the reader's mind with the grand events of that era."

A chapter is devoted to the Reformation in Scotland, and Calvin's name is not once mentioned, nor is there any hint that Knox was ever at Geneva. On page 216, for the first time, the word "Calvinistic" occurs in a statement that such opinions prejudiced D'Aubigné.

The author then writes the Reformation in France, and on the 276th page of the book, and 56th of the Reformation in France, we find the first mention of John Calvin as follows: "In this year another event took place which had a great influence upon the Reformation in France. The Institutions of the Christian Religion, by John Calvin, were pub-

lished when the author was but twenty-six years of age; 'a work which,' it has been said, 'has placed Calvin upon a pedestal from which his enemies have failed to dislodge him; a work which has made the Reformation in France what it is at the present day.'" We shall soon see what the author thinks of this eulogy. After this, there is not another syllable until we come to Servetus, p. 299 of the book, and 80th of the Reformation in France, where we read as follows:—

We proceed to notice an event which, though it occurred in Geneva, has an intimate connection with the Reformation in France.

John Calvin (properly Cauvin) since the year 1541 had found a refuge in that city. Here he had labored with zeal and earnestness for God. With the eloquent William Farel by his side, he had devoted his time and talents to the cause of the Bible. A man perfectly sincere, and mighty with the pen, few were his match in argument. And too well he loved his favorite field, for he was constantly engaged in theological controversies. This was not the best way to spread the Gospel and was not the best example to set before his countrymen in France. Some have said the times in which he lived justified him in this course. It may be a palliation, but not a justification of what is wrong in itself. The Spirit of Christ is the spirit of meekness and of love, long-suffering and gentleness. Religious disputation, sometimes necessary, sometimes useful, long and wilfully persisted in, leads away from all these. John Calvin, now in controversy with the Roman Catholics, now with his brethren, the Protestants, again with some ultra-sectarians, found, at length, in his heart the same persecuting spirit which was then raging among the Romanists, and which, of all men, a French Protestant in those days should have been the last to receive or nourish.

Michael Servetus was a distinguished Spanish physician. Having adopted Unitarian doctrines as to the Deity, a number of letters passed between him and Calvin. The latter became irritated, and, in writing to Viret we are astonished and grieved to read the following lines:

"Servetus has written to me lately, and has joined to his letter an enormous volume of his reveries, warning me with a fabulous arrogance that we will see astonishing and unheard of things. He offers to come here, if I wish; but I will not pledge myself, for if he should come, I will not suffer him, so far as I have power, to depart living,"*

He did come to Geneva, and on Calvin's application he was arrested, tried, and finally, on the 27th day of October, 1553, burned to death, the Reformer sanctioning the proceedings by which he suffered.

This act has left a stain upon the memory of Calvin which no zeal, no ability, no reputation he has acquired can ever remove. It has, indeed, been turned into an accusation against Protestantism by those who have said that Protestants themselves persecute and burn as well as their adversaries. But it should be remembered that the case of Servetus was but one against the two millions and a half who have been slain by Rome; and that one not justified, but condemned everywhere by the Protestant world, even by the friends of Calvin himself.

The author then proceeds, in the next chapter, to discuss the "Causes which prevented the Reformation from spreading wider in

* "Henry de Berlin, *Hist. de Calvin*."

France." The first cause is the apostacy of persons high in power, as Brignonnet, Margaret de Valois, and Henry IV., &c. The second is that in France there was no powerful protection of the Reformation, as in Germany and England. The third is the bad influence of Calvin's Institutes, as follows, *verbatim et literatim*:

3. We have previously inserted a quotation from a French author, in reference to Calvin's Institutes, part of which is as follows:—"A work which has made the Reformation in France what it is at the present day." This assertion, instead of being true, in the sense in which the author intended, we fear is sadly and painfully true in another sense, and that Calvin's great abilities were used in a manner rather to repel than attract those Roman Catholics who were sincerely seeking the light. He not only adopted, as we have seen him practise them already, the harsh views of St. Augustine, that it was right to persecute and kill heretics, but he added to this the peculiar views of St. Augustine on predestination.

After quoting from the Institutes, the author proceeds:—"If Calvin had simply held these doctrines, and welcomed with the hand of fellowship and heart of love, those who could not receive them, as his followers frequently do at the present day, we would have little to say. But when he unchurches and gags all who cannot stretch themselves to his Procrustean bed, by saying "no one desirous of the credit of piety dares absolutely to deny," we shudder as we think of such doctrines, and such enforcement of them, in those times which tried men's souls.

It is true that Luther held partially these views, but he never gave them the prominence that Calvin did. And we believe the more he advocated them, the more he injured the great cause in which he was engaged. Especially was this so in his unfortunate controversy with Erasmus on free-will.

And when the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618, affirmed, in substance, these doctrines, excluding and condemning the Arminians, it was a fresh blow to the Reformation, already a hundred years old. It is with a kind of relief that we read, even in Calvinistic works, that there was not a perfect unanimity in endorsing them by that celebrated Assembly; but that the English divines and a few others maintained that Christ died for all men.

Strange infatuation of the human heart, that while the Roman Catholics were censuring them, the Reformers should set up such a standard of doctrine and thus ostracize all who would not receive it.

But such views were not merely held by Calvin as incidents, but prominently thrust forth as a kind of doctrinal basis. We quote the remarks of a Calvinistic writer, already referred to, who, speaking of the theological system of the Institutes of Calvin says:

[We omit this; it states Divine sovereignty as the central idea of Calvin's views.]

And such, we add, were the doctrines offered to those who were seeking the light, as they emerged from the darkness of Romanism, embodied in a system and stamped by the authority of those who were leaders in the Reformation. In contemplating them we sympathize with Margaret de Valois as she beheld what she must believe if she left Rome. Who can tell what influence such doctrines, as they were thus enforced, may have had in turning Francis I. from the Reformation?

No other allusion is made to Calvin, though Knox and the Scottish Church are more than once eulogized, except the repetition of the same charge of injuring the Reformation, where the author speaks of the causes which prevented its success in Italy.

"There is no doubt, also," he says, "but that the harsh doctrines of Calvin on the decrees of God, harshly maintained as they were by him, deterred many a sincere man from leaving the Church of Rome, and were the cause of many a bitter controversy among the Reformers, which as surely prevented the growth of the infant Church, as unseasonable frosts and snows check the verdure of Spring."

Voilà tout! This is all that the Church and the world owe to Calvin, according to the Reverend Thomas Carter, of the Methodist Episcopal Church! To see how his views differ from men whose opinions will be acknowledged to be worth something, we quote, first, the statements of two of the most elegant scholars in America, and who, being Unitarians, will not be suspected of any undue passion for John Calvin. Mr. Bancroft graduated at Cambridge and studied * German literature at Göttingen, under Benecke, French and Italian literature under Artaud and Bunsen, the Oriental languages and the interpretation of the Scriptures under Eichhorn, ecclesiastical and the more recent ancient history under Planck and Heeren, natural history under Blumenbach, the antiquities and literature of Greece and Rome under Dissen, an enthusiastic admirer of Plato, with whom he went through a thorough course of Greek philosophy and read in the Greek nearly every one of the writings of Plato. Being made Doctor of Philosophy at Göttingen, he studied at Berlin under Wolf and made the acquaintance of Schleiermacher, W. von Humboldt, Savigny, Lappenburg and Varnhagen Von Ense. At Jena he made the acquaintance of Goethe. At Heidelberg he studied especially Greek poetry with Schlosser, and in Paris became acquainted with Cousin, A. von Humboldt and Benjamin Constant. In Italy he knew Manzoni and Niebuhr. Let us see what the historian of America, after being thus liberalized by the first minds in Europe, thinks of John Calvin. We commend the beginning especially to the reflections of Mr. Carter.

It is intolerance only that would limit the praise of Calvin to a single sect, or refuse to reverence his virtues and regret his failings. He lived in the time when nations were shaken to their centre by the excitement of the Reformation; when the fields of Holland and France were wet with the carnage of persecution—when vindictive monarchs, on the one side, threatened all Protestants with outlawry and death, and the Vatican, on the other side, sent forth its anathemas and the cry for blood. In that day, it is too true, the influence of an ancient, long-established, hardly-disputed error, the constant danger of his position, the intense desire to secure union amongst the antagonists of Popery, the engrossing consciousness that his struggle was for the emancipation of the Christian world, induced the great reformer to defend the use of the sword for the extirpation of heresy. Reprobating and lamenting

* Amer. Enc.

his adhesion to the cruel doctrine which all Christendom had for centuries implicitly received, we may, as Republicans, remember that Calvin was not only the founder of a sect, but foremost among the most efficient of modern Republican legislators. More truly benevolent to the human race than Solon, more self-denying than Lysurgus, the genius of Calvin infused enduring elements into the institutions of Geneva, and made it for the modern world the impregnable fortress of modern liberty, the perfect seed-plot of democracy.

We boast of our common schools; Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools. We are proud of the free States that fringe the Atlantic. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best influence in South Carolina came from the Huguenots of France. William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots; the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Maryland, were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty.

If personal considerations chiefly win applause, then none merits our sympathy and our admiration more than Calvin; the young exile from France, who achieved an immortality of fame, before he was twenty-eight years of age; now boldly reasoning with the king of France for religious liberty; now venturing as the apostle of truth to carry the new doctrines into the heart of Italy, and hardly escaping from the fury of Papal persecution; the finest writer, the keenest dialectician of his century; pushing free inquiry to its utmost verge, and yet valuing inquiry solely as the means of arriving at fixed conclusions. The light of his genius scattered the mask of darkness which superstition had held for centuries before the brow of religion. His probity was unquestioned; his morals spotless. His only happiness consisted in his "talk of glory and of good;" for sorrow found its way into all his private relations. He was an exile from his country; he became, for a season, an exile from his place of exile. As a husband, he was doomed to mourn the premature loss of his wife; as a father, he felt the bitter pang of burying his only child. Alone in the world, alone in a strange land, he went forward in his career with serene resignation and inflexible firmness. No love of ease turned him aside from his vigils; no fear of danger relaxed the nerve of his eloquence; no bodily infirmities checked the incredible firmness of his mind; and so he continued, year after year, solitary and feeble, yet toiling for humanity, till after a life of glory he bequeathed to his personal heir a fortune, in books and furniture, stocks and money, not exceeding two hundred dollars, and to the world a purer reformation, a republican spirit in religion, with the kindred principles of republican liberties.

Edward Everett's opinion is:

I suppose there are more persons belonging to the reading and thinking classes of society in Europe and America, whose opinions on the most important subjects, have been, to some extent, influenced, if not wholly determined, by the instructions given to us in the Church of St. Peter, in Geneva, three hundred years ago, than by any other human teacher.

Melancthon gave him publicly the title of "The Theologian," at Ratisbon, in 1541. The judicious Hooker, who, as Mr. Carter may not know, was an Episcopalian, says, "I think him incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church had since the time it enjoyed him. The wisest men at that time living could not have bettered the system." The great Montesquieu says that the Genevese ought to

celebrate the birth-day of Calvin. Paulus Thurius, a learned Hungarian, thus declares :

“Præter apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas
Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem.”

“The ideas of Calvin,” says Ranke, “are the same on which the French, Scotch and American Churches were afterwards founded, and, indeed, on which the existence and development of North America may truly be said to rest. Their historical importance is beyond all calculation.”

We have given the testimony of outsiders to the character of Calvin and his writings. If we should present the testimony which has sprung from the affectionate veneration of Presbyterians, it would fill more volumes than the Methodist “Book Concern” has ever presented to the world. And until Mr. Carter is prepared to tell us where John Wesley and Methodism stood in the American Revolution—in which a Presbyterian tory was never known—he had better let John Calvin alone.

VII. THE CONFESSIONS OF AUGUSTINE. Edited, with an Introduction : by WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD. Andover : Warren F. Draper. Philadelphia, Smith, English & Co. 1860. pp. 417.

We thank Professor Shedd for this beautiful and convenient edition of the Confessions. The Introduction is comprised in thirty-six pages. The following points are made :

1. The first characteristic that strikes the reader is, the singular mingling of metaphysical and devotional elements in the work.
2. The union of the most minute and exhaustive detail of sin with the most intense and spiritual abhorrence of it.
3. It palpitates with a positive love of God and goodness.
4. A fourth striking characteristic of these Confessions, is the insight which they afford into the origin and progress of the Christian experience.

We have just read, for the first time, what we have been intending to do these many years, every word of these Confessions of Augustine. Taking it as a probable thing that many of our readers have rather heard of the Confessions than read them, we will give them an idea of their value, and the source of their special interest.

They come to us with very peculiar advantages. Across these fourteen centuries, from before the times when Popery had turned the blood of the Church into gall, come down these utterances from the Church Catholic. With some slight errors, in which the faint beginnings of Popery are seen, it is the very same religion as the Meditation of Christ, the Saints’ Rest, the Pilgrim’s Progress, the Looking

unto Jesus, and Rutherford's Letters. A soul filled with bitter repentance for past sin, and earnestly loving God, breathes out a continuous prayer, for such it is, through four hundred printed pages. It would be a marvel if, after the passage of so many centuries, everything in this book should be interesting to our age. Accordingly, in reply to the question, whether it is a book easily read, we are necessitated to reply, that it is prolix, in many places obscure, and that, tried by the standard of our age, it fails in bringing out its points perspicuously. A considerable part of it is, therefore, not interesting.

But there is, nevertheless, a fascination in it—the fascination of genius and piety. Let the reader understand, at first, what he is to expect, and he cannot fail to be delighted and instructed with Augustine's Confessions. He must take it up as he would the Paradise Lost, the great poems of Dante and Tasso, the Fairy Queen, or the Excursion. He must come to it in the spirit with which he would address himself to one of Plato's Dialogues, or Cicero De Oratore, or the curious elaborations of Lord Bacon. If our experience mirror that of others, patience is the key that opens such rich storehouses. We cannot see how an impatient man, or an intensely practical man, or a hunter for excitement—one of the sensation-piety men of our time—can get through any of these books. It will undoubtedly be so with Augustine's Confessions. But if the reader will have patience with the metaphysics and the repetition, and the things that have now grown commonplace, but which were then original, he will gain access to the mind and heart of St. Augustine.

He does not make the impression of so vast and gigantic a genius as that of Luther; not of so close and logical a mind as Calvin's; nor of a heart so severely—terribly, we were going to say,—dead to the world as those of the intenser English and Scottish divines of the seventeenth century. He is very original in the sense of "taking things at first hand"—that is, his whole thought is fused and run into his own glowing mould; he is utterly absorbed in his dialectics and devotion; he has little patience with error; he passionately adores God, and loves the Church; he is a scholar and a gentleman, as well as a Christian bishop; he abhors disorder of thought as well as conduct; he systematizes Christianity, and brings out partial Calvinism; he smites heresy with severe blows, and becomes a grand landmark in history. To know the few great men thoroughly, is vastly more improving than to weary oneself with the thousand *mediocre* authors who pile their books around us in such masses. We should very much like to have for a friend a man who, after the Bible, never read the works of more than ten men, the very foremost of mankind. For some

wise reason, Providence, at rare intervals, creates a Chimborazo or a Himalayah peak. In the way of mountains, it is scarcely worth while to worry so much among the smaller specimens. What is vast, is better seen in the larger.

VIII. THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES: or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of Some of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its Gradual Formation. By ALVAN LAMSON, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1860. pp. 352.

The publishers have courteously sent us this work of one of a body of gentlemen who have undertaken to destroy the faith of the Church in the very essence of Christianity itself. We do not question their sincerity, but the gentle Apostle John is our warrant for speaking with severity of their opinions, in his Second Epistle, 9th, 10th and 11th verses. We do not refuse to "receive" this book "into our house," but we most earnestly and decidedly refuse to "bid it God speed."

The topics are:—1. Justin Martyr and his Opinions, in seven chapters. 2. Clement of Alexandria and his Times, four chapters. 3. Origen and his Theology, seven chapters. 4. Arius and the Arian Controversy, four chapters. 5. Eusebius, the Historian, two chapters. 6. The Apostles' Creed, two chapters. 7. Hymnology of the Ancient Church, two chapters. 8. Artistic Representations of the Trinity, two chapters. 9. Festivals of the Ancient Christians, two chapters. It is a work that makes, all through it, the impression of special pleading. One does not feel at all that Dr. Lamson read the Fathers in their simplicity, to *receive* the natural impression which their writings would make upon a candid, impartial mind, but that, having made up his mind that the orthodox doctrine is erroneous, he set himself to see what countenance he could get for his opinions in the Early Fathers.

His treatment of them is most unfair. His method of reasoning is this: If the doctrine of the Trinity, as held now, be true, then we shall find it in the Fathers of the first three centuries *as now scientifically held*. Nothing can be more absurd. We most assuredly shall *not* find the *theological science* of Athanasius or Calvin or Pearson before they existed. What we should expect to find, we do find. Crude science, with child-like faith; a failure in theological acumen and distinctiveness, but statements which imply the divinity of Christ, and the personality of the Spirit; an *unquestioning* trust in these things, and *therefore* a failure to give them scientific expression. Nothing can be more insane than Dr. Lamson's notion that the Word or Reason, the Logos is represented by these Fathers as being merely the intelligence of God residing in him forever. What sense would there have been in the struggles of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to *explain* the Logos

if this had been their meaning? There is no mystery in the fact of the Almighty always possessing wisdom and love, and in wisdom and love flowing out from God to men. Why their labor, and struggle and toil to express an awful mystery? Why call in Platonism to make subtle and beautiful distinctions? The whole thing is utterly preposterous on Dr. Lamson's principles. He stultifies the Fathers. He takes away the ground from under their feet with his baptized heathenism. There is no Christianity left to contend over.

We sometimes picture to ourselves the amazement of these simple-hearted Fathers—who “sang hymns to Christ as God;” who “ate his flesh and drank his blood” every resurrection Sabbath; who spent their days and nights in trying to understand and explain the mystery of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, striving, as in the ancient story, to pour the entire ocean into a little space in the sand; who worshipped and adored before the Great Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the flesh—at this bald and preposterous and impious notion that Christ is not God, and that the Holy Spirit is a mere attribute of God, and that the whole thing has no mystery in it, but is nothing but this—that men needed a teacher, and that God sent a good man to them, who was persecuted and put to death by bad men, but before he died left some valuable philosophical reflections, and excellent moral precepts to men, and that they ought to associate in “societies” and read his life, and, by æsthetic and moral culture, live agreeably, and die quietly! We think we see the serene pity with which those who are buried in the catacombs would look at so very poor a caricature of their faith, and the wonder with which they would ask what kind of a city Boston is, which produces creatures morally so feeble as to stand such a religion.

IX. THE PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL ALMANAC, and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1860. By JOSEPH M. WILSON. Vol. II. pp. 327.

It gives us pleasure again to speak favorably of this valuable compend of Presbyterianism. Mr. Wilson has taken much pains with it, and it contains a great variety of information. The Presbyterian minister, or, indeed, layman, who takes an interest in his Church, should not fail to procure it. It includes all branches of Presbyterianism in the world, and aims to give a complete sketch of their action from year to year.

It pains us to write the criticism on the Almanac which we yet feel compelled to make. It injures the book, and gives an impression of partiality that, we should think, Mr. Wilson, for his own sake, would avoid. We do not so much complain that considerably more than

double the space is given to the branch of the Church to which Mr. Wilson belongs, than to ours, but we do complain of the slovenly way in which the proceedings of our Church, especially the benevolent operations, are passed over. We can hardly think that it was the *intention* of Mr. Wilson to slight our Church, but, compared with his own, it is a kind of caricature. It would have been very easy to have submitted this matter to some one who belongs to our Church, before printing. The reports from his own denomination are got up elaborately. [See p. 51, "Board of Publication," and compare the half page—"Church Erection Fund," p. 117.] We are sorry to speak of this, and do it with no design of injuring the Almanac, but with the hope of making it better.

The summary shows in Great Britain and America, making allowance for deficiencies, about 11,000 Presbyterian ministers, a million and a quarter (1,250,000) communicants, and about ten millions of dollars collected for different benevolent purposes. If our branch of the Church is to be taken as a specimen, not half the money contributed is reported in the Minutes.

X. THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR BOOK; containing 1. The Present Religious Statistics of the World. 2. A Brief Religious History of all Denominations during the Past Year. Volume 1, for 1859. By ALEXANDER J. SCHEM, Professor of Hebrew and Modern Languages in Dickinson College. New York: H. Dayton. 1860. pp. 236.

This is an effort to present in a reliable form a complete bird's-eye view of the Church in the whole world under two aspects, its Statistics and its Annals. It cannot be expected that any one will do this so as to please every one, but we esteem the volume very creditable and valuable, and no doubt, if continued, it will be constantly improving. Such Manuals are very important for reference.

XI. THE EPISTLES OF ST. PETER AND ST. JUDE, PREACHED AND EXPLAINED. By MARTIN LUTHER. Wittenberg, 1523-4. Translated, with Preface and Notes, by E. H. GILLETT. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1859. pp. 336.

We copy a little from the modest preface of our friend, Mr. Gillett, whose value, as an explorer in the world of the past, has not been appreciated. We will take the liberty of mentioning here that he is the author of that admirable series of monographs which we have been publishing in this Review, of which the reader will recollect John Huss, Nicholas de Clemengis, the Romance of the Rose, John Gerson, Archbishop Tillotson, and, in this number, Vincent Ferrara. Mr. Gillett is exact, candid, and genial, and his pen should be more exten-

sively employed by the Church. He says:—"Several years ago, among the dusty piles of old pamphlets stored away upon the upper shelves of the Union Theological Seminary library, I met with several works of Luther, in the original editions, as they were issued during his lifetime, from his press at Wittenberg. Among them were his Commentaries, or rather Lectures, on the Epistles of Peter and Jude. The forbidding aspect of the page, with the obsolete spelling of its words, and its somewhat coarse typography, was rather an incitement to master it; for here was Luther presenting himself to the eye of the reader just as, more than three hundred years ago, he presented himself to the eyes of thousands of his countrymen. Upon a partial perusal of the Commentary, I became satisfied that it would repay a more attentive study; and finding, upon investigation, that it *had never been translated into English*, I set myself to the task which had so long been neglected. In the variety of its themes, the clearness of its simplicity and directness of its language, it is scarcely surpassed by any of Luther's other writings."

In regard to the reason for its non-translation, Mr. G. says:—"Unlike his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, which he himself translated into Latin, that it might have a wider circulation among the learned of Europe, this was published by him only in the German language, which was little known in England. It is well-known, however, that Luther formed a most humble estimate of his own writings, and was uniformly reluctant to collect his works in volumes, or bestow upon them any editorial care. Besides, it is to be noted that a perusal of this volume, especially, would soon satisfy the reader, that after the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, it stood little chance of securing the necessary *imprimatur* of an English bishop."

In regard to the translation, Mr. G. says:—"It would have been a far easier task to have given a more liberal and polished rendering of Luther's language. But I think most readers prefer to have me give them Luther, rather than—the translator. There are occasional roughnesses of expression, and some sentences which are evidently not very lucidly reported, but they are features of the book which present Luther to us, and even the wart on the face must be presented in the faithful portrait."

With these extracts we commend to the Church these works of Luther. If they have no disposition to read them, no words of ours would induce them to do it.

XII. MEMOIR OF THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND WRITINGS OF PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D. D., with a Selection from his Correspondence. Compiled by the REV. JAMES R. BOYD, A. M., Editor of English Poets, with Notes, &c. New York: American Tract Society. For sale at the Tract House, 929 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. 1860. pp. 480.

Instead of a notice, it is in our heart to write a Review of the Life and Character of Philip Doddridge, one of the most accomplished of ministers and of men. We do not know how well we can do it, but we hope to try.

XIII. A GRAMMAR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT DICTION: intended as an Introduction to the Critical Study of the Greek New Testament. By Dr. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Translated from the sixth enlarged and improved edition of the original. By EDWARD MASSON, M. A., late Professor in the University of Athens. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1859. pp., in the whole work, 708.

This is the second volume of Winer's great work. It is so arranged that the whole can be bound into one volume. Mr. Masson's Prolegomena appear in this volume. It is particularly occupied with the connection between the modern and ancient Greek. He holds that "every Greek, of ordinary education, distinctly understands and, both in writing and speaking, uniformly observes the rules of Attic accentuation, as laid down by the ancient grammarians." He asserts that the difficulty we find in accent is "altogether imaginary." "The Greek accentual marks, commonly used in editions of Greek authors," he says, "exhibit, precisely and exclusively, the accentuation of *Attic prose*; and nothing could be conceived more preposterous than the use of these marks in editions of classical Greek *poets*." "The existing native Greek pronunciation is identically that of the Apostolic age." "Latin accentuation—identical, as we have already remarked, with that of 'early Greece'—has been preserved in the services of the Latin Church; while, on the other hand, the services of the Greek Church have with the same precision, preserved the accentuation of *Attic prose*."

"The style of the New Testament writers is, even in a *linguistic* point of view, peculiarly interesting. Perfectly natural and unaffected, it is free from all tinge of vulgarity, on the one hand, and from every trace of studied finery on the other. Apart from the Hebraisms—the number of which have, for the most part, been exaggerated—the New Testament may be considered as exhibiting the only genuine *fac simile* of the colloquial diction employed by unsophisticated Grecian gentlemen of the first century, who spoke without pedantry,—as *ιδιῶται* and not as *σοφισταί*."

We gave, in a notice of the first volume, our views in relation to this noble work. We have only to say here to every theologian, Obtain it at once.

XIV. RECENT ISSUES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

I. Of the Second Series of Tracts.

No. 8. LITTLE SINS, OR WHAT PEOPLE CALL SUCH. This is a reprint of an English tract. Some of the so-called little sins are, Vain thoughts; vain words; a hasty temper; a want of strict truth; censoriousness; a habit of grumbling; busy idleness. Under the fourth head we are glad to see the following rebuke, more needed than perhaps any other in our times: "Without directly telling an untruth, you give just that impression of a fact which suits your purpose. By the change of one little word or emphasis you make the thing appear as you would have it."

No. 9. SHALL I DANCE? By the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, D. D. The author examines the Biblical argument, gives the testimony of a number of eminent persons of different denominations, and concludes with a number of reasons against the practice. As the present style of dancing is *indecent*, the *question* is certainly at an end until fashion comes round in her whirligig to decency.

No. 10. THE POOR BLACKSMITH MADE RICH; or, Godliness profitable. By the Rev. Richard Knill. This is a capital story, and told with all the unction characteristic of Mr. Knill. The blacksmith was very popular until he opened his house for preaching, when he was persecuted in every possible way. He persevered, however, and by industry and ingenuity, prospered, until he built large iron works and retired wealthy. He then built a chapel on the site of his first shop, and has since built two others and accomplished much good besides. We think narrative tracts, in general, more likely to be useful than abstract ones.

No. 11. SIMPLICITY IN WORSHIP. By the Rev. John Caird, D. D. It will be seen that our Committee do not restrict themselves to any one style of tracts, but aim at a variety suitable to all classes and conditions. Dr. Caird is a writer remarkable for his elegance. This sermon is a plea for the simplicity of the Christian ritual. After an introduction on symbolism, the author shows that simplicity in worship is a sign of spiritual advancement. He makes the points, 1. That Christian rites are commemorative, while those of the former dispensation were anticipative. 2. That the rites of Judaism were mainly disciplinary, those of Christianity spontaneous and expressive.

The application consists in showing how the simplicity of the Christian rites is a safeguard against the dangers that are incident to ritual worship. 1. The tendency in the unspiritual mind to stop short at the symbol. 2. Its tendency to mistake æsthetic emotion for religious feeling. The whole is an admirable plea for true Christian, and especially Presbyterian, worship.

II. Third series, No. 1. This series is 32mo.

No. 1. Why should I pray? By the Rev. E. E. Adams. It contains short and pithy answers to the objections to prayer, such as, God does not care for so small a creature; if he does, I need not ask him to do it; God is immutable; the Bible says, "The prayer of the wicked is abomination;" "I dare not pray;" "I have no time to pray;" "I have no place to pray;" "I do not feel like praying." It concludes with a kind address to saint and sinner to pray.

XV. A COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPELS OF MATTHEW AND MARK. Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. WHEDON, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. pp. 422.

Dr. Whedon states that "the preparing of a Commentary on the New Testament was first suggested to him in behalf of the Tract Department of the Methodist Episcopal Church. A single volume was intended, and its object limited to the Tract circulation. When, however, that volume was completed, so far as the Apocalypse, it was, on all hands, considered that a work of a larger extent was more desirable, so as to be brought within a resolution of the General Conference of 1856, directing a Commentary suitable for general popular use to be prepared. The task of reconstructing was immediately commenced, and the present volume is thus far the result. The present purpose is to furnish a second volume, including the remaining historical books of the New Testament, and a third upon the epistles."

This form of Commentary originated so decidedly with Mr. Barnes that we regret to see that among the acknowledgments Dr. Whedon has omitted his name.

While there is much that is valuable in this Commentary, yet we regret, considering the wide circulation that it may have through the Methodist *esprit du corps*, the want either of thorough learning or thorough study which characterizes it. A critical examination of even a small section of it will show this. Thus, the author adopts with earnestness Hengstenberg's untenable hypothesis about Nazareth, Mat. ii. 23. On Mat. iii. 11, not content with asserting that affusion is the best method of baptism, he goes on in this violent and unhistorical manner: "Immersion fundamentally fails"—an odd style—"to be a pic-

ture of the original. It is a symbol without a reality, a shadow without a substance." This is precisely the Baptist error over again—making the form of the form important and not its substance. Pure water applied in any way, and in any quantity, to the person of a proper subject, with devout intent, by an authorized minister, in the name of the Trinity, is baptism.

Again, on the Temptation in the Wilderness, Dr. W. says, "Satan was at first disguised; *for our Saviour did not recognise him to be Satan until the deceiver claimed his worship.*" Can any thing be more preposterous, if, as Dr. Whedon believes, our Saviour was God? Again, on Mat. iv. 7: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," we have the following theology:—"It would be well for those who maintain the infallible perseverance of all saints, to ponder this point. *All promises of God are conditional.* He will keep us, under proviso, that we rationally and voluntarily will to be in his holy keeping." And who "makes us to will" as well as "to do?" Heaven help the poor Christian, if God's mercy depends on the creature's goodness! All these are in four chapters. The book needs careful revision.

XVI. DISQUISITIONS AND NOTES ON THE GOSPELS.—MATTHEW.

By JOHN H. MORISON. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. Philadelphia: Gautand Volkmar. 1860. pp. 538.

This is a Unitarian Commentary. Mr. Morison believes in the miraculous conception. This is an advance on Dr. Furness. We come next to the Temptation by the Devil, which is thus "explained:—

"The soul, abstracted from the body and material things, dwelt apart in a world of its own. But, at last, the body, overcome by its long privations, and the strain to which its finer organs had been subjected, sunk down, and the mind was called away from its own meditations and emotions to sympathize with the pangs of bodily suffering. The soul, which had been lifted up to such heights of spiritual insight, was now brought down to a keen and painful sense of earthly weakness, and the first thought that occurred to him was to employ his miraculous powers, with which he had been gifted as the Son of God, to turn the stones around him into bread. From whatever source the thought may have come, it was probably entertained in that half-unconscious state we sometimes experience, &c. In thought he is taken to a lofty wing of the temple," &c.

Mr. Morison inclines to the opinion that there are evil spirits, and believes in good spirits pretty firmly. He rather inclines to believe in the reality of demoniacal possessions. He believes in the miracles of our Saviour and the resurrection. He denies decidedly the divinity of the Saviour and the Trinity.

This book is an improvement on the old Rationalism. It shows a reverent spirit, and is in the type of the higher form of Unitarianism.

We do not see how any man can stand in the position of Mr. Morison. He must go up or down. He must believe more or less.

XVII. THE UNION PULPIT. A Collection of Sermons by Ministers of different Denominations. Washington, D. C.: William T. Smithson, for the Young Men's Christian Association of Washington. 1860. pp. 447.

The Young Men's Christian Association of Washington have published this volume for the purpose of doing good, of illustrating the beauty of union, and by the proceeds of the sale of the book, of providing a hall with a library and periodicals at the National Capital.

There are thirty-five sermons by Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Reformed Dutch and Lutheran ministers. There is a portrait, well executed, of each minister. The likenesses appear to be good. Some of the ministers are, Bishop McIlvaine, Dr. Wm. Adams, Dr. Kirk, Dr. Palmer, Dr. Fuller, Dr. Sunderland, Dr. De Witt, Dr. McClinton, &c. We wish the volume every success.

XVIII. CICERO ON ORATORS AND ORATORY. Translated and edited by J. S. WATSON. New York: Harpers. 1860. pp. 367.

We do not mean to praise Cicero de Oratore. It is more to the purpose to quote from the Preface, that the reader may know something of the translation. The version of George Barnes, Barrister of the Inner Temple, is the basis of this. Mr. Watson says that, though less known than Guthrie's, it is far superior to it. That translation has been carefully corrected. The text is that of Orellius, which differs but little from that of Ellendt. The translation of "Brutus" is by E. Jones, 1776, which, as being faithful and elegant, is reproduced with but little variation. It may have unfortunately happened to some of our readers never either to have read Cicero on Oratory in college, or to have since fallen in with it. We advise all such to buy this edition immediately. We would urge them to read the Latin, but we know that they are much more likely to read the English. This is one of the classical books that read easily and pleasantly in a translation, which is, by no means, the case with some of the finest works of antiquity. It is crowded with anecdotes.

XIX. A SMALL HISTORY OF GREECE, from the Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL. D. Illustrated by Engravings on Wood. New York: Harpers. 1860. pp. 248.

Dr. Smith is well known as an eminent Grecian. This is a small history for schools. All the salient points, however, of the history of Greece are here condensed and presented in an attractive style. It is the very thing for its purpose.

XX. SKETCH BOOK; or Miscellaneous Anecdotes, Illustrating a Variety of Topics proper to the Pulpit and Platform. By WM. C. SMITH, of the New York Conference. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. pp. 352.

These are a multitude of sketches, generally not much more than a page in size, and some less. All seem to be of good tendency. Many would be especially interesting to children. They seem to be the careful gatherings of years. We have never before seen the following remarkable story about Dr. Franklin's death. The author does not give his authority, which we should like very much to have.

DEATH OF DR. FRANKLIN.

As I rapped at the door who should come to it but old Sarah Humphries. I was right glad to see her, for I had known her for a long time. She was of the people called Friends, and a mighty good sort of body was she too. The great people set a heap of store by her, for she was famous throughout the town for nursing and tending the sick. Indeed, many of them, I believe, thought they could not sicken and die right if they had not old Sarah Humphries with them. Soon as she saw me she said: "Well, David, how dost thou do?"

"O much after the old sort, Sarah," said I, "but that's neither here nor there—I came to see Dr. Franklin."

"Well, then," said she, "thou art too late, for he is *just dead!*"

"Alack a day," said I, "then a great man is gone!"

"Yes, indeed, and a good one too; for it seemed as though he never thought the day went away as it ought if he had not done somebody a service. However, David, he is none the worse off for that now where he is gone to; but come, as thee came to see Benjamin Franklin, thee shall see him yet." And she took me into his room. As we entered she pointed to him as he lay on his bed, and said, "There, did thee ever see any thing look so natural?"

And he did look natural, indeed. His eyes were closed; but that you saw he did not breathe, you would have thought he was in a sweet sleep, he looked so calm and happy. Observing that his face was fixed right toward the chimney, I cast my eyes that way, and behold! just above the mantel-piece, was a noble picture. O! it was the picture of our Saviour on the cross. I could not help calling out: "Bless us all, Sarah! what is this?"

"What dost thou mean, David?" said she, quite crusty.

"Why, how came this picture here, Sarah," said I; "you know that many people think he was not after this sort?"

"Yes," said she, "I know that too. But thee knows that many who make a great fuss about religion have very little, while some who say nothing about it have a great deal."

"That's sometimes the case, I fear, Sarah," said I.

"Well, and that was the case," said she, "with Benjamin Franklin. But be that as it may, since thee asks me about this picture I'll tell how it came here. Many weeks ago, as he lay, he beckoned me to him and told me of this picture up stairs, and begged I would bring

it to him. His face brightened up as he looked at it, and said, 'Ay, Sarah, there's a picture worth looking at! That's the picture of Him who came into the world to teach us to love one another.' Then, after looking wistfully at it for some time, he said, 'Sarah, set this picture up over the mantel-piece, right before me as I lie, for I like to look at it.' When I had fixed it up he looked at it very much, and, indeed, as thee sees, he died with his eyes fixed upon it!"

XXI. UNITARIANISM DEFINED. The Scripture Doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. A Course of Lectures. By **FREDERICK A. FARLEY**, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, N. Y. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. Philadelphia: for sale by Lippincott & Co. 1860. pp. 270.

This is an elaborate attempt to prove the Unitarian views. This body of persons—we are sorry that we cannot call them Christians—seem to be more active than usual just now in urging their opinions. Dr. Farley appears to be very serious in the matter, and argues with much earnestness and apparent sincerity. There does not seem to be much originality about his arguments, nor does he get over the plain declarations of Scripture against him with much ingenuity.

It is a very melancholy book. A man, calling himself a Christian minister, denying the atonement of Christ, declaring sacrifices to be of human origin, and that Thomas, in exclaiming, "My Lord and my God!" was only uttering an Oriental exclamation, a sort of swearing. This is horrible work, and we cannot believe, with the author, that such notions are spreading, even in New England.

It is a great mistake to suppose, as this author seems to do, that there is a tendency—at any rate, south of New England,—to a lowering of the old Calvinistic opinions. This tendency has passed by, so far as it ever existed, and there is now a strong disposition to state the orthodox opinions clearly and unmistakably—a tendency that is growing stronger, instead of weaker, every day.

XXII. DANESBURY HOUSE. By Mrs. **HENRY WOOD**. New York: Harpers. 1860. pp. 282.

"The Directors of the Scottish Temperance League, having offered a prize of £100 sterling for the best Temperance Tale, the MSS. were placed in the hands of the Rev. J. Masson, Dundee; the Rev. N. L. Walker, Dysart, and Rev. A. Hannay, Dundee, who unanimously gave their award in favor of the tale entitled 'Danesbury House.'"

We wonder that this story has been so smothered in the mass of books. It is very interesting, and the moral appalling. It is calculated to be very useful. While not perfect as a work of art, and stating some things rather femininely, yet, on the whole, it will do any one good, and it may save some from temporal and eternal ruin.

XXIII. **HASTE TO THE RESCUE OR, WORK WHILE IT IS DAY.** By Mrs. CHARLES W. With Preface by the Author of "English Hearts and English Hands." American Tract Society. For sale at the Tract House, 929 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. pp. 324.

"This book contains a series of facts and incidents which occurred during an intercourse of eighteen months with above five hundred working-men and their families, in the town of Shrewsbury (England.) It is written chiefly for the educated classes, and has one object—the stirring up of every heart to more earnest and prayerful effort to rescue those placed in a less favored position, from the thralldom of THE ONE besetting temptation, which is to many the frightful source of *all* other sin and sorrow.

"Throughout England and Wales there is one house for the sale of intoxicating drinks to every thirty-one other houses—that is, one to every forty-six males above fifteen years of age."

The authoress, emboldened by the "English Hearts and English Hands," and disressed by the condition of the working-men in her own parish—the authoress appears to be the wife of the clergyman—determined to do them some good. The book consists mainly of letters addressed to one or two lady friends, especially the authoress of the work to which we have referred. The writer of the letters began by reading one Sabbath, at the house of a bricklayer, to six persons. She then read at a butcher's, on Tuesday evening; six men and five women attended. A sweep then offered a large kitchen, and a large audience were present, who never attended church. She read from the passage, 1 John iii. 1—3. "I saw J. D. wipe away a tear, and heard a choking sound proceed from A." From this Mrs. W. went on, visiting the houses, not interesting cottages, but "Butcher's Row." and the like, and getting the men to sign the Temperance pledge and talking to them, and singing and praying with them until incalculable good was done.

We found this book unexpectedly interesting. The lessons are especially these:—

Religion is the only basis of reform.

The way to make people religious is to instruct them *kindly*.

Intemperance is the giant sin which stands in the way of religion.

We must re-examine the total abstinence question, if we have lost faith in it. Is a man, once a drunkard, safe for a minute on any other ground?

XXIV. **HOW TO ENJOY LIFE: OR, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HYGIENE.** By WM. M. CORNELL, M. D. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860. pp. 360.

A part of this book was formerly published under the title of

"Sketches of Clerical Health," and was well received. It is now much enlarged and made general. It contains much excellent common sense. We quote some passages which ought to do good:

We will suppose a clergyman, settled in a small country parish. He "knows the state of his flock," for it is "a little one." He has pleasant friends, and those who love him: some almost idolize him. "If it were possible, they would pluck out their own eyes and give them to him."

But still, life is not all sunshine; and he is exposed to many little annoyances. Neither men nor women "look," solely "to their own things; but, also on the things of others." One thinks his wife a little too gay, for the pastor's lady; or her shawl too dashy; or her dress too rich; or the daughters are too extravagant; or the sons are not brought up to labor. A "little matter," by a slight assistance from the imagination, "that kindles a great fire."

Little meddlings of this kind, the pastor, and especially his wife (she not having been settled over the parish) do not always bear with becoming meekness. "The field," says he, "is the world." There are other portions of the great vineyard. Why should I always remain "pent up" here? The salary is small. The garden is but "a little one." Men judge of the talents of a man by the number of the houses in the town where he lives. Great men are called to cities and populous towns. These are the "sunny places of Zion." Multitudes attend upon their ministry. The masses fly to hear them, "as clouds, and as doves to their windows." They become the centre of great power, and often ascend from the nadir to the zenith of the profession; receive large presents; are attired in rich vestments, and, on Sabbath, in silken surplices, and preach from marble pulpits.

He now casts about to get a call from some large town or city. Such a door opens; indeed, such doors *often* open; and, when they shut, it is only for a season. Such congregations are not diffident, and soon pass their sage judgment upon all wares in the market.

"They can tell in half a minute,
What's out of fashion and what's in it."

Their disposition to judge of the qualifications of a clergyman, is generally in an inverse ratio to their ability.

They are of a peculiar cast, and need a peculiar man. This man and that man may answer for other places, but will not do for them. Send him out to the West, or off to the Indians. He will do good there. But *we* want a different man; one who can build us up, stand up like others around us, and who is a little superior to them, and, finally, one "*who can pay our debt.*" We love the gospel, and would never say, under any circumstances, "our soul loatheth this light bread," *but* it makes a wide difference *to us* in what kind of *dish* it is served up.

Our ambitious clergyman now gets a cousin, or a friend, to offer his name, as a candidate, to the deacon or elder, whose office, being of the standing order, always entitles him to a loud voice in the introduction of a candidate, and the selection of a new pastor.

He selects the best of those which our fathers (when as yet iron horses, and steaming ships, and speaking wires were not) were wont to call *saddle-bag* sermons.

Perhaps he is disappointed, and has the mortification to find that, in the estimation of the audience, *he is not the man*. "Happy, thrice and four times happy" for him, if it be so: for, though a defeat, in such an attempt to soar, may cause chagrin, and "take aback" the inflated sails of his earthly ambition, yet it is much better for him than it would have been to have succeeded—better than to have entered the new port "*pleno velo*."

This failure troubles his mind. It may thus make him sick. Still, it may prove a sickness tending to health, for success might have been fatal to him. If he is a *Christian* minister, he will learn from it to "cease from man;" learn that meek, unobtrusive, noiseless piety, is of more value than "the praise of men." The great Head of the church may have designed this to deliver him from the "sifting of Satan." But it would not be strange, if, in passing through the ordeal, he should find himself "weak and sickly." How much better would this man have enjoyed life, had he been "content" to pass his days in that part of the "vineyard," where Providence had cast his lot. One is almost tempted, when he sees how much happiness is destroyed, to apply to such the language of Solomon, "Every fool will be meddling."

We will select another example, where the former was, when he first preached to the Metropolitan congregation. He succeeds—makes a clean sweep and carries all before him. The audience exclaim,— "This is our man—we must have *him* at all events. Such sentences! Such elegantly rounded periods, so eloquently expressed! How *engaged*! Did you see the perspiration rolling down his cheek? Oh! if all ministers were like him, "the kingdom of heaven would soon come."

He comes—is settled—takes up his abode in the city, and soon finds, if he has not mistaken his calling, he *has* mistaken the people.

For a few Sabbaths, perhaps months, when it is known that he will preach in the *morning*, the house is filled. His sermons are admired. The "birds of passage" flock here from all quarters, there to listen and admire, till a more propitious spring dawns upon some other congregation in the gift of a more bright and shining luminary. In a word, as long as he is *new*, he has crowded houses.

"Where Paul himself once preached,
Would scarcely fill a pew."

In every large city, there are enough of this *migratory* class to fill a house wherever there is a new and popular preacher. Who has not been amused a thousand times to witness this running after some itinerating man; or, perchance, unsexed woman?

Soon the "beaten oiled" sermons are used up; cares and duties have multiplied so thickly that there is no time, and but little disposition to *beat* more. All seems well; and he "settles upon his lees," more and more, as time progresses. It is "like people, like priest."

He disturbs their slumbers but little, and they leave it to *him* to manage the *religious* matters.

Thus affairs remain for awhile. But time changes all things, and men's feelings vary. All is as "a valley of dry bones, very dead, and very dry." So soon as some begin to look around them, this discovery is made. They begin to talk about a change of minister: first, only in whispers to a chosen few. Then, louder, augmenting, like the Roman poet's description of *fume*. Some wish to compromise, and advise to settle a colleague. But a torrent has started, that cannot be stayed. Like "*Report*" of old,

"First, small with fear, she swells to wondrous size,
And stalks on earth, and towers above the skies:
Swift is her walk, more swift her winged haste,
A monstrous phantom, horrible and vast.
Beneath her plumes, the varied fury bears
A thousand piercing eyes and listening ears,
And with a thousand mouths and babbling tongues appears."

He falters more and more, as they clamor louder. He becomes anxious; can neither eat nor sleep. The current undermines him; and he finds those who professed to be friends, joined hand in hand with his enemies. His heart palpitates, and his nervous system becomes shattered. The crisis comes. He cuts the knot. The tie of pastor and people is severed, and, with disappointed ambition and a sad heart, a broken constitution and an empty purse, he goes out, like the itinerating "Levite" of old, "to seek a place where he may sojourn."

He cannot but be anxious about his family, who must eat and drink to live. He must "provide" for them bread and clothing, or come under the Scripture censure of being "worse than an infidel"—a severe censure, but one which many poor clergymen find it hard to escape. He must educate his children. He must be liberal. To do all this, and more, he has no income but his salary. He can be no lawyer, stock jobber, broker, or mechanic. From every field of gain, the pastor is excluded, and properly excluded, by his clerical duties. If his salary does not supply the wants of his family, then, he must either "dig," or "beg." He may do something at "digging," if he have the "garden," or "farm," formerly spoken of; "to beg," he is ashamed, and his people ought to be ashamed to permit it. He belongs to that "tribe" which "has never any inheritance among their brethren," and have always been poor; or generally so, that if there is a rich man among them, he is an exception to the class and, having become the "steward" of earthly "goods," he finds the admonition often repeated, in calls upon his means, which the apostle gave to Timothy, "be ready to distribute; willing to communicate."

Of all the trying scenes that meet the eye of the philanthropist, few are more heart-rending, than to see a clergyman, in feeble health, with a needy family, and a sick wife, cast upon the world just as he has passed the meridian of life. He needs a double portion of Abraham's faith.

In every parish, both in the city and country, a vast amount of la-

bor devolves upon the pastor. He must marry the living and bury the dead—preach, “in season and out of season”—visit—in a word, be everywhere, and do anything that is honest.

All these anxieties and labors soon break him down.

His only security consists in learning the lesson which the great Apostle of the Gentiles said he had learned, to wit, “in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.” This is the true way to enjoy life.

XXV. THE LIFE OF JACOB GRUBER. By W. P. Strickland. New York: Carlton & Porter. Philadelphia: For sale by Perkinpine & Higgins, 1860. pp. 384.

The Preface is very good and straight to the point: “Jacob Gruber was a character, and copied after no man. He was *himself* always and every where, and he never lost his individuality as one of the humorous, witty and yet withal grave and earnest preachers of his day. We have aimed at giving a faithful portraiture of the man, presenting the salient points of his character as they were developed during a ministry of over half a century; and as our materials were ample, apart from the recollections of numerous incidents connected with his life, furnished by personal friends, the reader need not fear that we have taken our imagination to fill up the picture. His whole life was full of incident. There are not many Cartwrights or Finleys; there was but one Gruber.”

Mr. Gruber was of German origin. He was born in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. He was a blacksmith. He began to preach, without a particle of study, at twenty years of age. For the first six months he received for preaching five dollars and sixty-seven cents. Some of the anecdotes of Father Gruber are very good:

While preaching in a certain place on one occasion, an unusually tall lady entered. On seeing her, he stopped preaching and said: “Make room for that lady; one might have thought she was tall enough to be seen without the plumage of that bird in her bonnet.” Some days afterward the lady met Gruber and complained that he had treated her rudely. “O sister,” he replied, “was that you? Well, I did not know it was you; I thought *you* had more sense.”

As he was himself exceedingly plain in his apparel, wearing a coat without buttons, and plain as any that could be found in Quakerdom, he was particularly severe on the preachers who indulged in any superfluities. It would almost throw him into spasms to see a preacher with a cane and gloves, and the sight of a cigar was insupportable. It would seem that he was the sworn enemy of canes, veils, cigars, and dogs. It is said, such was his aversion to the latter, that on a certain occasion he went out of a funeral procession to pelt away a noisy cur who was following. He has been known frequently to expel them from the church or the house where he was holding meeting. A young preacher once thought to escape his ire, when reproved by

him for carrying a cane, by telling him that he carried it to protect himself from the dogs. "Ah," said Gruber, "is that it? Well, dog-pelting is a poor business."

His last sermon at Carlisle is remembered by one of the professors of Dickinson College, as characteristic of his style of preaching. The professors of this institution were Methodists, and the most of them, if not all, were Methodist preachers. Whenever he preached in Carlisle the professors and students all turned out to hear him. On the occasion to which we refer they were all present. In the course of the sermon he remarked that the time was when Methodist preachers went round their circuits carrying their libraries in their saddle-bags. They would preach the word as it came to them. "Now," said he, "preachers are made at theological schools, and they spend a long time in making their sermons. They want to make a great effort and produce great sermons, and make the impression that they are great men, and what is the result?" Looking round intently for a few moments on the professors and students, he added, with emphasis, "The result is, great fools!"

"In another place my text was: 'And behold, there was a swarm of bees and honey in the carcass of the lion.' We had a good and gracious time; we got honey without being stung by the bees. It was a wonder; but I had made some little progress, and was not so hard run to find a text now. I think our preachers have made a great improvement since they have so much time to study their sermons. Only think of the variety we used to have. One had for his text: 'And the Lord showed me four carpenters.' Another text: 'Nine and twenty knives.' Another: 'One sea and twelve oxen.' Another great text: 'I saw by night, and behold, a man riding upon a red horse, and he stood among the myrtle-trees that were in the bottom, and behind him were three red horses, speckled and white.' This was wonderful; and to think we had such sermons before we had so many colleges and so much learning, no wonder some had to be very long."

While in Washington he attended a camp-meeting on old Frederic circuit, about twelve miles from the city. He took occasion, at a particular time when there was a large number of the clergy present, of showing up fashionable preachers and their modes of conduct in certain cases. He chose for his subject the conversion of Saul of Tarsus. Ananias, who resided at Damascus, was made to represent the velvet-lipped modern preacher. He thus introduced the subject: "A great many years ago a bold blasphemer was smitten by conviction when he was on his way to Damascus to persecute the Christians. He was taken to Damascus in great distress. Ananias, after hearing of the concern of mind under which Saul was laboring, started out to find him. It seems that he was stopping at the house of a gentleman by the name of Judas, not Judas Iscariot, for that person had been dead several years. The residence of this gentleman was in the street which was called Strait. I suppose it was the main street, or Broadway of the city, and hence it was not difficult to find. Arriving at the man-

sion he rang the bell, and soon a servant made her appearance. He addressed her thus: 'Is the gentleman of the house, Mr. Judas, within?' 'Yes, sir,' responded the servant, 'he is at home.' Taking out a glazed, gilt-edged card, on which was printed, 'Rev. Mr. Ananias,' he handed it to the servant and said: 'Take this card to him quickly.' Taking a seat, with his hat, cane and gloves in his left hand, his right being employed in arranging his classical curls so as to present as much of an intellectual air as possible, he awaited an answer. Presently Mr. Judas makes his appearance, whereupon Mr. Ananias rises, and making a graceful bow, says, 'Have I the honor to address Mr. Judas, the gentleman of the house?' 'That is my name, sir; please be seated.' 'I have called, Mr. Judas, to inquire if a gentleman by the name of Mr. Saul, a legate of the high priest at Jerusalem, is a guest at your house.' 'Yes, sir; Mr. Saul is in his chamber, in very great distress and trouble of mind. He was brought here yesterday, having fallen from his horse a few miles from the city on the Jerusalem road.' 'O I am very sorry to hear of so painful an accident. I hope he is not dangerously wounded.' 'No, sir, I think not, though the fall has affected his sight very much, and he complains considerably, and prays a good deal.' 'Well, I am very sorry; but that is not very strange, as I believe he belongs to that sect of the Jews called Pharisees, who make much of praying. How long since he received this fall, Mr. Judas?' 'About three days since, and all the time he has not taken any refreshment or rest.' 'Indeed! you don't say so! he must be seriously hurt. May I be permitted to see Mr. Saul?' 'I will ascertain his pleasure, Mr. Ananias, and let you know if you can have an interview.' After being gone a short time, Mr. Judas returns, and says: 'Mr. Saul will be much pleased to see you.' When he is ushered into his presence Saul is reclining on his couch in a room partially darkened. Approaching him, Ananias says: 'How do you do, Mr. Saul? I understand you have done our city the honor of a visit. Hope you had a pleasant journey. How did you leave all the friends at Jerusalem? How did you leave the high priest? We have very fine weather, Mr. Saul. I thought I would call and pay my respects to you, as I was anxious to have some conversation with you on theological subjects. I am extremely sorry to hear of the accident that happened to you in visiting our city, and hope you will soon recover from your indisposition.'"

While he was living in "Rachel Martin's house," at Lewistown, Pa., as he called it, he was much annoyed by the boys in the town, who enjoyed themselves in the winter sport of sliding down a hill near the house on their sleds. Having no children himself, he did not wish to be disturbed by other people's. After bearing the noise as long as his nerves and patience would allow, he sallied forth to stop them. He remonstrated with them, and urged them to desist; but the urchins with their sleds were too much attached to their sport to yield what they regarded as their right for "any slight or transient cause." After respecting him enough to listen to his entreaty and demands, one of the Young Americans drew up his sled for a *facilis*

descensus of the hill. Gruber determined to stop him, and for this purpose planted himself firmly on the sled. The young rogues seeing this, and taking a hint from their leader, simultaneously made a push for the parson, and before he had time to dismount, away went the sled down the slippery track with a momentum that could not be arrested. Away went Gruber, and, John Gilpin like, away went his hat, amid the shouts of the boys. Never had he a swifter nor yet a safer passage in the down-hill of life, and when he reached the bottom and returned for the covering of his caput, he was a wiser if not a better man. Not a word did he say to the boys, but deliberately walked home. For once in his life his wit and judgment both failed him; he was completely outdone.

A young preacher, desirous of improving his style as a pulpit orator, and having great confidence in Father Gruber, who, we believe, at the time was his presiding elder, wrote to him for advice. The young man had contracted the habit of prolonging his words, especially when under the influence of great excitement. Deeming this the most important defect in his elocution, Gruber sent him the following laconic reply:

"Dear Ah! Brother Ah!—When-ah you-ah go-ah to-ah preach-ah, take-ah care-ah you-ah don't-ah say-ah Ah-ah! Yours-ah,

JACOB-AH GRUBER-AH."

The writer of this notice has two links of connection with this book. Mr. Gruber died of the same disease as the Rev. Dr. Houghton, late Editor of the *American Presbyterian*—gangrene in the foot. At an interview which the Editor of this Review had with Dr. H. the day before he died, Dr. H. referred to this fact, and conversed about the book with interest. When the writer was a boy, he well remembers the blowing up with gunpowder of the pulpit of the old Methodist church at Harrisburg. Mr. Gruber was then, as this book mentions, preacher in charge of it.

XXVI. HARPERS' SERIES OF SCHOOL AND FAMILY READERS. 1. Primer. 2. First Reader. 3. Second Reader. 4. Third Reader. 5. Fourth Reader. By MARCIUS WILLSON, author of *Primary History*, &c. New York: Harpers. 1860.

This series of Readers has an *idea* in it. The mass of scholars in the public schools—where emphatically *the people* are educated—cannot study the higher branches of education. Mr. Willson has, therefore, carried out the thought in this series, of *making the reading books teach the elements of the higher learning*, instead of selecting reading lessons at random. The series embraces seven books in all. The Third Reader, for example, begins with Stories from the Bible and Moral Lessons, and then follows with a popular treatise on *Zoology*, ending with miscellaneous lessons. The Fourth Reader begins with *Physiology*, then passes to *Ornithology* and *Botany*, all handled popularly, finishing with miscellaneous pieces.

The idea strikes us as excellent. We hope that the plan will not entirely omit some of the fine pieces in former Readers, intended to educate children in taste and style.

XXVII. CHRIST OUR LIFE The Scriptural Argument for Immortality through Christ alone. By C. F. HUDSON, Author of "Debt and Grace." Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1860. pp. 160.

This is an expansion of the "Scriptural Argument" for the Annihilation of the Wicked, as presented in Mr. Hudson's former work—"Debt and Grace." The author takes occasion to answer a number of writers who have attacked him with more or less ability. This work has the same characteristics as the former by Mr. Hudson, of which we spoke with some fulness in a previous Number of this Review. We consider this heresy as *very dangerous*, and that Mr. Hudson is a very dangerous propagator of it. His learning, coolness, and general candour make it necessary that he should be honestly *answered*, and not declaimed against.

XXVIII. EARLY METHODISM WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THE OLD GENESSEE CONFERENCE, from 1788 to 1828; or the First Forty Years of Wesleyan Evangelism in Northern Pennsylvania, Central and Western New York and Canada. By GEORGE PECK, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1860. pp. 512.

Our Methodist friends are laboring with a zeal which is beyond all praise to procure the most minute fragments of their history. It is hard to keep pace with the issues of their press. Dr. Peck, the author of the History of the Wyoming Valley, has here gathered together a mass of information specially important for his own denomination, but not without interest to other Churches, and to the philosopher and general historian.

All these books are filled with conceited statements about Calvinism,—such as stale jests, dogged phrases and arguments that amount to nothing. According to them, it is amazing that any sensible person could believe in what about three-fourths of *educated* Protestantism does believe in. One would suppose from each successive volume that Calvinism was about to expire. But, making allowance for this, much curious, and some edifying matter may be gathered from the merciless mass of minute detail.

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ARTICLE I.

THE ARABS.

While the eyes of the world are turned towards Syria, we propose to consider one of the elements that must necessarily enter into the complications of the Eastern question. And apart from this, a very little recollection will bring out the fact that it has relations connected with every thing most interesting to us; that it touches a thousand points of association, and is instinct with feelings of religion, science, imagination, chivalry, and the memories of our youth and of our home.

Except the children of Jacob, there is no nation which continues distinct or in any considerable numbers, that can claim so high an antiquity, or so noble an origin as the Arabs. It is nearly four thousand years since Hagar cast down her son under a desert shrub to die, and even now a hundred millions of men worship the Zemzem, beneath the Caaba at Mecca, believed by them to be the well which burst forth at her feet. For Abraham's sake, and to fulfil His high purposes, God preserves the Jew unmixed, and the Arab invincible; and what has been done during so long a period of the world's existence, He is able to accomplish until its close.

The people called Arabs include within themselves persons of

other descent than that from Ishmael. A part of the inhabitants of Arabia, that name being taken in a general sense, descended from Cush, the son of Ham. A portion of the Arabs themselves claim descent from Joktan, the second son of Eber. The Arabs call him Kachtan. There were also descendants of Abraham by Keturah, of whom the Midianites are the best known. The children of Nahor, Abraham's brother, seem to have peopled the land of Job, which was North-Eastern Arabia, while the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, to some extent mingled with the Ishmaelites.

But while this is true, it is plain that the Hagarenes were the basis of the whole. There are many examples of this, of which the relation of the Hellenes to the Pelasgians is the most illustrious, and that of the Saxons to the Germanic tribes, one of the most interesting. The law is, that what is most essential to the life of a people, that which specifically constitutes them what they are, is likely to be permanent, to inherit the power of the nation, and to make itself felt and known as the nation. Thus was it with the Ishmaelitish part of the Arab people. Their special representatives, no doubt, are the Bedaween. Of them the picturesque Curzon says: "Long strings of ungainly-looking camels were continually passing, accompanied by swarthy men clad in a long shirt, with a red and yellow handkerchief tied in a peculiar way over their heads, and wearing sandals; these savage-looking people were Bedouins, or Arabs of the desert. A very truculent set they seemed to be, and all of them were armed with a long, crooked knife, and a pistol or two stuck in a red leather girdle. They were thin, gaunt, and dirty, and strode along looking fierce and independent. There was something very striking in the appearance of these untamed Arabs. *I had never pictured to myself that any thing so like a wild beast could exist in human form.* The motions of their half naked bodies were singularly free and light, and they looked as if they could climb, and run, and leap over any thing."

Our readers will remember that the prophecy in regard to Ishmael is: "And he shall be a wild man." The Hebrew is פָּרָא, *cursor*, swift runner. Col. Hamilton Smith, who is "K. H. and K. W., F. R. and L. S.," and President of the Devon and

Cornwall Natural History Society, and who has devoted special attention to the natural history of the Bible, says that this word "is a derivative of the same root which in Hebrew has produced *פָּרָה*, *horse*, and *Persians*, and *Parthians*. It appears to be the horse-ass, *hemionos*. It is little inferior to the wild-horse; in shape, it resembles a mule; in gracefulness, a horse; and in color it is silvery, with broad spaces of flaxen or bright bay on the thigh, flank, shoulder, neck, and head; the ears are wide like the zebra's, and the neck is clothed with a vertical dark mane, prolonged in a stripe to the tuft of the tail. The company of this animal is liked by horses; it is now found wild from the deserts of the Oxus and Jaxartes, to China and Central India. In Cutch it is never known to drink, and in whole districts which it frequents water is not to be found." The following statements are also made concerning this fine animal.* "They are mentioned by Xenophon. He calls them *ὄνοι ἀγροί*, of which words the specific Latin name *onager* is merely a corruption. They were in company with ostriches, antelopes, and bustards; they were eagerly pursued by the horsemen of the army, and are described as being possessed of extraordinary speed and endurance. They have always been the especial quarry of the Persian monarchs, and the famous tyrant Nadir Shah was indefatigable in his pursuit of them, and considered the running down of one of them with his greyhound a feat equal to the winning of a battle or conquering a province. So great was their fleetness, their wind, and the power of maintaining their speed over immense distances, that unless three relays of fresh dogs could be let slip on them without a respite, and unless the hunter could get two or three remounts, there was no chance of their being run to bay, or of the pursuer, mounted on the best Turk or Arab courser, seeing the bay, if they were."

Some doubt has at times been evinced by opponents of religion in regard to the question of the invincibility of the Arabs, and Gibbon, who amidst all the glow and splendid march of his style, was often superficial in his reasonings, sneers at the preservation of the Arabs by prophecy, when there are other causes which he supposes to account for so much of it as is true.

* Kitto's Cyc. Encyc. Amer.

No doubt there have often been parts of the Arab people conquered, as parts are now in bondage in Egypt and Syria, but the only question is whether the Arabs as a nation, in their native fastnesses, have been subdued. Are they now, and have they ever been, in Arabia, wild as their native animals? has their hand been against every man, and every man's hand against them? do they circumcise at thirteen in commemoration of Ishmael? does Ishmael live as ever in the presence of God and of his brethren? And in regard to the fact that much of all this has been brought about by second causes, by the naked mountains and sterile deserts of their land, this is to declare that the Almighty never can accomplish any thing without a continued miracle—to deny the great Cause of causes the use of his own materials, and to illustrate the singular folly of "him who hath said in his heart, 'There is no God.'"

Sesostris, King of Egypt, overran a part of Arabia, but the conquest was not permanent. Neither the Syrians, nor the Medes or Persians conquered the Arabs; but, on the contrary, when Cambyzes was marching to the conquest of Egypt, he asked permission to pass through their territory. Alexander the Great, flushed with victory, on his return from the Indus purposed to crush those who sent no ambassadors to him, but he was "broken without hand" at Babylon. His successors, Antigonus and Demetrius, attempted but failed in the conquest, and one Roman emperor and general was foiled after another, so that the Roman province of Arabia, so called, extended only to the borders of the peninsula. They run one or two Roman roads in the country which lies between the horns of the Red Sea, and struck some medals of prostrate Arabia, while the wild Hagarene, the unconquerable Bedawy, was scouring the deserts on his fleet Arab, and like the war-horse of his tribe "laughing at the shaking of the spear." And we need hardly say that Mohammed's Saracens were not "under tribute to any man." The fact is, the circumstance which Gibbon in his blindness opposes to the prophecy, constitutes its strength and beauty. It was that God made the country for Ishmael, and Ishmael for the country.

Many derivations have been conjectured for the name Arab. The most probable seems to be that it comes from *Arabah*, a

steppe, a desert-plain. This was, in fact, the name given to the country in the Bible, translated in our version *the Plain*; hence the Dead Sea was called "the sea of the *Arabah*," and so Sodom and Gomorrah, "cities of the *Arabah*." The reader, by casting his eye on Dr. Robinson's map, will see that the plain, from the eastern gulf of the Red Sea to the Dead Sea, is called El-Arabah. The Arabs themselves call the country *Jeziret*, or *Jeshirat-el-Arab*, "the peninsula of the Arabs." The Persians and Turks call it *Arabistân*. Lane says that in Egypt the term *Arab* is generally limited to the Bedaween.

The Arabic language is a unique. Here even Hebrew yields, and scarce any other tongue pretends to enter into competition. With the exception of the hieroglyphics, there are but fragments of Egyptian under the names Amharic and Coptic, and they are comparatively modern, and existing only in copies of parts of the Scriptures. Ancient Syriac and Chaldee are no longer living tongues, Chinese is comparatively barren, Sanscrit exists only in its literature, Greek and Latin are mere moderns in comparison, while Hebrew is itself no longer spoken. We cannot, of course, say that Arabic is entirely uncorrupt even in the Koran, but in all essential points the Bedaween who to-day lie in a circle around their fire in the desert, speak the same language as that spoken before Rome was cradled, or Cadmus brought letters into Greece. Yet this is but a very small part of this interesting subject. The Arabic is kindred with the Hebrew. It is not a mere likeness by which we may guess from one to the other. It is a close connection—a consanguinity in structure, in modes of thought and expression. It is a resemblance such as obtains between Spanish and Portuguese, between German and Dutch, or almost between dialects of the same language. The words are often almost identical, and the roots precisely the same. The consequences that flow from this are most striking. The first is the obvious confirmation of the truth of the intimate union of the stream when it sprung into two branches from the parent source. Isaac and Ishmael could almost now converse together, if Israel had not been scattered amongst every people under heaven, and so lost his language with his independence, whilst his wild brother has preserved both. The second of these consequences

has powerfully influenced sacred literature. It will be observed that the only work extant in pure Hebrew is the Old Testament Scriptures. All other Hebrew books are written in a corrupt dialect called Rabbinic. It frequently occurs in the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures that words appear but once or seldom, so that the meaning is not quite certain. When words occur frequently, it will be seen that the method of translating is to recur to other passages where the same word appears. When this cannot be done, recourse is had to the root of the word; but this cannot always be ascertained with certainty, and it is not always—though far more frequently than in modern languages—a certain test. What is to be done? Arabic literature is copious; turn to its condensation in four noble folios, called Freytag's Arabic Lexicon, and there is, perhaps, the very word, or one clearly allied to it, preserved in the living language of Hagar, or in a hundred volumes. This resource was so useful—the mine so rich, that it became a perfect passion with Gesenius to refer every thing the least obscure in Hebrew to Arabic roots.

The Arabic language itself, independently of association, is singularly noble. Its copiousness is almost beyond belief. Besides endless inflections of verbs, and a wonderful variety in the meaning of each, there are sometimes hundreds of words, literal and figurative, for the same idea. Thus, the Arabs say that they have one thousand names for a sword, five hundred for a lion, &c. Of course, a vast number of these are figurative. Indeed, they boast that no uninspired man can become a master of Arabic. A slight acquaintance, even, with oriental languages fills every one with admiration of this powerful and beautiful tongue.

The Book of Job, though written in Hebrew, is strongly Arabic in its character. As Carlyle says: "I call that, (the Book of Job,) apart from all theories about it, one of the grandest things ever written with pen. One feels, indeed, as if it were not Hebrew; such a noble universality, different from noble patriotism, or sectarianism, reigns in it. A noble Book; all men's Book! It is our first, oldest statement of the never-ending problem—man's destiny, and God's ways with him here in

this earth. And all in such free, flowing outlines; grand in its sincerity, in its simplicity, in its epic melody, and repose of reconciliation. There is the seeing eye, the mildly understanding heart. So *true* every way; true eyesight and vision for all things; material things no less than spiritual. The horse—"Hast thou clothed his neck with *thunder*?" "he *laughs* at the shaking of the spear!" Such living likenesses were never since drawn. Sublime sorrow, sublime reconciliation; oldest choral melody as of the heart of mankind; so soft and great; as the summer midnight, as the world with its seas and stars! There is nothing written, I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal literary merit."*

The early history of Arabia after the brief records of the Scriptures terminate, is hidden in obscurity. But we are wrong in imagining that the Arabs of this period were as barbarous as they afterwards became, when they degenerated into idolatry. And here let us pause a moment to break a lance against that infidel theory which has taken possession of so many volumes, and lies upon the back-ground of so much declamation respecting the origin of nations. It is assumed, for it is a pure assumption, that there exists some power in savage nations, unassisted, to work themselves clear of their ignorance and barbarity, and gradually to rise to civilization and refinement; and it is assumed again that this is the mode in which nations have risen. A more gratuitous assumption has never kept its ground so firmly in the outer ranks of false philosophy, since time was. Where is the solitary example? On the contrary, if we will examine the stream of history we will perceive that the original elements of every thing good came in the germ from above, and were caught—to apply to another subject the beautiful simile of the Grecian torch-light games—from nation to nation, and successively kindled the beacon-fires of civilization upon headland after headland. In the plains of Shinar, near Ararat, the human race, after the deluge, began its course. And science and civilization commenced there in Babylonia and Assyria. It spread from thence into India, founding that strange monument of human mind, the Sanscrit language, the

* Hero Worship, p. 56.

silent, dim, and vast cavern in which lies all that remains of Indian learning. The wave rolled thence to China and Japan, and its combings only flung their scanty drops to Tartary and Siberia. At the original seat grew up Persia. The father of the faithful passed into Palestine under immediate divine guidance, and founded the Jewish and Arab nations. Egypt learned from Babylon and India; Phœnicia from Egypt and Palestine; and Cadmus, with others, threw the torch into the explosive magazine of Greek intellect. So late as the conquest of Greece by Mummius, the Romans seem almost entirely ignorant of the fine arts, and philosophy appears to have been scantily cultivated until they learned it by conquering Græcæ. From Rome, as from a common centre, civilization thence radiated over Europe. If we review the entire subject, it will be seen that every nation has been first struck from without, as the rock by the prophet's rod, and that then the successive genius of each people modified the light thus thrown in among them. And the reader will observe how strikingly the law holds, that in proportion to the distance of the people from this common centre, was their civilization bright or dim, except where the true religion prevailed, and a perpetual celestial lever continued to elevate. Thus India evinces, in the structure of its laws, polity, learning, and its tremendous system of false religion, that mind there had been much enlightened, and was, in vigorous, we might say, scientific activity. But the departure from the worship of the true God darkened the entire system, so that, though vast and wondrous as their century-defying structures, it became gloomy, cruel, portentous. Beyond lies China, and though some peculiarity of character inherent in the race—for it will be observed in all this, we allow fully for difference of natural character—prevented the gloom of so awful a religious organization from darkening its countless millions, yet in point of fervid and intense intellect there can be no comparison between India within and beyond the Ganges. Now stretch to Tartary, Siberia, the Samoides above, and to Malaysia and Australasia below, and you will see the rays of light visibly feeble far from the centre, until "darkness covers the land, and gross darkness the people."

We should like to pursue this train of thought, and show how

light sprang from its *foci* westwardly as well as eastwardly, modified still by the stern mind of Egypt; the versatility, and acuteness, and love of beauty of the Greek; the grandeur of the Roman; but we forbear. We ask this question, however—Can the reader go to Australasia, to Polynesia, to America, to Scandinavia, and point out the nation which, unassisted, rose to civilization, learning, and refinement? And let it be remembered, too, that just as Paganism was working out its results in Greece and Rome, Christianity averted it, and fixed civilization in Europe on its new and more brilliant centre.

But as Greece is considered the most striking example in opposition to the theory which we believe the true one, let us dwell a moment upon it. It is said that its existence is an anomaly—a marvel. That a Pagan people arose as from an abyss of darkness, and by the force of an inherent genius, created models for the world in philosophy and art; that the highest civilization arose from the darkest ignorance, and that Plato, and Homer, and Parrhasius, and Praxiteles, were the entire and original growth of their own soil and institutions. How much truth there is in all this, a little geography and chronology will serve to show. The temple at Jerusalem was built 1000 years B. C., and about the same time Solomon built Tadmor in the desert, over the ruins of which travellers now wonder. But Hiram, king of Tyre, the capital of Phœnicia, was in the closest alliance with Solomon, and procured the cedars for the temple. In what test of high civilization does Solomon's empire fail? But Homer was born about 900 years B. C. The Psalms of David, therefore, preceded the Iliad about 150 years. The merchants of Tyre were princes, about 700 years B. C.; and a little after this Pythagoras, the founder of Greek philosophy, began to teach in the East and remained a long time in Egypt. Plato and Aristotle were upwards of 500 years after Solomon, and Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides succeeded Isaiah about 200 years. The truth is, that one is amazed at the fallacy when he examines it; for Greece, so far from springing from the bosom of barbarism, actually arose in splendor, full-orbed when the whole eastern horizon was ablaze with light; a hundred stars heralded its dawn, and the versatile, and active, and beauty-loving Greek mind turned

into nourishment for itself the genius and learning of the golden age of the Orient. While we say this, however, we do not wish to be understood as denying that Greece is an amazing marvel in the history of the world, and that many of the causes of its glory elude our grasp. After allowing the force of all influence from without, Greece was such as the world has never seen in genius, within. And from the brighter days of Greece, with one memorable exception, the learning and civilization of Asia began to decay. And that memorable exception brings us back to our immediate subject.

With the ancient inhabitants of Arabia mingled the race of Ishmael, the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, and probably, to a considerable extent, the descendants of Esau, who peopled Idumea. These all lived in the country south and east of Palestine. It is in this country, and amongst these people, that the five speakers of the Book of Job lived. Their manners and discourse indicate a high degree of cultivation, intellectual and moral. Incidental notices of this people confirm the view that they degenerated instead of advancing, until in the time of Mohammed, we find that they had passed through the intermediate stages of the worship of the sun, and stars, and fire, and that they had set up that of the black stone of Mecca—supposed by some to have been an ærolite—and that of three hundred and sixty idols at that holy city alone. Such was the deplorable condition to which they had sunk. But the elements of that inextinguishable character which has always marked them were there; and one allusion, made by several authors, is particularly remarkable. It is, that at certain great fairs, which they held at a place called Oradh, they had literary contests, recitations of poems, and things of a similar character, to which the people gathered in numbers.

Of Mohammed, it is perhaps difficult to form a suitable estimate. It must be evident, we think, to most careful and sober thinkers, that Carlyle's view of him is too favorable, as that of most other authors is unreasonably severe. Indeed Carlyle in his most masterly sketch, professes to "say all the good he can of him," and passes but slightly over the evil, palliating where he can. One theory is, that this wonderful man was insane, which we take it only amounts to an acknowledgment that the

theorist could not understand him. Another supposes him a sheer impostor, laboring for his own aggrandizement, and inventing revelations to cover his own impostures and vices. This we must also reject, if for no other reason than for the fact of the prodigious constructions of Mohammed—the wonderful results of his religion, so many of them excellent. A man who so wonderfully advances society, we cannot consider as a sheer impostor. Was he an enthusiast, then, with a large infusion of the fanatic? Too wise for an enthusiast, too humane in general for a fanatic? Was he a pure reformer? Certainly not. How shall we then estimate him? To do so aright, we must consider what he was; almost destitute of education, a wild Arab, with a mighty intellect and nothing to satisfy it; perfectly dissatisfied with the follies of the religion he found at Mecca; that he travelled on trading expeditions into Syria and elsewhere in early life, and that he had some opportunity of intercourse with Jews and Christians. We must remember that he did not commence offering his professed revelations till he was forty years of age, and that for some fifteen years afterwards his life was one of hardship and difficulty, that though in his earlier manhood continent apparently, it was in about the last fifteen years that licentiousness may be properly charged upon him, viz.: from towards his fiftieth year till his death, for he died at sixty-three. We must remember the principles of his religion, not as compared with our pure Christianity, but with the miserable remnant of Sabeanism left in his time. Idolatry he perfectly and utterly abolished, and introduced fasting rigorously for a whole month in the year, required prayer five times a day, and one pilgrimage, at least, to Mecca in a man's lifetime. He sets apart one-tenth of the income as the property of the poor, forbids wine and spirituous liquors, and swine's flesh, and teaches constantly, and with great earnestness, the doctrine of one God only. He also teaches that the Jewish prophets were many of them truly inspired, as well as our Saviour, but that he (Mohammed,) was sent to perfect what was remaining. He allows true Mussulmans four wives, extended his religion by the sword, never attempted to work miracles, inculcates a sensual paradise, and a terrible physical hell for the wicked, but keeps the doctrine of retribution steadily

before his followers. We are to consider what he found Arabia, and what the Saracenic empire grew to be. And we shall find the question as to what Mohammed was, by no means one to be disposed of in a few phrases. If we were to give an opinion, it would be this:—That Mohammed's own mind was never very clear in regard to religion; that he never perfectly understood what he was, nor what he intended to be; that he was hurried on by an irresistible impulse, partly of disgust at the folly of idolatry, partly of a glimpse of the truth as discerned in the Jewish and Christian religions, mingled with the reflections which arose in his own vast intellect, and partly of ambition, as he saw something of the brilliant career before him; that a desire for Arab greatness, a rude patriotism, was no inconsiderable element in his character, and that he deceived himself in regard to his own character and privileges, perhaps quite as much as he deceived others. It seems that he plainly saw that he was establishing a system far better than the one previously existent, and in the chaos of the feelings of the most fervid Arab character, he might perchance believe himself inspired, while when the sceptre of dominion, which to him seemed universal, was stretched out, it would have been wondrous indeed if he had not grasped it; and in fine, his false religion was a mighty instrument in the hands of God to accomplish his divine purposes. If, therefore, it be asked, Was Mohammed an impostor, enthusiast, fanatic, or reformer, we would be disposed to say, something of all; but that he was a man of consummate ability, such as the world has seldom seen, is clearer than any thing else in relation to him. It should be added that he seemed to die in full confidence of the truth of his religion, engaged in prayer and other acts of devotion.

Mohammed's career of conquest commenced in Arabia. From small beginnings, his army increased to immense numbers. He gained one victory after another, until in a short time all Arabia was at his bidding. Presently Persia submitted, and during his life he had fought against the armies of the Roman Emperor, written to him urging his conversion, and the Mohammedan empire extended from the Euphrates, to the head of the Red Sea. We have not space to enter into a particular account of the Saracenic conquests. They spread eastward to the Indus,

and the proud empire of the Abassides had its seat among the splendors of Bagdad. All Syria submitted; the Holy Land became theirs; the ruins of Tadmor, of Persepolis, of Petra, resounded to their armed tread. Their swift dromedaries, and their barbed steeds, presently drank the waters of the Nile, reposed under the shadow of the pyramids, and were stabled amidst Karnak and Luxor. Stretching westward, they overran, like an army of locusts, Nubia and Mauritania, and again drew rein by the fallen columns of Carthage. Founding what we now call Tripoli, and Tunis, Algiers, Fez, and Morocco, they rushed onward, till the waves of the Atlantic, the only barrier that could resist their progress, mingled their foam with the champing of their fiery coursers. A Christian traitor bends suppliant to the fierce leader: "Across yonder strait is a fair and fertile region, the home of the vine, and the pomegranate, where you may exchange these lands for perpetual verdure, and the short, broken streams of the sides of Atlas, for the Ebro, and the Tagus, the Douro, and the Guadalquivir." "Islam"—"It is the will of God," and the western Christian hears for the first time that fearful war-cry which rung for centuries in the ears of the chivalry of Europe, when they fought for the sepulchre of Christ—"Allah il allah! Allah hu!" Spain submits, or her few gallant patriots take refuge in the northern mountains, and Granada under the Ommeyades, amidst the whispering groves of her Alhambra, becomes the Bagdad of the West. But from the heights of the Pyrenees, it is reported that the Mediterranean has been seen breaking in sunny waves upon a silver shore. "What call ye the land?" "The infidels, commander of the faithful, call it Francia." "Shall we thither?" "Allah acbar."—"God is great." And they are across the Pyrenees, and at the gates of Marseilles. They are over Sicily. They have landed in Italy. Rome trembles!

We pause to glance over the brilliant scene. Has not the Almighty redeemed his promise to Abraham, that Ishmael shall be a mighty nation? Is not his character well drawn—his hand against every man? Does he not dwell in the presence of his brethren? From the far distant Bassora and Bagdad, to Cordova and Granada, the delicate tracery of the Saracenic

architecture delights the eye, and from every slender minaret sounds forth, five times a day, "There is no God but God! To prayer! To prayer!" The crescent has filled its horns, and its splendor is full orb'd.

And now a new voice is heard in slumbering Europe. "The shrines of your religion are desecrated. Your pilgrims are insulted, the sepulchre of your Lord is in infidel hands, and ye slumber on." Peter the Hermit is our next enthusiast, but as easily understood as the Crusades are familiar. Between Acre and Jerusalem, the flower of Europe are engaged with Saladin and his hosts, and forty thousand men in a single battle cumber with their dead bodies the soil of Palestine. Richard and Saladin make truce; the representatives of the western mailed Christian, and the eastern versatile, fiery, yet withal grave and wise Arab.

How often, when life was to our future vision as a fairy tale, have we roamed with Aladdin in his wonderful cave, and luxuriated amid its gems, till our hearts were heavy that we could not carry away the abundant wealth! How we wondered at the wisdom of Haroun Al Raschid, how our hearts trembled lest the voices should affright the bold adventurer after the talking bird, the singing tree, and the yellow water! Who has not wondered, and trembled, and laughed, and wept, over the Arabian Nights? A book that delights every generation of children for centuries, must have found the chords of the universal heart which respond to the skilful touch.

But it is not only in fiction that the power and delicacy of the Arab mind was manifested. It will be remembered that the tenth century was precisely the midnight of the dark ages, and then it was that learning was kept alive by Arab hands, and art was preserved in Saracenic forms. The Arab in the East caught the rich voluptuousness, and poetic character of the Persian, and informed it with his own versatility and energy; the Arab of the West caught the spirit, but not the faith, of the Christian Spaniard, and poured new life through the studies of the cloister and the university. Greek philosophers and historians were translated into Arabic, so that classic works, otherwise lost, have been thus recovered. Algebra was originated; music was cultivated and loved; architecture became a

favorite method of indulging in solid stone, the beautiful sport of a fine imagination, and arabesque tracery—imitation of the human form being forbidden by the Koran—became with its ever varying delicacy, a passion with the Saracen, and a study for the Christian architect.

We copy here, as illustrative of our subject, and to show the position occupied by Arab architecture, the beautiful words of Ruskin:—

“All European architecture, bad and good, old and new, is derived from Greece through Rome, and colored and perfected from the East. The history of architecture is nothing but the tracing of the various modes and directions of this derivation. Understand this once for all; if you hold fast this great connecting clue, you may string all the types of successive architectural invention upon it, like so many beads. The Doric and the Corinthian orders are the roots, the one of all Romanesque, massy, capited buildings—Norman, Lombard, Byzantine, and what else you can name of the kind; and the Corinthian of all Gothic, early English, French, German, and Tuscan. Now observe; those old Greeks gave the shaft; Rome gave the arch; the Arabs pointed and foliated the arch. The shaft and arch, the frame-work and strength of architecture, are from the race of Japheth; the spirituality and sanctity of it from Ishmael, Abraham, and Shem.

“You have perhaps heard of five orders; but there are only two real orders, and there never can be any more until doomsday. On one of these orders, the ornament is convex; those are Doric, Norman, and what else you can recollect of the kind. On the other, the ornament is concave; those are Corinthian, early English, decorated, and what else you recollect of that kind.

“This Greek architecture, with its two orders, was clumsily copied and varied by the Romans, with no particular result, until they began to bring the arch into extensive practical service. And in this state of things came Christianity; seized upon the arch as her own; decorated it, and delighted in it; invented a new Doric capital, to replace the spoiled Roman one. This Roman Christian architecture, is the exact expression of the Christianity of the time, very fervid and beautiful, but very

imperfect; in many respects ignorant, and yet radiant with a strong, child-like light of imagination, which flames up under Constantine, illumines all the shores of the Bosphorus, and the Ægean and the Adriatic Sea, and then gradually, as the people gave themselves up to idolatry, becomes corpse-light.

“This Christian art of the declining empire is divided into two great branches, Western and Eastern; one centred at Rome, the other at Byzantium; of which the one is the early Christian Romanesque, properly so called, and the other carried to higher imaginative perfection by Greek workmen, is distinguished from it as Byzantine.

* * * * * * *

“When sensuality and idolatry had done their work, and the religion of the empire was laid asleep in a glittering sepulchre, the living light rose upon both horizons, and the fierce swords of the Lombard and Arab were shaken over its golden paralysis.

“The work of the Lombard was to give hardihood and system to the enervated body and enfeebled mind of Christendom; that of the Arab was to punish idolatry, and to proclaim the spirituality of worship. The Lombard covered every church which he built with the sculptured representations of bodily exercises, hunting, and war. The Arab banished all imagination of creature form from his temples, and proclaimed from their minarets, ‘There is no God, but God.’ Opposite in their character and mission, alike in their magnificence of energy, they came from the North and from the South, the glacier torrent, and the lava stream; they met and contended over the wreck of the Roman empire; and the very centre of the struggle, the point of pause of both, the dead water of the opposite eddies, charged with embayed fragments of the Roman wreck, is VENICE.

“The Ducal palace of Venice contains the three elements in exactly equal proportions—the Roman, Lombard, and Arab. It is the central building of the world.”

And here, it will be observed, is the Arab character illustrated. Its power lies much in the imagination, so that its contributions to European knowledge were not generally of the solid character. Astronomy was eagerly pursued, but it tended

very strongly to the wild, and often fearful, delusions of astrology. Chemistry was a passion, but presently the wrinkled Moor, amid his laboratories and crucibles, was deluded, even to the borders of the grave, by alchemy. It was not enough that oriental gems flashed with starry light; each pearl and jewel was a talisman, and possessed the miraculous power of the wondrous ring of Solomon. It was not enough that the Bible of the Christian, and the Koran of Mohammed imitating it, revealed angels as surrounding the throne of God, and mingling with the affairs of men; the lower heavens, and the middle air, the beds of rivers, and the roots of the Domdaniel and the Caucasus, the gloomy cavern, and the dark, cypress covered Necropolis, were haunted with peris and gnomes, and genii, and ghoules; all that the imagination could summon most beautiful or most hideous. It was not enough that genius and science can accomplish wonders; magic and devilish incantation gave more than human power, and man did not merely die—he yielded up his soul to Azrael, the angel of death. Thus gorgeous and bright, the imagination of the Arab was the true slave of the lamp that gathered around him halls brighter than that of the lions, saloons richer than those of the harem of Haroun, and sounds softer than the perpetual murmur of the fountains that fell into basins of marble and of porphyry. He lived in an ideal world, and he endeavored to perpetuate the delusion by horses of the rarest breed, by women of Circassia and Georgia, by improvisatori, such as the author of the *Nights*; by encouraging such poets as Hafiz and Sadi in Persia, and the troubadour of the West; by every luxury of thought, in music and in architecture; and alternating these softer amusements, now with chivalric encounters with Christian knights, interchanges of courteous challenge with the Cid Campeador and the Marquis Duke of Cadiz; and anon with the profound subtleties of Aristotle, and the sententious gravity of Lokman. Such was the Arab in his palmy days. Chivalry itself is said to have been instituted, or at least refined, by the monarchs of Grenada. How have the mighty fallen! How certain is it that a thing must be true in order that it may live! Mohammedanism has done all that it could—all that it was

commissioned to perform, and is fading before the true light which now shineth.

It was impossible but that with the failing of the enthusiasm that poured itself in a fiery tide from the heart of Mohammed and the caliphs into those of their followers, their empire should not begin to recede. And here we see a prominent defect and error in Islamism. It does not make provision for improvement, nor does it form the mind as does pure Christianity to a perpetual thirst for knowledge and enterprise. And accordingly, after residing in Spain for centuries, the Mohammedans were finally expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella. Their expulsion, in all its circumstances, is amongst the most mournful passages in history. The heroic daring, and wise forethought of many a leader, availed nothing. It was the steady advance of a vigorous people against a decaying one, and the "last sigh of the Moor" was sooner or later inevitable. They retired, leaving impressed upon the inhabitants of Castile and Andalusia their glowing, lofty, and graceful character.

So was it in the East. First came the wild and fierce Turk, pouring his hordes from Scythia, and then from that vast table-land "which stretches from Poland to the wall of China," the still wilder and more fierce Tartar. But the genius of Mohammed was still so far in the ascendant that both embraced his religion, though gradually the finer traits of the Arab gave way before semi-barbarism. In each direction the Saracen fell back towards Arabia, but no doubtful memorial of his conquests exists in the Barbary States, in Egypt, and in Syria, crowded with Arabs, and in the fact that Arabic at this hour is the main language of Africa, from the Mediterranean to the Mountains of the Moon—for it is overpowering the negro dialects of Nigritia—and of Asia from the Levant to Persia. Islamism dies hard—for when the Turk has perished, and the silken Persian has submitted, we have millions of Arabs filled with its spirit, not as the others, a fallen or falling people, but Ishmael still, wild, quick-eyed, acute, and versatile. The principal Arab sovereign at the present day is the Sultan, or Imaum of Muscat. His intercourse with our government, some years since, will be remembered; his vessel, the *Malek Adhel* which

came into New York, and the present given him by government for his humane conduct in saving the crew of one of our ships. Commencing at Mozambique in Africa, opposite the island of Madagascar, his dominions extend a thousand miles along the coast of Africa and Arabia, until they meet the Persian Gulf. He himself resides on the island of Zanzibar, and though semi-barbarian, he seems desirous of improving his people, and appears to possess that chivalry for which his nation have ever been remarkable.

All travellers in Syria and Egypt are particularly taken with the Arabs. They are the guides along the Nile, and to all the points of interest in Western Asia, and are found moving perpetually through the desert. It is they who give all the life derived from present existence, to the narratives of travellers in those otherwise desolate, and lifeless regions. Does a wanderer from "our own green forest land," following in the track of Laborde and of Stephens, visit the ruins of Petra? Passing through the singular chasm of its surrounding mountains, and dwelling with wonder, unremoved by the expectations on which he had been feeding, upon beautiful column and cornice cut from the solid rock, a city carved in stone, who go before him on camel and steed, with matchlock gun, swarthy, wild, grave, superstitious, yet withal roguish and amusing? The Arab. Who point out every locality, and with lofty and sonorous epithets, in a language born of oriental air and skies, characterize its wonders? The Arab. Or would you pierce that wild chaos of mountains which lie between the Gulfs of Suez and Akabah? would you follow God's chosen people in their wanderings, and make the awful approach to the "mount that might be touched?"—Sinai and Horeb are like nothing else on earth. Here, our mountains are clothed with verdure to their tops; Mont Blanc's glaciers shine in perpetual silver and rose tints under the sunlight; Dofrafeld is dark with pines, and Appenine and Pyrenees rich with larch and firs. But Sinai and Horeb are one pile of naked rock. Not a solitary tree breaks the effect of the stern desolation. You climb rock after rock, and at last reach the summit, desolate as the base, and stand where stood not Moses only, the prophet of the Most High, who smote the water from the living rock; not

only Joshua, at whose bidding the sun stood still on Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon; nor Aaron only, whose consecrated rod, with living buds from a lifeless stalk, was enclosed in the hallowed ark, nor alone the elders of the chosen people—but a Mightier still, “whose voice then shook the earth,” and who, amid lightning, and thunder, and storm, spake those awful words by which we are to live, by which to die, by which to be judged. The scene becomes peopled with forms long since mingled with the dust, and with an innumerable army of seraphs, “sky tintured grain,” now bowing in glory. The present existence fades, and you are living in the past. But suddenly your trance is broken by a deep guttural sound, and your eye falls upon the reclining forms of your Arabs, resting upon the rock, Ishmael ever and aye “living before” God, though the chosen are scattered far from the base of Sinai.

And when weary of the unvarying desert, you approach the border of the Holy Land, and your eye glad again to see the earth green, and a sparkling, living spring of water, you come to the place where Abraham dwelt, and where he and his beloved Sarah, and the patriarchs are buried, you turn to your Arab and ask the name of the place; he tells you it is El-Khulil—“The Friend;” that is, “of God;” for this is the only name by which they know Hebron.

From the southern borders of Palestine, the different Arab tribes have divided the country among themselves, and their flocks roam among specified pastures and boundaries. It is the office of particular tribes, too, to act as guides to special points of interest, and they are very jealous of encroachment. Thus a region in which landmarks seem few, and which we would hardly deem in an economic view worth possessing, is mapped out in their minds, and held tenaciously. As at present they do not seem ferocious, and the impressions of travellers towards them are generally kindly. No doubt examples of cruelty occur. The same inextinguishable wildness exists, causing them to be apparently incapable of settled life, and they treat with contempt, as almost outcasts, those who cultivate the soil. These are quite inferior to those Arabs who keep up the origi-

nal dignity of doing nothing except driving flocks, fighting occasionally, and acting as guides.

In regard to the Bedawîn, we make an extract or two from the very accurate and learned travels of Robinson and Smith. Disregarding entirely the traditions of the monks and of western travellers, they went to the Arabs themselves, and obtained from themselves their customs, their character, their history, and the names of ancient places. All this varied information Dr. R. elaborated into three large volumes, with the assistance, when he needed it, of the finest writers in Germany. There is, however, little that is interesting of a picturesque, graphic or romantic character in these books. A wonderful talent for topography and the naked facts of history is alloyed by a want of any special power in Dr. R. of presenting his valuable materials so grouped as to catch the popular imagination, so that one moves amidst patriarchs, ancient Greeks, Roman procurators, apostles, Jewish kings and prophets, Crusaders, Syrians, Arabs, Druses, and Maronites, from Abraham to Lady Hester Stanhope, with scarcely a spark of enthusiasm or a kindling of poetic fire, except as the reader may scintillate it from the flint of the author. But for materials of thought and accurate exhibition of recondite and laboriously attained facts, the work is quite unrivalled. Of course the qualities in which Dr. R. excels are much more important than those in which he fails, so far as constituting his work a store-house is concerned, though the rapid and comparatively careless sketches of Stephens and the graphic and elegant descriptions of Stanley will be oftener in the hands of general readers. The following are the extracts:

“The Tawarah,” a tribe of Bedawîn, “never go to law before the Egyptian tribunals. The Sheikh of each tribe or division acts as judge. Minor quarrels are generally settled by the parties between themselves. But when not, they bring the case before the judge, each putting into his hands a pledge; and he who loses the cause forfeits his pledge to the judge as his fee. This mode of trial was described, both by the monk and the superior, as being wonderfully just. Bribery and partiality are unknown among them. This law is one not of statute but of

prescription, and as binding as the common law of England. The Bedawin in their quarrels avoid beating each other with a stick or with the fist as disreputable; this being the punishment of slaves and children, and a great indignity to a man. Their code of honor allows blows to be given only with the sword or with a gun; and by these the sufferer feels himself far less aggrieved. If a person be killed, it is the right and duty of the nearest relative to slay the murderer or his nearest relative wherever he may be found. But in general, those who are likely to suffer flee the country for a year or two; and in the mean time persons of influence interfere to appease the relatives of the deceased, and induce them to accept a considerable sum of money from the offender as the price of blood. The feud is then usually made up, and the offender is free to return. This is the ancient blood-revenge of the Hebrews, which was so firmly fixed in all their habits of life, that even the inspired law-giver did not choose to abolish it directly, but only modified and controlled its influence by establishing cities of refuge. Nothing resembling these exists among the Arabs.

“The strict honesty of the Bedawin among themselves is proverbial; however little regard they may have to the right of property in others. If an Arab’s camel dies on the road, and he cannot remove the load, he only draws a circle in the sand round about and leaves it. In this way it will remain safe and untouched for months. Burckhardt relates that he was shown in Wady Kumr a point upon the rocks from which one of the Tawarah a few years before had cast down his son bound, head-long, hand and foot, for a violation of this law.

“We made many inquiries in the peninsula and among the tribes which we fell in with from the North, but could never hear of a Bedawy among them all who was able to read. Among the tribes of the northern deserts we found it was accounted disreputable for a Bedawy to learn to read. They rejoice in the wild liberty of their deserts, as contrasted with towns and cities: and in like manner take pride in their freedom from the arts and restraints of civilized life.”

To a person living in these regions of perpetual change, where everything seems to pass away in half a generation and make room for other views and other prospects, the most as-

tonishing circumstance in relation to these oriental nations is their unvarying habits and customs. And a most interesting inquiry remains in connection with this idea as to the shape which the Arabs will ultimately assume. The philanthropist is not content with the amusement and gratification of his thirst for knowledge which the consideration of these people may give, he inquires, what is to be their future government, institutions and religion.

Dr. Robinson says, speaking of the Arabs of the peninsula of Arabia: "The Mohammedanism of all these sons of the deserts sits very loosely upon them. They bear the name of followers of the false prophet; and the few religious ideas which they profess, are moulded after his precepts. Their nominal religion is a matter of habit, of inheritance, of national prescription; but they seemed to manifest little attachment to it in itself, and live in the habitual neglect of most of its outward forms. We never saw any among them repeat the usual Mohammedan prayers, in which other Muslims are commonly so punctual: and were told, indeed, that many never attempt it, and that very few among them even know the proper words and forms of prayer. The men generally observe the fast of Ramadân, though some do not; nor do the females keep it. Nor is the duty of pilgrimage more regarded; for according to Tuweileb, not more than two or three of all the Tawarah had ever made the journey to Mecca.

"We asked the Superior of the convent (at Mount Sinai) whether the Bedouin would feel any objection to professing Christianity. His reply was, 'None at all. They would do it to-morrow, if they would get fed by it.'"

We think it more than probable that the Superior erred in his estimate of the strength of Mohammedanism in the breast of the Arab. The recent events in India and Syria indicate a fierce and unquenched fanaticism in all Islam against Christians. It is the clear testimony of the English that the mutiny in India was the result of Mohammedan hatred against Christians, though the Hindoos joined in the rebellion when begun by the Moslems. Whether, as is asserted by some, the Greek and Papal bishops and patriarchs stirred up the Syrian war, or whether it was begun by the Druses, it is certain that the Moham-

medans invariably, when uncontrolled, joined the Druses against the Christians. It is asserted that at Zahleh, Druses, Arabs, Kurds and Turks were united in the massacre.

The Syrian question is thus opened anew. France has taken the lead in intervention. But England comes into it cautiously and fearfully. "We have," says one of the leading English journals, "for forty years been placed in a dilemma. We have been obliged to support the most wretched, in order to save ourselves from the most formidable of despotisms. The Sultan rules in the North through our jealousy of Russia, and in the South through our jealousy of France. Had we abandoned him in 1840, both Druses and Maronites might now be kept in order by an Egyptian ruler, who would be really a vicegerent of France. Had we accepted the offers of the Czar Nicholas, to Sir II. Seymour, there might not now be a Sultan at all, and the Druses might be kept in order by ourselves. England has remained true to her policy; whether right or wrong, she secured Syria to Abdul Medjid."

The difficulty is plain enough. Of the five great powers, Prussia has but little interest in the question, except to prevent the increase of the power of Russia. Austria, who seemed to be making approaches to Turkey by the Danube and the Adriatic, is so crippled by the recent war with France and Sardinia that it is scarcely to be deeply considered now in the Syrian question. If it can hold its own it will do well. The recent conference at Toplitz shows that the German element is combining for its own safety. It is, therefore, a grand game between the other three powers. The powers have determined to send twelve thousand troops to Syria, of whom France furnishes one-half. These forces are to be under the orders of the commissioners of the great powers. The stipulation is, that these forces are not to remain longer than six months. No one can place much confidence in this part of the arrangement. It must, one would think, be only the beginning of the downfall of the Turkish empire. This armed protectorate will hardly be relinquished. When a ruler is thus pronounced to be incapable of governing his country, it plainly announces a change. Napoleon, indeed, professes to act with England and Russia. But he has the lion's share in the troops,

and his connection through Algeria and Egypt is very close with Syria. Speculation, however, is useless. We must content ourselves with waiting the development of events which is likely to come before many years, and to be of much consequence to the Church and the world.

The religion of western Asia, it is evident, is to have much to do with its destiny. This great fact is becoming clearer through the recent events in India and Syria. There are two reasons for this. The first is, that religion is interwoven with the Oriental feelings, their language, their customs, and character, and is the one instrument by which alone they are moved in masses. It would be wiser to consider Ireland or Mexico independent of the Roman Catholic faith, than to consider western Asia independently of her religion. The other reason is, that Mohammedanism is to be destroyed and Judaism to cease, but Israel and Ishmael are to be preserved. It is well worthy of the attention of England, that the Greeks are in the Russian interest, the Catholics in that of France, while the Protestants look naturally to England.

The great powers have attempted to hold up Turkey as a nation. It is all in vain. Nationality in western Asia must be a powerful despotism, or it must rest upon union in faith. The despotism seems impossible because of the jealousy of the great powers. Is it, then, possible to contract a voluntary nationality?

It is impossible to think deeply of this dilemma without recurring to the prophecies concerning Jacob and Ishmael. If it be the will of God that the Jews shall return to their own land; if, with their wealth and civilization and courage, a passion such as animated Christendom in the Crusades, or the Saracens under Mohammed and his successors, should possess them, the question would be solved. The movements of Garibaldi show that at times when great forces paralyze each other into inaction, some bold actor, identified fully with no one of them, is allowed to go forward and solve a question that is else insoluble. Five millions of Jews, like those under David, or like those who fought at the siege of Jerusalem, would speedily settle the Syrian question. And as to the possibility of such a passion seizing them, we have only to look at the history of

mankind in every age for movements not more remarkable. Besides, if this be the true interpretation of prophecy, a way will be found for its accomplishment. Modern improvements make the matter comparatively easy of accomplishment. In fact, the only great practical difficulty in the matter now is, a want of disposition on the part of the Jews to return to Palestine. They have numbers, conduct, courage, wealth. They have but to unite and to will it, and Palestine may be theirs by purchase and conquest.

The Palestine Greek, and Greek Catholic Christians are Arabs, while the Maronites are of Syrian origin.* A very large part of the population of Syria and Arabia are Arabs, and Rev. Eli Smith makes the important remark that "the spoken Arabic differs so little from the language of books, that all books written in a plain style are intelligible to the common people." Few men have had a better opportunity of judging of this. If we were able to convert the Arabs to a pure Christianity, and could thus turn their language into a grand Christian medium, it would be life from the dead for western Asia and northern Africa. Concerning the Turk and the Persian, there are no such promises in the Scriptures as concerning the children of Abraham. And we confess that it is a favorite hope, that the nations descended from Isaac and Ishmael, preserved as perpetual prophecies in the presence of mankind, are to be the instruments of regenerating the oriental world, and of introducing the millennial glory.

We have spoken hitherto of other nations, but it is remarkable that Providence has directed to the Arabs the special attention of our own people. The Protestants of Lebanon, of whom many have now received the palm of martyrdom, are American converts. God has especially granted the privilege of blessing the children of Abraham to the nation that has never persecuted them.

The following remarks were made in the British Parliament by Sir Robert Peel: "There may be a natural tendency to overrate the magnitude of the crisis which we witness, or to increase the importance of those occurrences with which we are

* Robinson.

encompassed; but it is impossible to deny that the period in which our lot and the lot of our fathers have been cast—that period which has elapsed since the first outbreak of the French Revolution, is one of the most memorable periods in the history of the world.”

If we are not called upon to intervene with armed force in Syria, our mission there may not be less important. It is an intervention which comes from the direct inculcation of the Gospel through our missionary efforts, and through the more indirect influence of our improvements and our free institutions. If it be true that “Time’s noblest empire is her last,” then this nation has no inconsiderable part to perform in the grand drama which has begun to be enacted. There was an object in planting this nation in the wilderness, in sifting Europe for the materials, and in giving us moral and intellectual giants to pass through our first conflicts and to lay deep our foundations. What is true of every individual and nation is true of us—we live not for ourselves only. The Revolutionary struggle was the conflict of liberty for the world; the maxims of toleration here established were wrought out for mankind; the missionary spirit here kindled is to bless the globe. In the moral system the course of nature seems in great measure reversed. The sun which has appeared in the West, is to rise to a new zenith and to pour its “unclouded blaze of living light” over a rejoicing world.

ARTICLE II.

RUSSIA.

In our last Number we entered upon this subject, which, above most others, exemplifies the old proverb *creseit eundo*. It was our thought at first to give, in a single Article, a popular account of men and things in Russia, just as they came to view in our intercourse with different orders of the population, and our observation of their manners. Hence, we pursued no logical arrangement in what we had to say. But finding more to record than at the outset seemed probable, and beguiled by pleasant associations, as well as moved to gratify desires expressed by others, we prolong our task and reappear with additional words about Russian history, classes, customs, literature, religion, and destiny. We hope also to offer considerations which shall vindicate the policy of the government against the charge of extreme cruelty, which has been reiterated by European writers, who have wasted a large amount of sentiment over dismembered Poland, and lavished an enormous expenditure of apprehension in view of the probable destiny of the Ottoman Empire.

The most imposing and powerful feature of Russian nationality is its autocracy, or Czarism. This form of despotism has a history. From about the *fourth* to the *tenth* century, Russia was under the rule of petty princes, who acknowledged a headship in the Grand Duke of Kieff. These principalities were not feudal, but rather the outgrowth of the hereditary division of property in the family of an old chief. A kind of communal democracy prevailed at the same time. Even the ancient republics of Novgorod and Pskoff acknowledged the "grand-ducal supremacy."

Unity of action among those princes for the purpose of resisting the Tartars in the thirteenth century, naturally augmented the power of the Grand Duke, who became the soul

and centre of both the religious and the civil life. The Tartar was conquered and crushed, success consolidated the authority of the Grand Duke, and all the principalities readily and gratefully recognised him as their national head—the personation of Christianity and the State.

The triumph of the people over Tartar rule, rendered tolerable, for a period, the weight of Czarism. And when its cruelties had well nigh exhausted the national endurance, a usurper, supported by Roman Jesuitism and Polish nobility, ascended the throne. The Czars were taken to Warsaw, where they died in the dungeon.

This oppression was soon thrown off by the Russian people, whose zeal for their religion nerved them for a sublime struggle. They achieved the victory, and with united voice invested the house of Romanoff with supreme power. By the conflicts and successes of the people in their religious wars, they learned to attach a divine dignity to the Czar. That disposition, encouraged by the priesthood, by the policy of successive reigns, has given czarism a tremendous power. For the last quarter of a century, however, causes have been at work, both in the genius of Russian society, and in the European mind generally, to diminish that power, and gradually to bring about its extinction. By the arts of *peace*, by the more free mingling of international ideas through the influence of commerce, which, by the very law of its being and its action, liberalizes the world's mind; by the general tendency, as a result of the agencies we have named, toward elective governments, even where administered in the form of despotism, this grand and gloomy creation of superstition and of ignorance is about to lose its essential nature, and finally to be annihilated. The boulder is either to be hewn and smoothed as the foundation stone of a healthful and noble nationality, or to lie crushed by the steady, but omnipotent pressure of modern civilization. The policy of the present Emperor is shaped by these new and liberal views. Czarism is to him secondary to internal improvement and general peace.

It is the impression of those who have studied only the modern history of Russia, that she is among the youngest of the European peoples. On the contrary, whilst her nationality

is of recent date, there is not an older people in Europe. Three thousand years ago the Sclavi, of whom the Russians are an important branch, inhabited in various tribes the vast region of what is now the Empire. There is a city not many miles south of St. Petersburg, called Novgorod, or *the new city*. The name implies that a city had existed there previous to the present; and yet it has a history of many hundred years. In the midst of medieval darkness, Novgorod was the most flourishing town in the north of Europe. It was the great centre of trade and travel between Asia and the North-West.

From the earliest accounts of the Sclavi, they have been husbandmen. Our word *plough*, derived from the German *pflug*, is *plug* in the pure Slavonic; which is, indeed, the origin of the word, showing a national characteristic. The Sclavi were also traders and carriers of goods from the Baltic and North Seas, to the Adriatic and Black Seas. Hence, before their history came fully to light, it was argued that they had fixed dwellings, as they could not well take their families with them on their commercial journeys. Tradition, or perhaps true history, confirms this deduction. Up to the close of the fifteenth century, nearly the whole of Russia proper was composed of separate republics. The chiefs were elected by the people, without regard to birth or occupation. They were self-governed, and free. In Poland, a wheel-wright was chosen king; in Bohemia, a merchant, and then a jeweller was chosen chief; among the Tschেকেs, a ploughman was elevated to the throne. Elders in a township or commune were made nobles, and gradually increased in power and authority. The Cossacks, even to the present century, elected their own military chieftains. The present absorbing despotism is the growth of perverted democracy, developing itself first in an aristocracy, then a monarchy and finally ripening into absolute autocracy. It is comparatively a modern thing. It was not gained without sacrifice of national happiness and life. Its history is marked by the most terrible cruelties; by royal murders; migrations of tribes through snows, over rivers and mountains, in famine and warfare; by long and dismal imprisonments, exiles, and chains. Republicanism lost itself in self-defence. It saw *one* evil, and to avoid it invited and cherished another.

But Russia has done her own work. She has not called to her aid other powers. Until within the last one hundred and fifty years she was plundered by the neighboring nations; and since the beginning of the eighteenth century she has been re-conquering territory that was long before her own. Her conquests have not been generally for the purpose of exterminating the conquered. She does not seek to annihilate Finland, but allows her to enjoy the privileges conferred on her by Sweden before the conquest. The Finns are Lutherans. They have a law forbidding marriage between parties who cannot read and write. They excel in shipbuilding, imitating our own naval architecture. and the Emperor is happy to see this conquered province making such progress.

The severity of the Czar toward Poland was dictated, in part, by the remembrance of Polish domination in former centuries, and partly by the cruelty of the Polish nobility. History tells us that about one hundred thousand idle, ignorant, and oppressive aristocrats in Poland, ground to the dust *seven millions* of slaves. No nation under heaven was plunged into a deeper abyss of suffering and ruin, than Poland by her vulture-like nobility, *for three centuries!* The partition of Poland, and the slaughter of those aristocrats, though by no means to be sanctioned in the light of religion and civilization, was yet a great boon to the *nineteen twentieths* of her crushed and bleeding population. It was time for a just Providence to turn the scale of human destiny, and if it must be so, to give a taste of Siberian winters and chains to those who had fed on the palpitating hearts of a chivalrous and generous peasantry.

The progress of civilization in Russia has been rapid within the last century. Gurowski states, that in the first census made by Peter the Great, the population amounted only to 2,000,000, whilst that of Poland was 14,000,000, and Sweden 6,000,000. The Tartars in the South numbered, with their tributaries, 30,000,000. Now Sweden is crippled, Poland extinct, and Turkey a mere dependent, if not on Russia, at least through fear of her, on England and France.

The chief elements of Russian autocracy begin to appear so far back as the ninth century; they become more intense and

specific in the seventeenth century during the reign of Alexis, father of Peter the Great, who, to put an end to the power of his nobility, caused all their titles to be burned at Moscow. Alexis originated a system of laws which operated healthfully for the development of the national resources, and the administration of justice. These laws were adopted by Peter as the basis of legislative reform during his reign. He inaugurated a new era in the nationality of Russia. Prepared by the employments of his youth, which was spent in study, in military exercise, and manly experiments, as the result of jealousy and opposition on the part of his elder sister, the daughter of his father's former wife, he ascended the throne with no small amount of experience and statesmanship. These, together with a hardy constitution and a patriotic purpose, enabled him to become the *founder* of "*Russia as it is.*" Under the magic touch of his genius, St. Petersburg sprang from the marshes of the Neva, and in a few years shed the glory of arms, of industry, of science, over the whole broad surface of the empire. Peter exhibited in his labors and endurance that wonderful vitality which characterizes the Slavie race, and which has found eminent illustration in few of his successors. He was not without crimes; but they were the offspring of the age, and towards the close of his life, of a torturing disease, which to his great misery he concealed, rather than of his own native temper. But in him do we find an example which elevates him above Cæsar, Alexander, and Napoleon;—namely, his descent from the throne to become a workman in the dockyards of Deptford and Saardam, that he might bless his people with the treasures of commerce, and the comforts of civilization. In 1693, ten years before the foundations of St. Petersburg were laid, he sailed in his own ship to Archangel to purchase clothing for his army. In 1695 he opened the Black Sea to the purposes of Russian commerce, and supplied the population of Moscow, his capital, with corn from Riga and Dantzic, in his own ships. He aspired to the highest naval title, and declared that if he were not the Czar of Russia, he would be an English admiral. On his return from the naval victory at Theremunde, he was welcomed at his new capital with the salutation, "Hail, Vice Admiral!"

The genius of Peter gave a mighty impulse to the empire. He was generous, ardent, prudent, and for the most part humane, though his provocations were great, and his disease at times deprived him of the exercise of reason. At the age of fifty-three years he expired in the arms of his wife, and receiving the consolations of religion from the Archbishop of Pliskow.

We find then in 1725, at the close of Peter's reign, an empire, as it were re-born by the vitalizing power of his own mind—the outgrowth of his thought—containing *nine millions* of people, with a vast army, a large navy, extensive trade, splendid cities, and the people measurably awake to the spirit of civilization, which at that period kindled the thoughts, and gave direction to the energies of all Europe. The immediate successors of Peter the Great did but little to advance Russian civilization beyond the stage at which he left it, although some of them endeavored to establish laws in favor of increased privileges among the lower orders of their subjects.

Catharine I. was remarkable for her sudden ascent from the condition of a captive, as the wife of a Swedish dragoon, to the throne of the Russias. Her influence over her husband, Peter I., was, through her kindness, perseverance, and foresight, almost unbounded. But after his death, though proclaimed empress according to his expressed will, she fell into the weakness of favoritism, became intemperate, and died suddenly.

Paul II. was a royal cipher. Anna Ivanowna was not much better. Elizabeth Petrowna founded the University at Moscow, and the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg, sent aid to Maria Theresa, and thus hastened the peace of Aix-la-Chapelles. Stung by the raillery of *Frederick the Great* respecting her person, she took part in the seven years' war. She was mild and generous, but indolent and fond of pleasure. She confessed that she was happy only *when in love*; and as that was perpetually, she must have been the happiest of Czarinas.

Peter III. possessed the qualities of justice and affection for his people, but wanted force of will. He died by the hand of violence. Catharine II. was endowed with remarkable mental

qualities, and uncommon strength of character; but her ardor, and the abuses she received from her husband gave monstrous development to her powers. At her accession to the throne she showed great respect for religion, encouraged agriculture, increased the navy, improved the laws, and rendered herself popular by strengthening the empire. She was accused of having contributed to the death of her husband, but there is no foundation for the charge; she yielded to circumstances which she could not control, and which were doubtless grateful to her views of personal liberty and political power. Though devoted to pleasure, she did not neglect the affairs of state. During her reign, and through her wise management, her armies were victorious along the Grecian seas; the bounds of Russia were extended to the Caucasus, and embraced the Crimea. All the wars waged against her augmented her political supremacy. The literati of Europe sought her patronage, and were happy to exchange with her, either by letters or in conversation, views of politics and philosophy. She established schools, opened canals, erected hospitals, planted colonies, encouraged manufactures and all the arts of civilization. But finally, persuaded, whether by the philosophers, or by her own court, or by her independent study of events, that the French Revolution was brought about by the increasing civilization of the times, she allowed all these hopeful undertakings to fall into decay. She wanted the *moral* qualities that would have enabled her to confide in the progress of society, whatever temporary conflicts might rend it in its transition from ignorance to enlightenment, from barbarism to civilization.

Paul I., son of Catharine II., by Peter III., was long kept from public affairs by his stern mother; and when, at her death, he emerged from obscurity to the throne, he gave promise of a benevolent and liberal reign. But the treatment to which for many years he had been subjected, wrought in his impetuous nature a character, which for despotic folly has rarely been surpassed. His policy was vacillating; he was not equal to the arts of Napoleon; mistrusted the English and Austrian courts; persuaded Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to a course of hostile measures against the commerce of Britain; effected foolish innovations in the army, of which one was the introduction of

hair-powder and queues; prohibited the wearing of round hats; ordered that all persons who met him in the streets should leave their carriages and prostrate themselves before him. These puerile and tyrannical freaks, together with other more grave oppressions, led to a conspiracy against his life. He died by the hands of assassins, crying, "I am an emperor, and will remain so!"

Alexander I. stands forth on the page of history as worthy of supremacy in any country and any age. He was actuated by a sincere regard for the happiness of his empire; and if he sought to give it development, and add to its power, it was not with the desire to inflict wanton injury on the other European States. It was his effort to meliorate, and,—as soon as the nature and necessities of the case would allow,—annihilate serfdom, and all oppression within his dominion. He promoted the arts of peace, though ever prepared for war. He endeavored to elevate the Slavonic race, to preserve the purity of their language, and enrich their literature. He founded many universities in the capital, and the large cities of the empire; established above two hundred academies and seminaries, and two thousand common schools. He caused the Bible to be distributed extensively, promoted oriental learning, checked the abuse of power in his governors, improved the currency of the country, and gave, by his example and authority, a stimulus to all healthful enterprise. His motto was: "I acknowledge no power to be lawful that does not emanate from the laws." To Madame de Stael, who visited his court, he said: "You will be offended with the sight of servitude in this land. It is not my fault. I have set the example of emancipation, but I cannot employ force. I must respect the rights of others as much as if they were protected by a constitution, which unhappily does not exist." Her reply was worthy of her genius and of his magnanimity: "Sire, your character is a constitution." He respected Christian sects, and gave them equal protection. His efforts to diminish slavery and introduce the manners of Western Europe among his people, gave offence to the old Muscovite noblesse, and toward the end of his reign he was harassed and put in jeopardy by their plots. It is believed that his death was hastened by his great anxiety to ren-

der Russia free, powerful, and happy. His greatness appeared conspicuously in his campaign against Napoleon and his occupancy of Paris. Always brave, prudent, yet prompt, encouraging his officers and soldiers by paternal mildness, restraining them from excesses by his own moderation, he not only possessed perfect command of his armies, but won the reverence and admiration of his enemies. And when Paris yielded to his arms, all classes in the capital, from the *Senate* to the lowest "*ouvriers*," were moved by his noble generosity. "We have been long expecting you," said one. "We should have been here sooner but for the bravery of your troops," was his pleasant reply.

To the Senate he said: "Gentlemen, I am charmed to find myself among you. Neither ambition nor the love of conquest has led me hither; my armies have entered France only to repel an unjust aggression. Your emperor carried war into the heart of my dominions when I only wished for peace. I am the friend of the French people; I impute their faults to their Chief alone. I am here with the most friendly intentions; I wish only to protect your deliberations. You have a most honorable mission,—that of securing the happiness of a great people,—in giving France institutions at once strong and liberal, with which she cannot dispense in the state of civilization which she has attained. I go to-morrow to resume the command of the armies, and sustain the cause which you have embraced. It is time that blood should cease to flow; too much has been shed already, my heart grieves for it. The Provisional Government this morning asked me for the liberation of the French prisoners of war in Russia. I give it to the Senate. Since they fell into my hands, I have done all in my power to soften their lot. They shall return. May they rejoin their families in peace, and enjoy the repose which the new order of things is fitted to induce!"

One hundred and fifty thousand men, by this word, recovered their liberty. Thus did Alexander avenge himself for the flames of Moscow and the ruin wrought in his dominions by the armies of Napoleon! Well does *Alison*, alluding to this generous act, exclaim: "If ever the spirit of heaven actuated the human breast, it was Alexander's on that occasion." No monarch

gave a more healthful impulse to Russia, or caused her name to be so much feared abroad. His people called him "*The Blessed*," a title which he refused to wear, thereby adding new glory to his character.

Nicholas I. was educated in the superficial manner of courts, as a soldier rather than a statesman. He did not, until the age of twenty-five, begin to prepare himself for his royal destiny. He could not fail to feel the nobleness of his father's nature, fitted, as it was, to adorn the highest circles of social life, as well as to elevate and purify his empire. His mother, a German princess, possessed a sterling sense, industry, and a scrupulous regard for truth, with which she succeeded in inspiring his young mind, but which was at length displaced by vanity and ambition. Everything, however, in his youth, turned his thoughts to war, though he never displayed any practical military talent. His sagacity enabled him to select ministers and commanders who knew how to discipline and conduct armies. His taste and talent were adapted rather to the proprieties of a soldier's dress and attitude, to what may be called the *rhythm* of the camp and field, than to the stern "*pratique* of warfare."

In 1821 a family compact was formed to the effect that he should succeed his father as Czar of all Russia. In 1825, Alexander died, leaving the empire in some degree of unrest, and Czarism at an ominous depreciation.

Nicholas did not at once proclaim himself, as he might have done, according to the family agreement four years previous, but took the oath of allegiance to his brother Constantine, who was then at Moscow, and who, after some delay, resigned in favor of Nicholas. He ascended the throne amid a brief but not bloodless demonstration in St. Petersburg, in which the flower of Russian youth and genius took part. It was, however, easily quelled by the foresight, courage, and promptness of the young Czar, who spared no means in his power to quench those incipient aspirations for constitutional liberty. After the subsidence of this introductory demonstration, Nicholas set himself to fortifying his throne by removing into exile and by death, the guilty and the suspected, and surrounding himself by shrewd and devoted advisers. He conceived an enthusias-

tic, indeed a noble idea, of bearing his empire to a high civilization; aspired, and not without success, to be a reformer: awakened confidence and admiration in many noble and cultivated minds; encouraged literature, and aimed to secure for Russia an acknowledged nationality in commerce and the arts; and to his praise be it said, his purpose was accomplished, so far as its brief period—which was only the first half of his reign—the nature of his government, and the condition of his people, would permit its realization.

But for the last fifteen years of his reign he manifested a spirit that disappointed the better hopes of the world. As his power increased, he became more vain, not only of his position, but of his opinions and his person; dismissed healthful advisers, and listened to those who pronounced him infallible or praised his model form. Constitutionally without tenderness, though, perhaps, not positively cruel, “on the height of his power his heart was frozen and his patriotism blighted in the bleak air.” Recollections of Polish domination and of Tartar oppression, to escape which had cost the empire a struggle of two and a half centuries; the hostile sentiments of constitutional States; the advice of venal Germans; alliances with Austria and Prussia; and the difficulty of otherwise governing so many millions of degraded subjects, urged him to the defence of autocracy, and the consolidation of despotic power; while the example of England and France, together with a powerful personal ambition, and the natural tendency of the military spirit, impelled him along the track of conquest; and the result was, that Russia became, in his view, *second* to Czarism, and her own glory made the watch-word by which to rally the national mind and feeling around his throne.

We accord to him sincerity in his attachment to the Greek religion. True, it was made by him an instrument of despotic rule and will; but he bowed with daily regularity on the cold stone floor of the church in a manner that impressed all beholders with sentiments of devotion.

No doubt his motives were of a mixed character, both sacred and profane, but in this respect he had too much royal company, to be selected from among others for the purpose of rebuke and condemnation. And while we pronounce judgment

on his character, and his whole imperial course, we would not allow ourselves to forget his hereditary associations; the system which formed his habits and political convictions, and which he could not change, even if he would, because he was its *creature*—its by no means unworthy *product*!

He surpassed, indeed, some of the Roman Cæsars whom he affected to imitate; for he left his empire better than he found it, although *that* was a thing inevitable in the course of humanity, and from the vitality of the Sclavic race.

But he did *not* develope its moral power. He did not liberate its mind. Rather was his government an encouragement to force,—an outward pomp,—a struggle for the unsubstantial, the earthly,—for that which, although it has outlived himself, will crumble into ashes beneath the silent foot-fall of time!

Nicholas acknowledged, just before his death, and when he foresaw the overthrow of Sebastopol, that he had failed to cultivate the arts of peace to the extent demanded by the present posture of Europe, and therefore that his military machinery could not be so easily wielded. A railroad from St. Petersburg to the Crimea would have saved the defeat of his arms.

Alexander II., the present Czar, is aware of the evil into which his father fell, of cultivating the military at the expense of the civil power. He has therefore entered on those reforms which, if successful, will save the empire from the deluge of conflicting interest and passions. He has proclaimed a system of emancipation; instituted reform in the civil list, and set on foot a process of investigation into the corrupt bureaucracy, which "*governs while he reigns.*"

His intentions are generous, and his genius will be, we doubt not, equal to his resolves. Public opinion is with him; the enlightened portion of the nobility favor his views; all the serious and thoughtful sympathize with him, and the Russian press advocates his policy with an intelligence and breadth of view remarkable, when we consider that but five years have elapsed since his policy first claimed advocacy in the journals of the empire. The successful accomplishment of what is now proposed by the Czar, will place him at the head of Russian sovereigns, and his country on a level with the civilization of western Europe.

The labors of the Russian sovereign are, probably, not equalled by those of any other potentate. He is the patriarch of his nation. Although every department of internal policy is presided over by a distinct head or chief, and every county and *commune* in the empire has a governor or a marshal, and every branch of legislation is conducted by an appropriate officer, yet, from the lowest official in civil justice, every cause comes up through successive stages of judgment until it reaches the ear of the Czar, and receives his decision. Every governor and judge, and chief of a bureau, must report to the emperor; and the minister of the interior, the minister of war, and the chief of police, have access to him at any hour, either of the day or of the night, when he is engaged in business, and when enjoying his pleasures. Other officials have stated seasons of approach to him, and days in which to make their reports. Every subject comes before him: the plans of buildings, personal punishment and rewards, matters of communal interest, the Church, foreign policy—all must be brought to his notice and receive his decisions. To watch thus over an empire of sixty millions, composed of eighty tribes, all of different religious and political habits—some enlightened, others barbarous; to keep in view the different interests and relations of such an empire; to regulate its nobility and all the lower classes, its military power and machinery, its increased navy, its administration of justice, its police force, its internal improvement, its Church, and system of instruction; and moreover, to keep a steady eye on the movements of Europe, with regard to the Orient; to guard the Greek Church in all the countries and provinces into which its members are spread; to control the press, and to project and carry out, if possible, the largest reforms in the condition of his realm;—all these, together with a thousand minute and perplexing cares, which can never be disclosed to others, nor imagined, but by himself, are enough to task the most stupendous human powers. As a matter of necessity, such an administration must be defective. Justice cannot always be done. Many vital interests must be overlooked. And as the empire increases in territory and in civilization, in proportion to internal improvements and complications of foreign policy, the *onus* of sovereignty weighs more heavily on the royal

head. Nor can he find relief, as may constitutional monarchs, in the assistance of the nobility. That class in Russia, though the strongest prop of the throne, and the medium through which the imperial will reaches the different orders of the population, is not held by a deep loyalty to the interests of Czarism, and is, therefore, the object of much watchfulness and management on the part of the Emperor. The nobles are invested with privileges which remove them to a wide distance from the lower orders, whilst they are more the vassals of the crown than their serfs are of themselves.

The nobility of Russia is composed of two grades, hereditary and personal. The latter secures his title by military achievements, or by some civil distinction. The former class is divided into six orders, distinguished by antiquity, by their hereditary documents, their military services, titles bestowed by sovereigns, foreign families, whose rights have been acknowledged by the throne, and those ennobled for other public services.

“The following are the principal rights and privileges of the nobility, as a body, without distinction of rank. They alone possess real estate with serfs. They alone can hold offices, civil and military, which gives to them the general administration and government of the empire. Only the children of noblemen, male or female, can be admitted to the public civil or military establishments of education at the cost of the state. They only, with some exceptions, can enter the universities. The noble is exempted from corporal punishment, and from every other infamous sentence. If any civil or military court finds a nobleman guilty of a crime, and condemns him penally, previous to the execution of the judgment, whatever it may be—whether death or condemnation to Siberia, for labor in the mines—the noble is *dis-nobled*, and expelled from the caste, after which the sentence is executed. In justice to the new criminal code, published a few years since, it must be observed, that it treats with more relative severity the impeached and criminally condemned nobleman than it does the member of any other class; taking the ground that, as the noble enjoys exclusive privileges, he has thus within his reach all the means of education, and his criminal conduct ought to be more rigidly retributed by the law.

Finally, no direct or personal taxation can be imposed upon the nobility or their estates." *

The nobles constitute mainly the different boards in communal legislation, and are a set of leeches, draining the life-blood of the bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Some of them are poor, having already mortgaged their estates and serfs to the Crown. Others are enriched by their plunder. They have to bear the first shafts of displeasure from the Czar. While they are visible in the administration of the government, the power that moves them and holds them accountable, is on the throne. They are oppressed, and oppress in their turn. They are dissatisfied with their condition. Too poor to enjoy the honors of their elevation, and too proud and ignorant to seek commercial emolument, they sigh for change, but know not what.

There are among the higher nobility those who secretly aspire after oligarchy. Their desire is to elevate their families into something like the English peerage, and so they are really hostile to Czarism on the one hand, and to communal liberty on the other. They are compelled to support both. They have the almost exclusive privilege of education; they farm out monopolies from the Crown; hold offices in the army and navy; plunder the public appropriations; flatter the Czar, and misrepresent the actual state of things, thereby prolonging a little their own opportunities, but really working for themselves social extinction. Those connected with the army witness the developments of a higher civilization in other European nations; and many others who have access to the world's literature, and the new revelations of science, are made thereby to feel the need of a more liberal government, and a more enlarged culture. But their ideas of emancipation are modified by political and economical necessities, and therefore do not generally harmonize with the fervent desires of the Czar; although there have been among them some magnanimous expressions of concurrence with his liberal proposals.

Notwithstanding this general portraiture of the Russian nobility, there are examples among them of true patriotism and piety.

The class next deserving our notice is the clergy, but as we shall devote a few pages to the Greek Church, they will naturally come up for review in that connection.

* Russia as it is, by Kurowski.

Of the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, we wrote in our former Number, under the title of *citizens*. Mostly tradesmen, physicians, *savants*, architects, artists, &c., compose this grade. Being a distinct body, the bourgeoisie form their own boards, though subject to the governor of the county. A species of communal freedom prevails among them, and the offices filled by their election cannot be occupied by a nobleman, unless he first go through the formality of entering a guild, and thus by position becoming a citizen. This link between the nobility and citizens is improved by the latter, as a stage of elevation, although they are not pleased with the relationship. The bourgeoisie are cut off from the privileges of education, and cannot, therefore, rise to the higher posts of influence. It is only by rare struggle, and labor, or by natural genius, that a citizen obtains a high rank. Yet this is done by great martial valor; by poetic talent; by perseverance in study; and even by extraordinary industry in the pursuits of trade.

In the neighborhood of the Russian Universities, the people entertain great respect for learning, and for the professors. The light flashes out from those institutions, and an aspiration is often born in rude breasts, for something nobler for the mind and heart.

The burgher is as free as the nobility. A field of action is before him, which, with a larger national commerce, and greater governmental facilities, would secure for him unbounded wealth. But in every step he takes toward enterprise, he must come in contact with an official; must seek a passport, a *permit*,—and pay for it; so that a large per centage of his profit goes to the State. But with all these hinderances many become exceedingly rich; and are consequently allied by marriage with the nobles, who seek their daughters for their patrimony. Even serfs who purchase their freedom thus ascend to noble alliances and privileges.

Burghers cannot own lands. This fact operates powerfully against their advancement. They are, nevertheless, an earnest, vital class. They represent the pure Sclavic element, and by their industry and increasing power, they are destined, no doubt, to work out for Russia a loftier nationality.

The national skill of the Russian artisan is surpassed by that

of no other nation. But that skill is not educated; and it is abused by contractors. Hence great government contracts are given to foreigners; detracting so much from the encouragement and stimulus which would otherwise be felt by the native workmen. Manufactures are, however, greatly multiplied in Russia, and some of the most ingenious as well as practical works are now encouraged in that country. In the great exhibition of 1850 in London, a hall furnished with doors and furniture made of malachite, by Russian artisans, was regarded by all beholders as equal in conception and execution to any thing in the Crystal Palace.

The domestic manners of the burghers are simple and traditional. The woman wears a gown hanging loose about her, and the man a corresponding overcoat. The girls wear long hair until the day of their marriage, when it is cut off, and a bridal ceremony is then performed, and farewell songs sung by the former companions of the bride. Men wear flowing beards, part their hair on the top of the head, and cut it as if a bowl were placed inverted on the crown, and the shears passed along the brim. The people delight in jewelry and pearls. With these they adorn their shrines, which are given on bridal occasions, and hung in the corners of their chambers.

They are animated by a strong, clannish spirit, and feel the dignity which is acknowledged, in consequence of their wealth, by all classes, even by the government. They are patriotic. "*Holy Russia*" is their watchword. The scene at Moscow in 1812 is a comment on the spirit of sacrifice which the wealthy burgher will make to prevent the enriching of an enemy. This patriotism, which partakes largely of the religious element, is a silent prediction for final disenthralment. It will grow and ripen for the hour when, as with a voice from God, the nation shall call on her children to be free!

Moscow is already the centre of burgher influence. All the surrounding rural districts are moulded by the spirit prevalent in that city. Even the Emperor feels obliged to make concessions to the demands of its population. The spirit of Moscow is breathed into the population inhabiting the "*steppes*," luxuriant with wheat-harvests, covered with cattle, though sometimes over-swept by floods and lashed with tempests. These

physical causes, indeed, nurture the spirit of independence, and gradually prepare a people for a yet nobler destiny. The bourgeoisie are not by any tie of nature held to the nobility, but rather to the peasantry. They are of the people. They level downward on the one hand, and upward on the other. They form the *table-land* of final equilibrium and national unity.

The problem now before the world with regard to internal changes in Russia, is that of self-emancipation. Out of a population of 60,000,000 in that empire, 40,000,000 are free peasants and serfs. The former are crown servants, the latter slaves owned by the nobility. Those belonging to the crown deem themselves, and indeed are, of higher grade than the others. They are not subject to the superior classes, save in an official relation. They are not liable to be sold with landed estates. They are drafted for the army and navy, and thus have some opportunity of personal distinction. The peasants really constitute the basis of the Russian population. They are the pure Sclavi. They speak the Russian language. The cultivation of the soil and the practical enterprise is in their hands. They are at the foundation of the autocracy, in a communal freedom, on which circumstances, or rather Providences have caused it abnormally to rest. There it stands, shooting loftily upward, and casting its shadow abroad; but quivering in every breeze, and rocking like a mast on the troubled sea, by the might of the elements over which it reigns.

The peasantry are divided into Red Russians, White Russians, and Russians Proper. The Whites, occupying the lands of the Dneiper, the Ukraine, and other governments, are under a nobility mostly Roman Catholic, and are more degraded than the other branches. Their language is a corrupt idiom of the Russian, and they are becoming denationalized. The Reds have also suffered from the same causes, but not to such an extent. Their energies have been called out more fully in wars with the Ottoman, and nurtured into endurance and self-reliance. They are therefore more hopeful, more resolved.

But the great centre of pure Russian peasantry, and of Sclavic life, language and ideas is embraced within the territory extending on the Waldai, along the Volga, to the Ural and the Don. It contains twenty-five thickly populated governments.

This is the heart of the Russian empire. The people speak the pure Russian language, that used by the poet, the statesman, and by scientific men,—the language of Russian progress and destiny! The people in this region form themselves into associations, each having a common chest. They help each other to employment. The men seek occupation in cities, and thus spread themselves and their industry over the empire, returning to their families when the season of labor, or their special contract is over. Each one pays an amount toward the communal support, and is thereby free to seek employment abroad. It is their custom to dwell together in families, from generation to generation, and these are not disturbed, except by the temporary departure of the men for the purpose we have just named, or by enrollment for the army. Their associations enable them to defend themselves from the rapacity of officers and contractors, and also to execute a kind of self-government; so that, in fact, were the autocracy to cease, those peasants uniting with the citizens in communes, might experience but little difficulty in maintaining an independent political condition; especially as the army, from its natural sympathies with them, would be ready to defend them against the power of the nobles.

The peasantry and serfs are naturally serious in their demeanor, but on occasions break forth into gayety and mirth. Russian villages and groves are often, at eventide, filled with song from the lips of women, and responded to by the voices of laborers returning from their toil. They are fond of the dance and the lute. The peasant cheers himself in his labors with song. We have seen a gang of convicts driving piles in the marshes near St. Petersburg, pouring out their mournful melody to relieve their slow and heavy hours. Soldiers sing in battle, keeping time by their marches, or by their actions in the blaze of the conflict!

The peasants are not strangers to insurrection, neither are the soldiers. In the reign of Catharine, an outbreak occurred led by Cossacks, and joined by peasants and serfs, sweeping on from the Ural almost to the gates of Moscow. In 1831, 1838 and 1839, partial insurrections took place in some villages

and communes; manor-houses were burned, and the civil officers thrown into the flames.

The people are addicted to intemperance, not so much by natural inclination as by habit, induced, we may say *forced*, on them by the nobility in White Russia, and by the Crown in Russia Proper, for the purpose of revenue from the sale of liquors. They are exceedingly good-natured when under the influence of *wodka*, a species of brandy made in abundance in that country. We once asked a woman what she thought of her drunken husband, who staggered along laughing, through a street in Cronstadt. "O!" said she, "he is *so* good-natured and happy when tipsy, that I am *always glad* to see him so!"

Not much meat is consumed by the peasantry, but neither do they live on grosser vegetables. Their food is mainly bread, or animal fats. Their daily living is better, in fact, than that of the French and Irish laborers.

The free peasants can use land belonging to a commune, by paying for it a moderate tax. A newly married couple have twenty acres. When they die, or for any cause leave the land, it reverts to the commune. A free peasant can also own land out of a commune, and if there be mines in it, he possesses them also. In this way some families have become immensely rich.

Free peasants only participate in elections made for the general offices. They meet and choose electors. Serfs vote for police officers, and other local functionaries. Every ten husbandmen, of proper qualifications, choose an elector, the electors make choice of an elder, a collector of taxes, an overseer of the common store-house, and a judge.

It will be seen by what we have stated, that the crown servants enjoy many privileges, and approach in condition very nearly to that of the burghers; they are also subject to the same system of deception and plunder on the part of the nobility and officials.

They are generally more cleanly than is supposed in their habits, practising frequent ablutions. They cherish a deep religious sentiment, and are easily roused to the national defence against the infidel. At this moment the excitement among them on behalf of the Christians in Syria is great. The whole

Slavic population, indeed, surges and murmurs like the sea, with a deep and holy vengeance which cannot easily be repressed, against the perpetrators of those enormities, the report of which has awakened so many fears in Christendom.

We have used the term "peasant" to distinguish the crown servant from the "serf" of the nobleman, but in reality the peasantry are composed of both classes. We now come to treat of the actual bondmen, regarded as such in Russia. Of these there are, according to some writers, 20,000,000, others say 25,000,000. They are attached to the soil, not to the person of the master; they are, therefore, not chattels. They can be sold only with the land.

The following laws and regulations regarding serfdom are extracted from "Kurowski's Russia As It Is."

"If any nobleman sends his serf to Siberia for punishment, and the serf receives there lands from the Crown as a colonist, his children of a certain age become free like all *colonized* exiles.

"A woman from a free class marrying a serf becomes free again as a widow; a woman from bondage marrying a free peasant becomes likewise free.

"When the husband becomes free by law, or by manumission, or by contract, his wife shares his freedom *ipso facto*, but not the children; they must be emancipated by a special act.

"If a master demands from his serfs any thing contrary to law, as revolt, murder, stealing, and they accomplish it, they are punished as his accomplices. The serfs pay the expenses of the administration in each county. This is the only direct tax levied on the property of the nobility. In criminal matters, the serfs are judged by common criminal tribunals, before whom, they likewise can appear in the character of accusers and witnesses.

"The law makes it obligatory on the serf to resist any attack made on the property of the master, as well as upon the honor of his wife and daughter. The owner cannot force his serfs to marry against their will, or point out whom they shall marry; this provision of the law is very generally evaded.

"If a serf makes an unjust official complaint against his master, or if he dares to present such a petition to the emperor;

the petitioner, and the writer of the petition, are both most severely punished.

“In case of insubordination, disobedience to the master or the overseer, the serfs are punished by a military commission, and pay the expenses thereof. All civil or police and military functionaries are prohibited to receive any denunciation made by the serf against his master, with the exception of a conspiracy against the person of the sovereign; or when the master tries to make a misstatement as to the census; or when, if a Roman Catholic, he tries to convert his orthodox serfs.

“A serf cannot change his master, leave him, or enter any corporation. For all these the consent of the owner is necessary. Without such a consent serfs cannot be received as volunteers into the army.

“Runaway serfs are returned to the owners at the cost of those who had kept or secreted them. After ten years a master forfeits the right to claim a runaway. Such claims, supported by proofs, must be made during the first year after the escape, if the master is in Russia, and in the course of two years, if the master is abroad.

“If a serf is killed by accident, his owner receives from the culprit the sum of 330 dollars; but if it is a murder, then the *murderer suffers the same as if the crime was committed on any one else*. In such a case the owner of the *murdered man does not receive any compensation*.

“A serf who is not a house servant, must work for his master *three days a week*. He cannot be forced to do any work on Sundays or any other church and parish holidays, or on the day of the patron saints of the reigning sovereign. The master can, at his pleasure, transform the house serf *dworowoi*, into a soil tiller, and *vice versa*. He can hire his serfs to mechanics, manufacturers, and to any other labor whatever. He is the supreme judge in all civil contests between his serfs. He can punish them corporally, but *not cripple them, or put life in jeopardy*. He can require the assistance of the government for the coercion of his serfs. In case of a criminal offence the master must abstain from any punishment, but deliver the offender to the law. He can send serfs to Siberia or to any other penitentiary establishment.

"No serf can live in any city, or serve any person whatever without the consent of the master, and the authorities are to see that this provision be not transgressed—and are severely responsible. The master gives to the serf a passport, and furnished with this, he can move freely in the whole empire.

"The master has the power to transfer the serfs individually or by whole communities from one village, district, or county into another. Any nobleman owning serfs of any kind, must have for every one at least twenty acres of land. Only a nobleman can receive a power of attorney for the buying or selling of serfs.

"The master cannot hire his serfs to individuals whom the law prohibits to own serfs, nor let them learn any profession any where else, than from masters inscribed in a guild.

"Serfs, either servants or agriculturists, held by those who have no right to own them, become free; that is, they become incorporated into the free crown peasantry, and the unlawful owners pay a fine into the treasury.

"Families cannot be separated by sale. The family consists of the parents and the unmarried children, even if of age. The children form a family after the death of the parents. Serfs cannot be brought to market, but are to be sold only together with the estate. If sold separately, the crown takes them as its peasants, and the transgressors of the law are fined. Serfs acquiring their liberty in such a way, can make the choice of a mode of life, and of a corporation into which they will become inscribed.

"In cases of scarcity or famine, the owner cannot send away his serfs, but is obliged to take care of them. He is likewise obliged to take care of the old, and the invalids.

"If there be any abuse of power by the master, any cruelty or rape, the law takes from the owner the administration of the estate and puts it in the hands of guardians, or of a board, selected for this purpose in each district, from among the nobility. Such masters cannot acquire new estates by purchase, and in aggravated cases can be given up to the criminal courts. For this the special decision of the sovereign is required. Likewise the owners cannot live on the estates, whose administration is thus taken out of their hands. The villages or estates

are responsible for governmental taxes. If a serf has a law-suit, his master must prosecute it, and the master is answerable for the results, whenever the serf has had his permission to enter into any civil liability. In criminal matters concerning a serf, the interference of the master is optional.

“Serfs cannot be sold separate from the soil, or at any public auction in execution of the debts of the master.

“If a serf or serfs sue, on legal grounds, their master for emancipation, having been brought into serfdom contrary to the provisions of the law: while the legal proceedings are pending, the master cannot inflict on them any corporal punishment under the penalty of a criminal prosecution; nor can he mortgage or let them out by lease; and if the first court decide in their favor, and the affair goes to the court of appeal, the master cannot give them to the military service pending the final decision.

“Serfs carrying on a legal trade with the consent of the master, cannot be given up by him as recruits or for the colonization of Siberia. Serfs cannot own immovable property; all houses and lands possessed by them are the property of the master. Should a serf inherit such property, it must be sold and the money handed over to him. Serfs erecting shops and manufactures, must have a special permission of the master, likewise for entering the guild of artizans, and for selling the produce of their industry in cities and markets. For taking public jobs, *podriad*, or keeping post-horses on public roads, they must have the consent and guarantee of the master.

“The serfs can lend out money on legal terms, but not take mortgages on land, in villages or estates. Only with the consent of the master can they buy on credit goods for traffic—otherwise they cannot be prosecuted, and any bargain or stipulation is void by itself.

“The master has the right to manumit his serfs individually, or by whole hamlets and villages, with or without giving them lands.

“A permission given by the master to his serf to marry a girl, who is a pupil and educated in a public establishment for the children of burghers—is equivalent to manumission.

“A manumitted serf cannot be brought again into serfdom.

A serf can obtain his liberty by a legal juridical decision. 1. If he proves an antecedent right to liberty. 2. If his master does not belong to any Christian confession. 3. If the master has made a forcible attack on the virtue of his wife or daughter, or committed any other impropriety. 4. If the serf was made a prisoner by the enemy and carried beyond the frontiers of the state—on returning he does not return into serfdom. 5. If by the master he is given up to the disposition of the government.

“The serf obtains his liberty if he proves against his master the crime of treason, or a conspiracy against the life of the sovereign.

“A serf condemned legally to exile to Siberia ceases to be owned by the master; his wife following him into exile becomes free.

“A serf becomes free if sold without lands, or if the buyer does not possess the quantity of land required by law, or if his family is separated from him by sale.

“These are the principal features of the legal organization of serfdom. As was said, part of the serfs are agriculturists called *pachatnaïa duscha*, the others house serfs or *dworowaïa*.”

The serfs wander from the lands of their masters, and labor in cities. They take their passports, and have free scope over the empire. If they report themselves to their masters, and send them the earnings of *three days* per week, they can do what they please with the balance.

In principle, according to law, all the movable property, money, &c., of a serf belongs to the master, but such is the force of public opinion, that no master will risk the enforcement of this abstract right. In fact the law watches kindly over the serf, but in its *administration* he often suffers. Bad as serfdom in Russia is, its privileges are far greater than those of bondmen in our Southern States. The serf is more free, the laws of serfdom are more lenient; the defences thrown about the Russian peasant are stronger; he has the sympathies of the army and of the burgher. Moreover, he inherits the inborn Slavie thirst, resolve, and *certainty* of freedom, and can turn his eye to a throne whose power and sympathy, whose aspira-

tions after a loftier nationality, are enlisted on his behalf. The spirit of the Slavi is communal, republican. Slavery is an exotic,—it is abnormal, and the vital force of the race will eventually throw it off. But the great question is: When and how shall this be accomplished?

We regard emancipation in Russia as inevitable. Toward it the whole nation is palpably drifting. Our belief of this prospect as certain, and not distant, is founded on the following facts:

1. It has been the sincere desire of the government, from the coronation of Alexander I. to the present time, to achieve entire freedom for the whole population, and this is known by them.

2. The native genius of the peasantry is too earnest and vital to endure oppression. Hence their condition has in late reigns been meliorated as a result of imperial foresight, for which the Russian sovereigns have long been distinguished.

3. The passion of the people for Czarism is abating, and while the Emperor feels the necessity of yielding to their claims all that safety will allow, the concession will only increase their thirst and their fitness for liberty.

4. The enslaved are of the same race with the free, with the nobles, and with the Czar himself. The whole system is therefore most unnatural to them, as well as obnoxious to their early history as a people.

5. The bond of sympathy is much greater between the peasantry and the burghers, than between the latter and the nobility. The same may be said of the soldiers and the priests, whose alliances and associations are mainly with the free peasantry and the serfs.

6. The superior privileges of foreign residents, and the reports brought back by the armies from their expeditions, increase the natural desire for freedom among the peasants.

7. The influence of *universities* in the large cities, and the suburban populations is powerfully in favor of emancipation.

8. The natural tendency of communal elections is to qualify the peasantry for self-government, and to set them in a path of progress, along which the whole force of European civilization will continue to impel them.

9. The present Emperor has promised to give freedom to his people.

But the obstacles are met in the whole frame-work, and complication of the social and political system in that empire.

The nobility, generally, are not in favor of such a change. It would diminish their power and lower their dignity. It would seriously interfere with their "daily bread." Their position and existence as a class would be put in jeopardy. Then, as they occupy the lucrative and influential offices in all branches of the administration, their opposition to emancipation is intensified by their spirit of plunder, which can be more easily carried on in the actual condition of the people.

The *bureaucracy* in Russia has reached a power, in some aspects, too great even for the safety of the throne; certainly too great for the exercise of justice. In the army and navy, in the internal administration of affairs over the free peasants and the serfs, indeed over the citizens also, in all contracts for supplying the soldiery and for erecting public works; the chiefs of departments, the colonels of regiments, &c., manage by false estimates, by defective measures and weights, by various pretences, to deprive multitudes of their rights. Instances of the most barbarous and shocking nature have come to light even since the present excellent Emperor ascended the throne. He is kept in ignorance of this procedure; or if it reach his ear, and special provision be made to remedy the evil, the *bureaucracy* manage to obtain control of all such reformatory agency. This system, therefore, must be wholly changed or annihilated in order that one great obstacle to emancipation be removed.

Then the police, instituted specially to restrain the free action of the burghers, are objects of dread to the whole population. The free peasants and serfs are not now so much subject to the police; were they wholly free, they would become a prey to that system. Multitudes, therefore, prefer their actual servitude to freedom under such circumstances. Instances are reported in which the serfs of several estates strongly asserted their preference of slavery to emancipation, through dread of falling under the terrible oversight of the *camarilla*.

We believe that the character of the serfs is not an objection to their emancipation. They are indeed sly, and false, and some-

times guilty of cruelties; but they are only what Anglo-Saxons would be in their condition. They were once free. They are sufficiently industrious to warrant the support of their families in a state of freedom, and with the motives of citizenship before them. They can be true to their promises and to law; they can impose on themselves restraints from indulgence, when they once learn that temperance is profitable. Even now, it requires intrigue, and often severe threats on the part of those in power, and who have a pecuniary interest in their dissipation, to secure among them a sufficient consumption of "corn brandy" to render the farming of the monopoly lucrative.

The question with regard to this whole subject is, whether the Emperor comprehends the necessity of the case; whether he sees what must be *done*, and is resolved to do it; whether he will summon the spirit of his armies, appeal to the love of the people, and put an end to the bureaucracy, and the whole oppressive system of police, and then proclaim a general emancipation! Some of the nobles are already endeavoring to induce their serfs to purchase freedom on easy terms. But the latter *reject* such offers in the calm assurance that liberty will soon be offered them as a *right*! The fault of Alexander and Nicholas was, that they did not act promptly in the matter of emancipation. The example of reform in the Baltic Provinces was such as to warrant the same attempt in Russia Proper, but the dread of associations for the purpose of freedom, and the inability or unwillingness of individual proprietors to liberate their serfs, arrested on the threshold a work so desirable, and withal so full of promise.

But all these *throbbings* of the national mind; these pulsations of humanity and enlightenment in the breast of the Czar, foretold good. We cannot expect, we should not desire, a sudden and tremendous overthrow of a system inwrought by the course of ages into a nation's life. The huge cancer eats away slowly but surely the life of the patient, but it must not be torn by force from its deep growth, to leave the sufferer bleeding and dying of the *remedy*,—not the disease. The feeling of a people is *its destiny*! It is the voice of God! That voice now speaks to the whole Russian population, from the Czar to the darkest serf; and it shall ere long break forth in

jubilee over an emancipated empire! All Europe will then breathe more freely; and the barrier that has long stood between the people and constitutional liberty will fall!

The Cossacks compose a very remarkable portion of the Russian people. History has not yet fully certified their origin. They may have been in the early centuries bands of wanderers and fugitives from lands bordering on the south of Russia, who, forming themselves into villages and communes for defence against Tartar tribes, ultimately grew and spread into the East. They now inhabit the southern and eastern portions of Russia, Poland, and the Ukraine. They are members of the Greek Church. They are free, possess lands, pay a small tax, and serve the government by military duty. In warfare they seek the most dangerous posts, and are always very formidable. When not successful in an attack, they retreat rapidly, form again in an unexpected manner, and fall on the enemy like an avalanche, putting them to confusion before resistance is possible. It has ever been the glory of a Cossack to live unmarried. After their early wars with the Turks, during a period of comparative repose, they sought matrimonial alliances, and lived in families on their rich lands. Their chief seat has been for nearly three centuries on some islands of the Don, about 1200 miles from St. Petersburg. There they built a city, resembling Venice. This Cossack capital contains probably 20,000 inhabitants. They have schools, a theatre, a distinct internal administration, churches adorned with gold and jewels, and many of the arts of civilization. In seasons of high water their city seems to be afloat. They have built also a new city on an arm of the river, to which most of the inhabitants have removed, on account of the malaria by which the old city is affected.

In the seventeenth century the Cossacks contributed to the brief dominion of Poland over the Russians. But becoming obnoxious to the Roman Catholic nobles, and persecuted for their religion, they finally invoked the aid of Russia; then submitted to her rule, and became an important power in her conquests.

The following are some of the immunities of the Cossacks:

“Lands inherited by them directly from their Cossack an-

cestry, remain forever their individual property. It can be sold only to a Cossack.

"If he acquire free lands, he can dispose of them at pleasure, by observing certain requisitions of the law.

"Cossacks alone have the privilege of selling liquors in their houses. No government monopoly can be introduced in their territories.

"They can enter the communes of free peasants, selling their property to one of their own class. If they are condemned to Siberia or to a penitentiary, they forfeit their peculiar privileges.

"In their civil affairs, they choose their chiefs, but are under the general supervision of the imperial government; and their military commanders are named by the minister of war, and confirmed by the Czar himself."

The literature of Russia demands a larger space than we can at present afford. The Sclavi, like other European races, have a distinct language. The researches of Bopp in Comparative Philology have shown conclusively that it is of Indo-European or Japhethian origin. In the progress of ages it has incorporated words from many other tongues, so that some modification of its original form and essence has been effected. The language of the Russian Bible remains unchanged for more than seven centuries. This, and the dialect of the Sclavi, who founded the empire, have together formed a mixed language, used in sermons, in rhetorical prose, and the higher kinds of poetry. Lomonosoff, in the middle of the last century, did much to beautify and enrich the Russian language. He was called the creator of Russian poetry. He was born in a village not far from Archangel. His father was a fisherman, whom he aided by his labors in the support of the family. At an early age he was greatly moved by the chanting at church, and by the poetry of the Bible. He conceived the purpose of celebrating the Creation, and the deeds of Peter the Great, in songs like those of David. From one degree of culture and of knowledge, he rose to the highest literary eminence, and he is now remembered by the learned of St. Petersburg and Moscow with reverence and pride. He was an eminent chemist and historian, and was called the Russian Pindar. He died in 1765.

Other poets of note have proved and enriched the capabilities of the Russian language, some of whom wrote with both grace and harmony. Keraskoff stands high among the poets of the empire. Bogdanovich is called the Russian Anacreon. Bobroff wrote an oriental poem, second only to Lalla Rookh. Kostroff made an excellent translation of Homer, and was engaged in a version of Ossian, which was arrested by the hand of death. Khemnitzer, Kriloff, Dmitrieff, and others, have distinguished themselves as writers of fables. Ryleeff was a beloved and popular poet, who, for participating in the spirit of liberty manifested at the accession of Nicholas, was condemned and executed with many others. For three days the Czar refused to sign the order, but at last, urged by his counsellors, he yielded. When the poet was suspended on the gallows, the rope broke, and he fell to the earth, injured, but not fatally. A groan like muffled thunder rose from the multitude of spectators. The Governor-General, in perplexity, sent for farther orders from the Emperor. The reply was: "Take a stronger rope and proceed with the execution." It was done.*

Pushkin flourished in the early part of the present century. He is spoken of as the "immortal poet." He addressed verses to Nicholas, in which he urges him to follow the footsteps of Peter the Great, resembling him in his readiness to pardon, especially forgetting wrongs done to himself. This poet died in 1837. We are told by the French Romancer, Dumas, in his letters from Russia, that Pushkin descended, on his mother's side, from a negro,—Hannibal, who, captured on the coast of Guinea, was taken to sea. He had no hope of release but by death. But he was re-captured, and afterwards purchased, and sold again in Holland. Peter the Great saw him there, and becoming interested in him, purchased and transported him to St. Petersburg, where he attained the grade of general, and became the founder of the Russian artillery. For his ode to liberty, Pushkin was ordered to quit St. Petersburg, and after that to enter the army of Caucasus. There his poetic genius luxuriated in wild scenes, and the melancholy of banishment, and he charmed the literary world by his numbers. They even

* Russia as it is, by Gurowski.

so wrought on the heart of Nicholas that he sent him permission to re-visit St. Petersburg, where he received him with demonstrations of affection, and conferred on him an honorable office.

The most popular and successful of Russian poets, and indeed of Russian writers, was Karamsin. He wrote eleven volumes of history; letters of great excellence; a collection of tales; and many popular songs. He was called "the *nightingale* of poetry." He died in 1826. He is the author of the *Church Yard*,—a dialogue between two voices. It is found in some popular collections, and will be recognised at once.

First Voice.

How frightful the grave! how deserted and drear,
With the howls of the storm-wind, the creaks of the bier,
And the white bones all clattering together!

Second Voice.

How peaceful the grave! its quiet how deep!
Its zephyrs breathe calmly, and soft is its sleep,
And flow'rets perfume it with ether.

The first place among Russian poets belongs, by universal consent, to Derzhavin. Bowring says of him:—"His compositions breathe a sublime spirit; they are full of inspiration. Of modern poets he most resembles Klopstock. His '*Oda Bog*,'—'*Ode on God*,' written with a pen of fire, and glowing with the brightness of heaven, is one of the most sublime and impressive addresses I am acquainted with on a subject so pre-eminently impressive and sublime." As this ode is comparatively well known, we have made an extract from "*The Waterfall*," as the most richly poetical of all we have seen from the pen of Derzhavin. It commences thus:—

"Lo! like a glorious pile of diamonds bright,
Built on the steadfast cliff, the waterfall
Pours forth its showers of pearl and silver light:
They sink, they rise, and sparkling, cover all
With infinite refulgence; while its song,
Sublime as thunder, rolls the woods along.

"Rolls through the woods,—they send its accents back,
Whose last vibration in the desert dies;

Its radiance glances o'er the watery track,
 Till the soft wave, as wrapt in slumber, lies
 Beneath the forest shade; then sweetly flows,
 A milky stream, all silent as it goes."

Near the waterfall reclines an old warrior with his shield and sword; he falls asleep and dreams of glory,—the white foamy waters forming in his mind the image of a winged woman bursting from the mountain, which breaks asunder with terrible sound. She is clothed in mourning, and proclaiming the death of *Romanozoff*, the hero of the Orient, whose trophies were gained along the shores of "*the ebony and the amber seas*."

The poet's apostrophe to glory is in the highest style of his art.

"O, glory! glory! mighty one on earth!
 How justly imaged in this waterfall!
 So wild and furious in thy sparkling birth!
 Dashing thy torrents down, and dazzling all!
 Sublimely breaking from thy glorious height;
 Majestic, thundering, beautiful and bright.

"How many a wondering eye is turned to thee:
 In admiration lost; short-sighted men!
 Thy furious wave gives *no fertility*;
 Thy waters, hurrying fiercely through the plain,
 Bring naught but devastation and distress,
 And leave the flowery vale a wilderness."

Contemporary with Derzhavin, were Cheraskoff and Oseroff, the latter distinguished in tragic verse.

The Russian language is rich and harmonious, "fitted," as Bancroft has said, "to become the voice of the muses, and the instrument of science." It is also pre-eminent in its power to utter insult. No one can so effectually abuse you with words as the Russian. He will pour on you an avalanche of epithets that are utterly overwhelming, and yet he does not swear. His worst oath is, "*Go to God*."

Much is done by the universities of the empire, in which every branch of literary and scientific culture is admirably pursued; much also by the encouragement given to savans, and scientific minds, by the Emperor, to open worthy channels through which that language can flow and make itself heard

among the nations. Not to speak of the schools which are exclusively for the nobility and privileged orders, and of many others of different grades and objects, increasing in the Empire, nearly *seven hundred* have been established for the special benefit of the sons of the clergy; and in these schools are reported to be seventy thousand pupils.

We have now reached in our review the clergy and the Church in Russia. The entrance of Christianity into that Empire took place about the middle of the ninth century. It was borne thither from Byzantium, first, in all probability, by the rude barbarians of the North, who annually visited that city, which they called Tzargrad, or the "city of the Cæsars," for the purpose of exchanging their "furs, wax, and honey," for oriental fabrics and luxuries. For the sake of free trade with the merchants of Constantinople, they were willing to adopt the Christian religion. Afterwards, the Emperors of Byzantium and their daughters, by marrying the *Ros*, as the Russians were then called, sought to bring them more fully under the refining and ennobling power of the Gospel.

The antagonism of the Greek and Roman communions is too well known to require any mention in these pages. It has been the occasion of no little benefit to the human mind. Some of the doctrines and usages of the former, which give it great supremacy over the latter, are mainly the results of this early difference in policy and feeling. For example, when the Latin Church decided that bread only should be used in the sacrament of the Supper, the Greek Church resolved to use unleavened bread and diluted wine. The Sec of Rome decreed that no priest should marry, that of Constantinople decreed that priests should be married, but only *once*,—forever remaining single after the death of the wife. The bishops and archbishops do not marry.

When image-worship and picture-worship began to prevail in the western Church, only the latter was permitted in the Greek. The avarice of the Pope invented "purgatory," hence no Greek Christian will receive it. The Papacy deprived its subjects of the Bible, but the Greek Church encourages its perusal. Even the form of the cross among the eastern Christians differs from that of the Latin, both pieces, with the former, being of equal

length; the dogma of transubstantiation also assumes different forms in the two communions. The Greeks baptize by immersion, dipping the child *three times* in succession, repeating at each plunge one of the names of the Trinity. The oriental Church has become more vigorous and manly since its identity with Russian protection and power. The northern genius, the Slavie force, the moulding power of the expressive Russian language, have done much to elevate that Church from the listlessness and effeminacy into which, under the soft air, and in the gardens of the Orient, it had lost its energy and life.

The Russian clergy are generally moral and consistent in their lives, though there are many ignorant and vulgar inebriates among them. They hold a position distinct as a class from the nobility, among whom they cannot intermarry, and the bourgeoisie. They select their wives, therefore, from their own class, and from the burghers and free peasants. Their sympathies are naturally, and by position, with the lower orders. The Church is subject to the Emperor in all but purely doctrinal matters and interpretations of Scripture. The spirituals he does not attempt to control. Yet the bishops and archbishops are obliged to contribute by their office to his plans and policy. The Patriarch, however, exerts a great influence over the Czar himself. The power of the clergy has been often felt in times of war, inspiring the soldiery, and repeating to the nation the charm of "*Holy Russia!*" "*Fight, and Paradise!*"

We regard the Greek Church as possessing some enduring elements of power. It does not assume stateship like the Latin Church; and though Czarism and religion have become one in policy and action, the Church is stronger as a system, as an objective agency, on account of that alliance. It pays deference to human law and rule. The Latin Church demands the submission of kings. In its extreme assumption is its weakness. Kings will cast it off. This is the actual condition of the Papacy,—it is rejected in its feebleness, and poverty, and grief. The poor, imbecile, withered head of that Church pours out his spleen and his sorrows in every letter to his bishops, filling the world with the demonstration of his nothingness.

The question of the coalescence of these two Churches, it

seems to us, is more than idle. A separate and antagonistic history for eight centuries forbids the possibility! The different races represented by them render such an event impossible. The manifest destiny of Russia forbids it; the genius of each spiritual hierarchy holds up a perpetual barrier against such a result.

That there may be a temporary union of the two in practical policy in the East, is not improbable; but it will be no "*entente cordiale*." It will be only political. Both France and Russia are now appealing to religious considerations for state purposes; though the Russian population are sincere and earnest for the protection of Christian sufferers in Syria, and for vengeance on their murderers. The Czar foresees that the whole Greek Church in the East will, in a certain event, place itself under his shield. Let it be seen that he is resolved on the destruction of the Turk, and the Christians of Armenia, the Nestorians and those of Alexandria, will not long hesitate to accept his protection, for they know that he is tolerant. Then will his throne cast its grateful shadow over a nominal Church, numbering one hundred millions of souls; and his sceptre sway a hardy population, of which nearly ninety millions speak the same language!

If Russia gain ascendancy in the East, will she not become a scourge to the Papacy? will not the scale of dominion turn in favor of the oriental Church? This we regard as probable,—indeed certain,—in the end. It is a serious question, whether, in the event of Russian rule in Syria, Protestant missions will be disturbed. The Emperor is tolerant. All communions have free worship in his empire. They meet with no obstructions, so long as they abstain from proselyting among the members of the Greek Church. This has never been allowed; it will not be in the future. During twenty years of missionary labor in Siberia, on the part of the London Missionary Society, only a single convert was gained from the Greek faith! Many were supposed to have been converted, but they remained still in their own communion. We regard it, therefore, as inevitable, that Protestant missions among the Greek Christians in Syria, in case that Russian influence preponderate there, will eventually have to give way; not before a spirit of persecution,

but before a calm, settled, essential principle of Church Extension on the part of the Russian government.

Much is written in these days about the "destiny of this great northern power." Whatever it shall be, it will challenge the regards of all diplomatists and all nations. A people whose traditions and stern mythology are ancient as those of Rome,—who have within two centuries sprung into a commanding civilization, even with the weight of despotism upon them; who have re-conquered the spoils of centuries; and are now spread over a territory of 8,000,000 square miles, possessing every resource in soil and climate; animated by love of country and religion; and zealous for the integral preservation of their race,—have in their very history a prestige of permanence and dominion.

The population as yet is not sufficiently concentrated; the national finances are not sufficiently abundant; the internal wants of the empire, and its social complications are too pressing, to allow of any demonstration that ought to give immediate cause of fear to Europe. But the instinct of Russia, her education, her religion, her developments, all point to a larger sway for her ultimately in the East. The policy of Napoleon seems now to be, to secure co-operation on the part of Alexander II., that the "*Rhine frontier*" may be "*re-vindicated*" for France; and Turkey in Europe be handed over to Russia. Of course England would not readily consent to this. The "balance of power" to which she seems to have chivalrously devoted her "blood and treasure," would thus be disturbed. But would the English people lose by such a result? Would not all Europe, in fact, gain in moral power and civilization? It is acknowledged that while Russia is lowest in the scale of civilization among the Christian powers, she is many degrees above the loftiest Pagan and Mohammedan culture. Were Constantinople to become a Russian capital and port, would not the same order of schools, of scientific associations, and commercial exchanges be established there as in St. Petersburg? Would not manufactures spring up, and the cultivation of the soil succeed to idleness and neglect throughout Turkey? Would not railways be laid and commerce flourish? Would not the seraglio be banished, the traffic in Georgian females cease; and society

be at once elevated vastly above its present level, in that once glorious capital of the Greek Church? And in such an event, what nation would reap a larger benefit from the commerce of the Dardanelles than Britain, whose manufactures exceed those of any other? It is too late in the world's progress to fear another tide of barbarism from the North.

In considering the question of the influence of Russia upon Protestant missions, one fact ought to be kept in view. The opposition of the Czar is not to the prevalence of Christianity, but to that of schism. He insists upon keeping the Greek Church intact. In view, therefore, of the immense extent of this Church, of its *comparative* purity and love of truth, of the toleration of the Emperor to plans for its improvement, and his determination that it shall not be disintegrated, it becomes a serious question whether more good cannot be done by working with the Greek Church, as our missionaries are doing with the Nestorians, than by working against it in the formation of a sectarian Protestant body. This is thrown out as a thought worthy of consideration.*

* NOTE BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS ARTICLE.

We have only glanced at the many topics which present themselves in writing about Russia. Others of deep interest have been overlooked altogether. We have said nothing of woman in that empire; but little of industry; nothing of Moscow. We were borne along by other topics, until it was too late to dwell on these. We refer our readers for full information on all these subjects to the following works:—"Russia as It Is," by Count de Gurowski; "Russia and the Eastern Question," by Richard Cobden, M. P.; Article—"Russia," in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; "Oliphant;" "The English Woman in Russia,"—rather flippant and derogatory; Alexander Dumas' "Impressions de Voyage en Russie;" "Revue Européenne," April, 1860; "La Verité sur la Russie," par la Prince Pierre Dolgoroukow. This latter work, as well as others written by exiled Russian nobles, is somewhat overdrawn, though substantially true. Others might be named, both German and French, but the above will give a full view of Russian life, institutions, difficulties, and destiny.

ARTICLE III.

SCHLEIERMACHER.

[Prepared for the Presbyterian Quarterly Review, from two Articles in the *Studien und Kritiken*, for 1859, which are based upon the work, "*Aus Schleiermacher's Leben. In Briefen.* 2 bd. Berlin, 1858." (From Schleiermacher's Life. In Letters. 2 vols. Berlin, 1858.) By Dr. Gustavus Baur, Professor at Giessen.]*

SECOND ARTICLE.

As a *scientific* man, Schleiermacher was peculiar in this, that it was science purely in which he was interested, and not learning, as that may be distinguished from science. Although his attainments were of the most astonishing variety and profundity in themselves, as isolated matters they had no interest for him; they were interesting only as they could be interwoven with the totality of his own views, and embraced among the living elements of his own system of convictions and means of operating successfully upon others. And as science had become a vital part of his own personal existence, and was sustained by and interfused with a strong moral sentiment, so, in his activity as a man of science, his personal intercourse and direct influence on others, it was a constant and serious necessity with him. He had no high opinion of merely literary activity. On the 1st of August, 1791, he thus writes to his sister: "The duty which, in my view is unavoidably laid upon every man, is

* The reader must not expect in this Article a discussion or even a statement of Schleiermacher's theological or philosophical opinions. The Article on which it is based, like so many in German periodicals, *supposes* an amount of knowledge which may be realized in Germany, but which is certainly not reached in England or America by most readers. It takes for granted that every one knows all about the great man's system and opinions, and proceeds to tell us what it supposes we do not know, his private character, political views, and special idiosyncrasies. The paper is therefore written at too high a position for us. Yet we have supposed that it would be interesting as it is, as containing the inner life of a very remarkable man. It is also to be clearly understood that the Editors of this Review, in no sense or degree, endorse the peculiar views of Schleiermacher, either in philosophy or theology.—EDITORS.

to teach others, whether they be old persons or children, his own or others. Many a time I try to persuade myself that if one write books he exerts an educating influence upon the world as he best can; but it is not so; it is only a fantastic performance without any life in it, without sight, without utility." Hence, for Schleiermacher, the academic sphere of life was assuredly best adapted. Yet, at first, when the call to Wurzburg put it clearly before his mind, he hesitated timorously, and expressed himself in the following language: "It still seems to me a most marvellous idea, that I should read lectures, and I wonder at myself for not regarding it as altogether impossible; it is so strange to me, and I am deficient in so many respects. My literary acquirements, for example, are altogether too limited." But when soon afterwards he actually engaged in the work at Halle, all his anxieties on the subject gave place to the greatest delight in his calling. The fact that, at the commencement he was not resorted to by extraordinary throngs, he explained in part from the fact that he was a thorn in the side of his colleagues, who were actuated by a widely different spirit; partly, too, from his method of teaching, which required eager and discerning students at the start; hence he rather dreaded a too prompt approval, such as might originate in curiosity or some other external grounds. But after the lapse of the first quarter, he is able to write to Charlotte von Kathen, on the 17th January, 1806: "Teaching from the professor's chair is a noble business, especially as, day after day, I find myself more at home in it, and discover that there are always some youth who appear thoroughly to grasp what I present to their apprehension." Three quarters later he writes to Willich: "In general, dear friend, I have great cause for thankfulness for the fair degree of success as a teacher which I enjoy, and for the agreeable prospect I have in regard to the next generation of young theologians. True, it would not be hard to outnumber my school, and I am very well satisfied that the crowd does not press in; but I have found many a noble spirit and many a precious talent among the students, leading to a hearty acceptance of the truth; indeed I know of a couple who have been cured by my lectures, of the repugnance which philologists especially, often cherish towards

Christianity. What greater joy than this could I experience?" Here we may already see how the interest he felt in science never was dissevered from the interest he took in Christianity and the Church, and in this view the connection of the duty of preaching, with his academical position, must have been very welcome. Thus he writes to Willich, December, 1805: "This much I can very confidently expect, that, by the relation of my pulpit exercises to my lectures before the students, I shall make clear to them the relation of speculation and piety, and thus from both places, the pulpit and the professor's chair, enlighten and warn them alike."

With what lively enthusiasm he writes to his bride, when, after the uncertain condition into which the overthrow of the University at Halle had plunged him, the prospect of a renewed academical career opened before him in Berlin, and he had already prepared and delivered several lectures in this expectation, December 4, 1808: "What at present gives me truly great joy is my lectures. With the introductory I am seldom satisfied, and was not at this time, just as I am never satisfied with the introduction to my sermons. But as I go further, and the audience with me, everything falls into better order, and it becomes clearer that we have seized upon the truth; the delivery becomes easier, and frequently in the midst of the lecture I am surprised by the spontaneous suggestion of an idea not previously in my thoughts, and so I myself come away instructed from almost every lecture. I cannot tell you what a pleasure it is! To give the young men of to-day clear views of Christianity and the State, which is in fact to give them all they require to make the future better than the past has been!" Thus inclination and duty in him wrought together to such a degree that he discharged his professional duties with the utmost strictness and punctuality, and that, for instance, as late as May, in the disturbed year of 1813, he continued the delivery of his lectures after all other teachers had closed.

It is due to this intimate ingrafting of his acquirements and of his teachings into his entire personality, that Schleiermacher was incapable of acquiescing, in any outward manner, in a doctrine or a practice which did not inwardly commend itself to his convictions. Hence, too, it was impossible for him to adopt

the catch-words of parties, which so seldom convey any clear idea; frequently the suspicion of indecision fell upon him, when his position was simply the result of a higher degree of penetration and a truthfulness to himself. As early as the execution of Louis XVI., during a period of great excitement, he writes in this regard to his father, (February 14, 1793:) "As I cannot refrain from opposing, to the best of my knowledge and convictions, the narrow and partisan views of men, or from guiding them in a practical way to the *audiat et altera pars*, I am able to satisfy no one, and I, poor man, who rarely have an opinion upon matters in the concrete, and who can, with still less truth, be reckoned as a party man, now frequently pass with Democrats for a champion of despotism, and an adherent of the old routine; with the hot-headed, for a time-server, who sets his cloak to the wind, and will not say what he thinks; with the Royalists for a Jacobin, and with prudent people for a thoughtless man, with a tongue over-long."

That a mind of such clearness and penetration, subjecting everything to the severest scrutiny, should be exposed to little, if any, danger of system-hunting, is self-evident. Well may he confidently have responded to a warning of his father's on this subject, December 23, 1789: "I do not believe that I shall ever arrive at a perfectly developed system, so as to answer all the questions one may propose, decisively and in harmony with all the rest of my knowledge; but I have always believed that to prove and to examine, to give all witnesses and all parties a patient hearing is the only means of, at length, reaching a sufficient degree of certainty, and, above all, of discovering the fixed limits between the things on which a man must be capable of taking a part, and giving every one a reason for it, and the things one can leave unsettled without injury to his peace and happiness. Thus I calmly contemplate the struggles of philosophical and theological athletes without pronouncing for any; but I cannot help continually learning something from both."

As to his *Method of Study*, Schleiermacher was not guided by a plan laid out in accordance with some fixed system, but followed whithersoever the particular interest led him. In the same letter we read on this subject: "Study is, so to speak,

too much of a passion with me to allow me, so long as my time is my own, to keep certain hours and busy myself in them, until the stroke of the clock, or something of the sort, summons one to an entirely different branch of knowledge. Everything that I undertake is done with a certain vehemence, and I do not pause before I have reached a result upon some point or other. Hence I do everything, not by the hour, or by the day, but by impulse, by periods. At one time some great division of philosophy engages my interest, I investigate its history, I go through all the different opinions held, and see which among them is tenable or untenable, consequent or inconsequent. While at this work, it may be, something has drawn my attention to a particular point in history, or to a disputed point in philology, and as soon as the first investigation is completed I turn with the same earnestness to that. Thus practical and theoretical philosophy take their turns. At present, I am engaged in a thorough revision of my specifically theological acquirements. This whole manner of study has, doubtless, as every other, its defects, but it has its undeniable advantages too; one is not distracted and confused by a multitude of utterly diverse objects, and, since one is drawn to his pursuits by a certain want, by a void in his attainments, of which he has become conscious, everything is done *con amore*, and one is not likely to spend his time on some unnecessary pursuit merely to carry out an established plan." Schleiermacher's reading proceeded, of course, but slowly on this plan, as he himself felt and regretted, but what he once had acquired in this manner stayed by him, and in the end he found himself in possession of a richer store of the fruits of reading, than he would have gained by a more rapid and extensive, but more cursory reading. And it arose from this energetic concentration of his whole mind upon the subject at any time in hand, that in spite of his manifold official duties, and notwithstanding his extensive acquaintance, he could be so prolific as a writer. The "Discourses upon Religion," (*Reden über die Religion*,) were written in Potsdam in about two months, (from the middle of February to the middle of April, 1799.) In the composing of the "Christmas Feast," (*Weihnachtsfeier*,) which was written in Halle, about Christmas, 1805, there transpired, "from the first

thought to the last syllable, only three weeks," during which, moreover, he had no cessation from the work of preparing lectures. The admirable academical treatise "on the Various Methods of Translating," he wrote, as appears from the correspondence, amid many interruptions, in June, 1813, in three days, and the day before he delivered it he was still busily engaged upon it.

We owe it to the deep personal interest which Schleiermacher took in every separate, scientific and literary employment in which he was engaged, that in these wholly confidential letters, which are in no wise designed to serve literary objects, *mention is nevertheless made of all of his more extensive works.* Especially is this true of the Discourses upon Religion, the Monologues, the Critique of Morals, the Christmas Festival: writings which are in a high degree reflections of his own experiences. In regard to the Dogmatic Theology, he announces the work to his friend Willich, as early as December 1805, though it actually appeared some fifteen years later. Concerning the relation between his dogmatical and philosophical views, we find some interesting remarks in a letter, belonging, probably, to the close of the year 1818, and addressed to Jacobi: "My philosophy and my dogmatics are purposed not to conflict with each other, but just for that reason will neither of them ever be completed, and as far back as I can remember, they have always harmonized and always approximated each other." Akin to this praiseworthy modesty was the reluctance which Schleiermacher always showed to pronouncing a hasty decision upon the mysterious phenomena of the natural world. He seems, at one time, to have had considerable confidence in animal magnetism, and even used it as a remedy for some of his constitutional infirmities; what opinion he formed of its efficiency in this respect, does not appear in the sources before us.

It might be expected that a man who took such a healthful interest in all the great concerns of society, and labored so earnestly for their advancement, would not find *political matters* foreign to his taste. Schleiermacher's participation in the political issues of his times, was, in fact, livelier, his opinions upon them more thorough and his influence over them more

extensive and important than one would have had reason to expect from his professional calling; not as though he sacrificed the special interests of his pursuits, by meddling with a multitude of political engagements which did not concern him; his career, in this respect, only illustrates that interest in public affairs which it is the duty of every citizen to take, but which, alas, is too often selfishly lost sight of in exclusive attention to one's own particular profession.

To his father, under date of May 14, 1792, he expresses himself very justly and wisely upon the French Revolution, then in progress. The movement, on the whole, strikes him very favorably, while he condemns the violent passions and extravagant ideas manifested in its course. Four periods may be distinguished in the time when, holding a public office, he was brought into closer contact with public affairs: first, that of the confusion consequent upon the unfortunate battle of Jena; then that of the internal development of the national spirit of Prussia, under the burden of a foreign yoke; next the period of the struggles for freedom, and finally the ensuing reaction.

Amid these changing situations, and the altered feelings and policy they occasioned, Schleiermacher's conduct was perfectly consistent, because from the beginning, with the penetration and clearness natural to him, he formed a substantially correct judgment of the position of affairs, and perceived the source of the mischief, and the means needful for its removal. As early as the 20th of June, 1806, he writes to Charlotte von Kather, at Rugen, in view of the possibility of the French attacking Sweden: "Believe me, there will take place, sooner or latter, a general conflict, in which our mode of thought, our religion, our culture, will be at stake, just as truly as our outward freedom and external goods—a conflict which must be met, which not the kings with their hireling forces, but the people, making common cause with their kings, must fight; which will unite people and princes in a nobler style than they have been for hundreds of years past, and in which the common cause will require every one, every one to take a part. I perceive a storm in the air, and wish its approach, that the explosion may be over; for that it can be avoided, I have no longer any ex-

pectation." Thus forearmed, the calamity, which soon after actually befell, disturbed him not. Taking his own advice, given at that time to Herz, "to look at the fates of men in the mass," he paid slight regard to the dreadful confusion which reigned at Halle, after the battle of Jena, when soldiers were quartered upon him, and he was stripped of money, and of the very necessities of life. In the midst of all this, he had no greater anxiety than that the king should not conclude a dishonorable peace. "If only," he writes, November 21st, 1806, to Henrietta Herz, "if only a good spirit guides the decisions of our king, so that he does not change utterly, and conclude a dishonorable peace, but remains true to Russia! This is the only course which will ensure us better times; and I have a tolerably strong conviction that he will not do otherwise. Every thing that is German must soon experience chastisement. The rod must now come upon every thing German. Only upon this condition can any really noble or advantageous result come to pass. Happy they who survive it; happy they who die, if they die in faith." Similarly in a letter to Willich, of December 1st: "If I look at things in the gross, I am tranquil again. The constitution of Germany was a thing which could not have been maintained; in the Prussian monarchy, too, there was much of a promiscuous, untenable nature, that has disappeared; whether its germinant idea will be preserved, and how, must be determined by its own virtue. I am sure that Germany, the centre of Europe, will once more arise in beautiful shape,—but when—and whether only after far harder trials, and after a long period of severe oppression, God knows. I fear naught except a dishonorable peace the while, which leaves an appearance, and nothing more than an appearance of national existence and freedom." Hence he rejoiced in the firm and noble stand taken by the king, in disdaining such a peace; and he expresses his joy in connection with the deep sense of his own losses, in a truly affecting manner, in a letter to Charlotte von Kathen, December 1st: "I was almost certain that the first battle would be lost; and I hence trembled with indignation, that the battle-field was not sought at a greater distance; but the dreadful disorders which ensued and the universal panic—with a single illustrious exception—far surpassed any

idea I had formed. I was pleased only with the king, and with the fortitude he displayed. I hope, now that he has suffered the occupation of his capital and the surrender of his fortresses, without suing for peace, he will certainly not divide his fate from that of the rest of Europe. The times have arrived of which I wrote to you, and it may be, all that has as yet happened, is but the beginning. The struggle will have to take a deeper hold, if life and weal are to issue from this wide-spread desolation. To this pleasing hope I adhere, and death itself shall not rob me of it, if I should not survive to the fulfilment. At present, dear friend, I am placed in about as disagreeable circumstances as possible; restricted to the pitiable, inactive life of a mere man of learning; suffering, indeed, the penury which seems attached to the lot of such; professor's chair and pulpit gone; the University, in which such a delightful sphere of labors was opening before me, scattered in all directions, and, in fact, little hope left of its re-establishment, so long as our district remains in the hands of the enemy. For the great conqueror appears to have a hearty hatred of Halle, and if this has its origin in the conduct of our youth—refusing him any sign of joy, and indeed, scarcely of astonishment, their whole appearance betokening much rather the reverse—why I am decidedly pleased that it should be so. Just now, I believe, God is helping me again to the sphere of activity, without which, life would have lost all its value to me."

We need search no further to learn how clearly Schleiermacher saw that the conqueror contended, not simply against the armies of Germany, but with quick perception, recognized more dangerous and far more odious enemies in German Protestantism, German philosophy, the teachers of German views and their principal seats, the German universities, and that, therefore, circumstances might arise requiring martyrs from the learned as well as the military profession, among the former of which, he as a man not accustomed to put the light of his opinions under a bushel, would surely not be among the last. On the same first of December of the year of peril, a date so rich in letters, he writes to Willich: "*Napoleon hates Protestantism as he hates speculation*; I believe my prophecy in the Discourses is not untrue. When it comes to pass, my friend,

then let us simply stand at our post and fear nothing. I wish I had wife and child that I might be behind no one in this event. I have preached twice during this period, twelve days ago and to-day; both times, as you can imagine, referring to the times and their indications, in my own way, and without reserve;" and shortly before to Herz: "He (Napoleon) will certainly soon rage against Protestantism, and then it will be my lot to come forth in advance of many others. None can know what is in store for him in these times! There may be such things as martyrs, again, both for science and for religion." We see that it was just *because* danger threatened, that, with manly courage and German feeling, he persisted in remaining at his post while it was practicable to do so.

As early as Nov. 4th, he writes to Reimer: "Should there be a peace soon, it is very unlikely that Halle will remain Prussian. If it becomes Saxon, the University will, in all probability, go down, or if it is sustained, my remaining cannot be thought of, because the Lutheranism of Saxony is so strenuous. If it falls to some French prince, I could not remain, but as long as there was a corner of Prussia remaining, to that I should return." Ten days later, to Herz: "I have already had a repetition, in a remote manner, of the invitation to Bremen, but while there is a shadow of hope for the continuance of the University upon the foundations of the past, I shall give heed to nothing of a different nature. And more reluctantly than ever, would I separate from the king, to whom I earnestly long to address an encouraging word, in the misfortune which has befallen him and us, not, certainly, as the consequence of his own sins."

When, at length, Halle had ceased to be Prussian, and he was now settled in Berlin, he communicated to Charlotte von Kathen, the following: "I cherish but this purpose, to follow the fortunes of my immediate fatherland, Prussia, while it exists, and is not utterly unworthy of this preference. Should it quite succumb to misfortune, I am determined to *seek the German fatherland, wherever a Protestant can live and Germans do govern*. There I shall never be entirely without opportunity to follow my calling. This is the only comfort of such as are unable to bear arms. Ah! see that your boys grow up to

be right strong, right firm, courageous, with a taste for arms, amiable and pious."

On the 31st of December, he writes in explanation of his leaving Halle: "The new Westphalian Government, it is true, gives hope of a restoration, but I cannot acquiesce in this government, and I must live under a German rule, while ever there is one to be found. For I cannot countenance, even by my presence, the measures which are put in operation for the very purpose of destroying German taste and feeling. For the preceding two months I had been sorely harassed in Halle, and *after the prayer for the king and queen of Westphalia was introduced into the service, it was impossible for me longer to occupy the pulpit.* In a word, I can have no enjoyment there in teaching; hence I have taken my final departure, and would have gone even if I had not entertained the lively conviction that a French Government cannot allow a German university to exist in peace."

Yet, amid all this grief, he does not lose his sense of the valuable uses of such a period, and he therefore thus comforts the same friend in another place: "This time of distraction, however, is, in various respects, of a character to promote union among those who belong together, and a time when every virtuous endowment and every power of love finds greater than usual opportunity for development."

"I cannot refrain," says Baur, at this point, "from making use of the admirable letter which, on the 15th December, he wrote to Thil, as furnishing, in conclusion, a complete picture of the prevailing state of mind which, in that unhappy period, characterized the noble man." *

"The times are evil, and it is hard to keep up one's spirits; but one must learn to do it. I am acquainted with three little contrivances, and very cheap ones too, which are to the purpose. As to the fatherland, Germany, to look as far into the future as possible, for it is only in the distance that the clear and cheerful light can be seen; then, to contemplate the calamities which are transpiring around us, only in the mass, and

* Vgl. Fr. Schleiermacher, die Darstellung der Idee eines sittlichen Ganzen im Menschenleben anstre bend. Berlin, 1835, s., 32 f.

in reference to their general and well-known causes, without going too deeply into the specialities, for these are what chiefly distress and disgust us; and finally—do not laugh at the prescription—to allow eyes to the stomach for only a fortnight beforehand, else the greatest evil of all, the care of providing sustenance, will have to be borne. As to this last, I have somewhat to boast of, for I have just rejected a reiterated call to Bremen, though I really have no prospect for above a fortnight for my stomach. But while our gallant king is so brave as not to make peace, I cannot abandon my chair, and am inclined to think that the stones must be made bread rather than that I should be driven to lend a hand in the destruction of Halle, or to cause the fatherland the least particle of pain. Such rude violence cannot continue long, and then every thing, even in its outward appearance, will come forth again more beautiful than before. The misfortune which has befallen us here, has something in it very comforting: if we look well into its causes, we shall find it due to nothing else, than that no one here has consented to debasement.”

This disposition, which first operated to sustain him in distress, afterwards led him to seek remedies for the distress. What he had once written to a friend, that for him there was no endurance possible, but a struggling one, that any other would be a despairing stupor, the immediately subsequent period furnished him the most abundant opportunity to verify. The glory with which Arndt has adorned the name of the heroic Scharnhorst, the glory of being a man,

Who, though the rage of devils filled the world,
Never of the fatherland despaired,

this glory the theologian Schleiermacher has won; he, too, belongs, like that “armorer of German freedom,” to the band of patriots who could not be discouraged:

Who, in the stillness, had formed
Horses and men, weapons and war.

At the close of the year 1808, a few weeks after Stein had, at the instance of Napoleon, been compelled to resign his ministry, a few days before the French Ambassador, Von St. Marsan, had delivered Napoleon’s order of outlawry, issued

December 16th, 1808, from the imperial camp of Madrid, against *le nommé Stein*, in consequence of which, the latter left Berlin as early as the 6th of January, Schleiermacher, in a letter to his wife, expresses his unshaken confidence in the future of the fatherland, in these words: "*I can never bring myself to the point of despairing of my country; I have too strong a faith; I know too well that it is an instrument and people chosen of God.* It is possible that all our pains will be in vain, and that a time full of hardship and oppression is about to come upon us, but our country will soon come gloriously forth out of all."

Supported by such hopes, he co-operated boldly in the work of quiet renovation, then going forward. His glowing zeal, guided by the most penetrating judgment, his courage and his energy, his stanch and persistent demeanor, won for him a high degree of confidence on the part of his associates in the work. As early as the 18th of August, 1808, we find him in Halle, on a patriotic mission. He expresses himself upon the subject, to his wife, as follows: "I fear no danger; do you fear none. I am on no other road than that of my calling, and neither am I, nor are those who have the direction of my work in its particulars, lacking in moderation or foresight. It is an entirely honorable, blameless part I am performing, and what can there be nobler for me, than to be able to render assistance in the managing and bringing to pass that state of affairs on which depends the happiness of our life! Only may heaven grant that things shall take such a course, that the execution of what has been determined upon, can really be undertaken; for it can only be done at all, under circumstances under which it is almost impossible for it to fail." And so, pray for me, that God may guide, and bless, and protect me, as *I* pray that he may keep you strong and of a good courage."

Eight days latter, (after the 25th of August,) he is in Königsberg, in the family of a friend, Wedeke, but entrusted with business matters, of which he dare say nothing, and which he must despatch, notwithstanding they consume very much of his time, in a manner to attract the least possible notice; meanwhile he is in correspondence with the most important persons, upon whom rests the hope of the country. At first he expect-

ed to be absent only about two weeks, but it was only on the morning of September 30th, that he returned to Berlin. There is a note appended to the collection of letters, which remarks, that it can now no longer be made out what was the precise connection of Schleiermacher with this movement. It is probable it had something to do with the formation of the *Tugendbund*, (Virtue Society,) which is known to have taken place in Königsberg, in the summer of 1808, and which had its chief council there. . . . Even during his stay in Königsberg, his wife received his letters always *after they had been cut open*, and in the excitement arising from the conflict between the French and German party, on account of the well-known letter of Stein, and its consequences, he probably acted in a manner to excite peculiar suspicion, and thus he had the honor, on the 27th of November, to be cited before Davoust. At the conclusion of a letter of this date, to his wife, he narrates the circumstances as follows: "I intended to tell you much more, but what happens? a carriage drives up, a French officer alights, comes up and asks me to go with him before Marshal Davoust. There are two others sitting in the vehicle; and the whole amounted to nothing beyond a discourse he held with us, to the effect that we were noted as hot-headed, and disturbers of the peace, and things of that sort. The whole thing was rather comical than otherwise. I had to act as interpreter for the rest, and I acted my part quite earnestly. Do not be frightened. It all amounts to nothing. The others were persons altogether unknown to me, certainly none of my friends; these lucky fellows are quite unknown to the government, and I have to thank a mere stupid rumor about my sermons for the honor."

This account does not betray any great terror on the part of the delinquent before his inquisitors; while, on their part, a degree of respect for him seems to have been felt, as they never again troubled him in a similar manner.

In regard to the existing circumstances of the Prussian Government, he expresses himself shortly afterward: (Dec. 15th.) "There is much that weighs me down, not in my own immediate circumstances, but in the general position of affairs. Our good king has suffered himself to be surprised by a miserable

party, and to be led away to a step which thrusts every thing out of the safe course in which it had begun to move. There are, it is true, excellent men constantly at the head, but who knows how long they will be able to make helm, against the bad, who have again insnared the king; and thus it may happen that our country will the second time be brought to the verge of ruin, unless the better sort attempt to save it by measures which are always extremely uncertain. More fully than this I may not write you, even if I were confident of its entire security, but I cannot refrain from disclosing to you, in general, what lies so near to my heart. All my occupations are thrown into confusion, and must be constantly broken in upon, whether I will or not, to study the position of affairs and the possible remedies. The pulpit and the professor's chair are the only places where I do, in any systematic manner, what belongs to them."

How correctly he estimated the meaning and design of Napoleon's decree of outlawry against Stein, at the very beginning, appears in the following extract, written January 26th, 1809: "Stein's persecution has not affected me; true, I had not calculated upon it, but when it came, it was as something known and expected to me. Only one thing gave me amazing amount of distress, that he should have gone off so hastily, which was not indeed necessary, (?) and that I did not at first get to see him. I have sent him my congratulations, for it was the greatest honor that could befall a private man to be counted an enemy of the great nation."

On the preceding New Year's day, Stein had read Schleiermacher's New Year's Sermon: "On the things which men are to fear and which they are not to fear." He recalled it to mind soon afterwards, as "a very suitable preparation for the events which so quickly followed."

How must the man's heart have expanded when, at the winter solstice of 1812, the sun which had arisen in the East ascended in higher and still higher circles, and started into life the seeds which had been sown so faithfully, and with such trust in the divine favor! But alas, our collection furnishes us with no letters earlier than the month of May, 1813; but we know what a lively interest Schleiermacher took in the popu-

lar movement of the day, that he was nominated as one of the leading members for Berlin at the organization of the people for the national defence, that he was the joy and strength of the brave, a rod and a terror to the bad, his whole activity resting upon the sole foundation besides which none other can be laid, and all his words salted, purified and transfused by the still and sacred fire of the Gospel. It was only when Berlin itself, in May of that year, was apparently threatened, that he suffered himself to be disturbed, not for his own safety, but for that of his wife and child, whom he had, with other Berliners, sent into Silesia, but who, as it unexpectedly turned out, were exposed to the perils of war in that region. However, we owe to this two months' separation, a series of deeply interesting letters which prove that Schleiermacher's self-sacrificing and courageous temper was not broken in the least. Upon receiving intelligence of two murderous, but indecisive battles, he writes to his wife, May 25, "not to allow herself to be disturbed by the multitude who regard everything in the most afflictive light," and he adds: "We may venture anything that we will not lose our heads, in which case, everything will come out right at last;" and on the day before, upon hearing that the German legion had at length reached the Oder: "I have ere this cherished the wish that the legion, too, could use me for some purpose, and I would cheerfully go with them."

It could not fail to happen that the man who had taken such an active part in the patriotic rising, should, after the liberation of the country, become an object of suspicion to those who were intent upon nothing so much as to be rid of the spirits which had been summoned up at first, but which were gradually becoming intractable. As early as the 24th of July, 1813, he had made himself an object of dislike to the government, as the editor of "The Correspondent." In regard to this matter, he writes to Reimer: "Schuckmann, who had a commission by order of the cabinet to reprimand me severely, and to threaten me in case of a repetition, with actual process, commenced grossly and wildly with an accusation of high treason itself, but concluded with the repeated assurance that he regarded me as a man who had the most upright intentions towards his country, and with an unrestrained conversation upon the pro-

per limits to be assigned to the freedom of the press in the case of newspapers. My immovable countenance, and the explanation of a misunderstanding in an old affair in which he believed himself to have been personally assailed by me, produced the most instantaneous effect upon him. I have reserved to myself the right of a written defence; he will probably just put it among the records. I shall see to it that it becomes as widely known as possible." That the subsequent movement caused by that critical occurrence in the history of the re-action, the murder of Kotzebue, should enter into the matter of these confidential letters, is not to be wondered at. Schleiermacher's opinion of Kotzebue is given plainly enough in a letter to his wife, as early as January 28, 1809: "Kotzebue is a base fellow. He has not the slightest idea of true morality, and even where he means to portray noble characters, he disfigures them most abominably, and one is generally ashamed and angry with oneself when one allows himself to be touched by isolated situations, which here and there is the case with me, honest dog that I am!" In regard to his death, he thus expresses himself in a letter of April 23, 1819, to Henrietta Herz, at that time on a long journey with the family of William von Humboldt in Italy: "With us everything is astonishingly quiet, with the exception of the dead Kotzebue. He stalks and blusters about at a prodigious rate, and if but a couple get into a quarrel, it is he that has set them on. Hence many are anxious in regard to the future existence of the University." The far-reaching consequences of this lamentable occurrence, and the disturbance which it created in the inmost affairs of the bravest and most cautious men, are still more clearly reflected in a letter of June 2, 1819, to Gass; * "Furthermore, the crisis is apparently taking a favorable turn for the Universities. The Lord Chancellor lately invited a number of Professors, including Rector and Deans, to a great dinner, and at the table proposed the health of the University. This was assuredly not without a design, and it must mean this much at least, that the University shall not be made account-

* Comp. W. Gass. Schleiermacher's Briefwechsel mit J. Chr. Gass, s. 174.

able for the murder of Kotzebue and other insane acts. No, this affair of Kotzebue's was past all conception! But could you imagine that since that time Gneisenau seems to have thrown himself open to bad influences from every quarter? I leave it all go, and expect it all to come right again."

When political suspicions were, upon the whole, quieted, Schleiermacher had to undergo new vexations in the department of his theological labors, by reason of the determination with which he pressed his objections to the introduction of the *agenda*. On this subject he writes to Charlotte von Kather, April 9, 1824: "I am in an embarrassing position outwardly, perhaps more so than ever. I have no longer anything to do with political strifes, but church matters must soon come to a decision, and if it is a violent one, it is inevitable that I shall be one of the first victims." It is well known that after a time, Schleiermacher's difficulty with the government was satisfactorily arranged; in January, 1831, he received the order of the Red Eagle, third class; and if in reality it could only be an honor to Schleiermacher in view of antecedent circumstances, that the decoration was not earlier bestowed upon a man whose fame had gone far beyond the boundaries of his own country, and who had contributed so largely to the fame of the Berlin University, yet it was not less honorable to the king that he could forget past disagreements, and could recognise the true value of the man. Schleiermacher's letter of acknowledgment to the king, together with his declaration of opinion in relation to the political parties of that period, are documents masterly alike in their form as in the tone and temper which they reveal. They are found in this collection of letters. Meanwhile, as late as July 17, 1827, we find Schleiermacher obliged to write to his wife, then absent in Karlsbad: "And now, dearest Hetty, I would ask only one thing more, that is, not to address *me*, so that your letters may not pass around by Prague or Vienna, but to direct to our Hetty, [Henrietta Herz?] without even mentioning my name in the address. In like manner I will always address F." [the friend with whom his wife was staying in Karlsbad.] The year 1830 brought new political disorders. September 5, 1832, he writes to his wife, then at

Warmbrunn in Silesia: "To-day I had a long conversation on the street with A. v. H.,—it is not difficult to recognise the individual indicated by these initials,—who, as an arch-liberal, is very indignant at the present condition of German affairs. I do not sympathize with him fully, yet I am not, on the other hand, so tranquil as our friend Eichhorn is. It often fills me with sadness to think that after all our noble attempts and high expectations, I must leave our German world in such an uncertain position when I depart, as most probably will be the case." He cherished great hopes of the crown-prince, in regard to whom he wrote to his son at Aachen, but three months before his end. "I hope that in your next you will give us some account of the reception of the crown-prince in Aachen. I rejoice greatly that his journey is such a triumphal progress. I cherish the very highest opinions and hopes in regard to him, and fear neither the aristocratic nor the pietistic leanings which the people ascribe to him."

In the view here given of Schleiermacher, it has been our object to let him speak for himself, so as to give an authentic image of the man on the basis of these letters. For *about* him, or rather about his doctrines and his writings, much has been spoken and written; and there has been so much discussion, *pro* and *con*, as to the construction to be put upon them, and as to what in them might and should have been otherwise, that the estimate formed of his character also, is, through partisan bias, a fluctuating one. But we still need, as we did, in a much higher degree, before the appearance of this precious collection of letters, a representation of the man faithfully and truthfully executed, even to the separate features, yet done by a friendly hand; for from such a work we may learn what he really was, and what, from his own peculiarities and from the position he occupied in his age, he could not but be; how, too, his teachings and his acts in turn proceeded from his own personal being, as its thoroughly truthful and natural expression. The design is that one of the greatest spirits of our age should not merely be criticised, and then, perchance, condemned or applauded, but that he should be understood and explained by his own peculiar nature. And what a man must he have been, who, while he wrote simple letters on matters of the most inti-

mate personal nature—model letters too, inasmuch as they never depart from the tone of the liveliest individual intercourse—yet, at the same time, with the marvellous clearness of his intellect, casts the most surprising and significant light upon all the great spheres of human life, the family and science, the Church and the State, all because the liveliest interest in all the great questions of life had interwoven itself inseparably with his whole existence. A complete and life-like portraiture of this entire personal existence can be gained, by those who have not had the opportunity of personal intercourse with Schleiermacher himself, from this collection of letters. And it is a portrait well calculated to rectify the views of his opponents, and at least to complete those of his friends and admirers.

This much cannot be questioned by the *opponents* of Schleiermacher, that he was an extraordinarily wise man; they had this, however, against him, that he seemed to them a “Schleiermacher,” [veil-maker,] who would not disclose his real sentiments, and of whom they could not help feeling that, as Tholuck expressed it, in dealing with him they had to deal with a man who would undertake to prove anything and everything. These opponents may now learn from Schleiermacher’s letters how this clear thinker united with his incomparable pre-eminence as a dialectician the most perfect honor, and how, instead of employing in his scientific pursuits a trifling play of empty artifices, he rather sought, with the most earnest and incorruptible love for the truth, to become perfectly clear on the subject in hand for himself, and at the same time to follow his calling, “to give a clearer expression to what was already in the thoughts of others;” how, too, in actual life, he united to the wisdom of the serpent, a heart devoid of falsehood, integrity of the most reliable character, and a steadfastness that could not be shaken.

In regard to the *friends* of Schleiermacher as we have described them above, many of these, too, limiting their view to the results of his labors as a writer, have found in Schleiermacher only the great thinker, the acute man of learning, especially the epoch-making theologian. And precisely the *epoch-making* theologian. For his mission was just this, to kindle

anew the interest of the cultivated classes in religion, which had died out, by his intellectual conception and representation of it, and to give theologians a powerful impulse to revise their learned material, and to work it all over anew. As a permanent matter, his method could not give satisfaction, since it carried in itself very distinctly the marks of its origin in a time of unbelief, and proved itself incapable of doing scientific justice to certain essential parts of the Christian faith, whereupon there were those who made haste, "going in advance of Schleiermacher," as they imagined, to supply the deficiencies by registering at the proper place in his system the omitted matter. Yet in the case of a man who regarded it as his special calling, simply to give expression to what was already existing in his own and others' minds, who, it is to be particularly noticed, regarded articles of Christian faith as nothing more than the expression of the pious Christian's state of mind, and propositions in systematic theology as simply so many attempts to give the highest degree of definiteness to the expression of inner experiences, who, in fine, regarded authorship as a piecemeal affair, and furnishing no sufficient opportunity by itself for the entire personal activity of a man of learning who sought to promote the interests of science,—in the case of such a man we are not at liberty to conclude that we have the complete reflection of his intellect in his scientific system and in his writing, while, on the contrary, he himself never found anything more in them than an imperfect attempt to set forth clearly what he found animating his own bosom; rather is it indispensably necessary to a just view of his teachings to contemplate him in his personal aspects. Baumgarten Crusius once well said of Hegel, that he seemed to him always to possess too much manly German soundness, to have been capable of approving the consequence which many of his scholars have reached by playing with the principles of the system detached from the man himself, just as they would with the factors of a sum in arithmetic. So, too, may Schleiermacher's teachings be justly judged, rightly understood, and corrected and completed in the spirit of their author if they shall be contemplated in connection with the personal character of

the man. And for this object his letters present a copious store of materials. He who has ready the old objection of Pantheism, against an easily misunderstood expression in his system, will be likely to withhold it when he sees how this dangerous Pantheist trusts, like a child, in his God, and not only prays to him himself, but very urgently needs the intercession of his friends besides, and particularly requests it of them. To whomsoever the Christology of Schleiermacher appears like the cautious dressing up of an abstract idea in the customary phrases of Christians, let him only see how it was, and continued to be, an inmost necessity to this exalted intellect to the last days of his earthly existence, to enjoy real living communion with his Redeemer in the believing use of the Sacrament. And if it does sometimes seem as if the rule of doctrine was not so much the Bible as the pious heart with its inner experiences, yet, on the other hand, in the customary assembling of his family every evening around the Holy Book for worship, we meet with proof of a profound reverence for the authority of the Scriptures. But especially beneficial was the influence of that child-like, pious feeling, which, originating in the house of his father, and receiving a fresh impulse among the Moravians, became not only the "maternal womb" from which issued his peculiar spiritual life, but accompanied him through his whole existence; to receive the kingdom of heaven as a little child, was a thing which the famous professor of theology had not unlearned. Under the influence of this feeling he ever afterwards gladly re-visited the beautiful services of the Moravian Church, and nothing was more detestable in his view, than that base "hierarchy of intelligence," which, assigning religion to children and women and to the populace, sought to rear upon the basis of their sublime speculation, "a church for the learned," whereas with him as with every true theologian, the inner experiences of the simple heart, the simple πίστις, must form not only the basis but the continual corrective of the scientific γνῶσις. The personal character of Schleiermacher, as it meets us in these letters, impressively admonishes us instead of "passing in advance of Schleiermacher," which those beardless adepts in the mystery of the new "positive theology" find so uncommonly easy, much rather first to penetrate more

deeply the views of Schleiermacher, not with the purpose of adopting his system—he, who had no higher object, would have been esteemed a poor scholar by the master himself—nor yet with the view of understanding the system correctly, and of supplying its deficiencies in the spirit of the author, but more especially to learn, in this age of conventional theology, which is truly no longer the handmaid of philosophy, but which rather slavishly conforms itself to the actual state of affairs, wrong as they often are,—to learn how to surrender oneself unreservedly to the subject, to strive unweariedly for clearness in one's own views, and to attain incorruptible truthfulness and fidelity towards oneself—traits, by means of which, Schleiermacher was enabled to set forth the harmony between science and life, in a manner so masterly as to have few equals in the modern world.

Thus from time to time to turn back to contemplate the men whose appearance has marked an epoch in some particular sphere of intellectual life, even if the results of their labors are open to amendment, has always a quickening, stimulating effect; because the new principle, which it was their calling to proclaim and vindicate, exists in its purest form in their own minds, and as they devote themselves to it with their whole spiritual energy, finds in them its most effective representation. An unprejudiced consideration of Schleiermacher's character, not restricted to some speciality, ensures us these advantages in a high degree, for the reason that in his case every speciality stands in the liveliest connection with the collective organism of science, and with the whole of human life. Schleiermacher warns us as an antique character,—a phenomenon of a very peculiar sort in our age,—because, aside from other reasons, the expansion which the separate sciences have attained, forbids their followers applying themselves to other branches in a comprehensive, understanding spirit, and uniting with their labors to *accomplish* something for science and for their fellow men, the aim, above all things, by the harmonious and thorough culture of their own personal nature, themselves *to be* and to *become* something. It is the lively susceptibility of Schleiermacher's nature, his clear-headedness enabling him to distinguish everywhere the essential from the non-essential, the reason of the thing lying at the bottom, from separate results and mere

symptoms, his surpassing power of intellect, which one would need, in order, to-day, to do as he did, instead of *se rebus, sibi res subjungere*, and to deserve the toast, in its best sense, with which he was greeted at the brilliant festival, in honor of his return from Sweden, September 28, 1833: "*The thinker, the preacher, but especially the man!*" And the advantages which belonged to this noble specimen of humanity in comparison with the wisest of the Greeks, of whom otherwise Schleiermacher so often reminds us, were the inward depth of the German feeling, and the warm life-breath of the Gospel of the redeeming love of God in Christ, which penetrated and irradiated his whole being. Starting from this sacred centre, he realized in his degree the apostolic declaration, "*all is yours;*" his influence wherever he labored, and most deeply in the limited circle of his immediate associates, was purifying, confirming, quickening, being, in fact, directed to a steady, uninterrupted "conflict with the unchristian powers and tendencies of the world to his last day."

Yes! if the nature of edification consists in establishing more and more firmly the entire being and life of man upon the foundation besides which none other can be laid, and if the representation of a man who has carried on this work of edification in himself, unceasingly and with blessed effect, must also work to edification, then it is permitted us to say that Schleiermacher's letters make a truly edifying impression, edifying first in reference to the life they set forth in the sanctuary of the household, edifying in reference to the great affairs of the country with which they are occupied. It is a sad truth that many theologians are but too ready to allow themselves to be used, either consciously or unconsciously, as instruments of sustaining, not the everlasting foundations of civil society, but the base and selfish ends of a mere partisan interest in politics, and then to appeal to the secular arm for support in their individual interests as a return. Here they may learn how the theologian should take part in questions pertaining to civil and national life, and how this participation may be a very earnest, animated, and energetic one, though the distinction of Church and State is preserved in its utmost purity: they may learn, too, how the really living Christian, as such, has a heart

for his fellow-citizens, and among us must be a good German, as on the contrary, a good German can scarcely be such without being a living Christian too.

But it is time to bid adieu to our letters, and to express our thanks to the publisher, with the wish that others may soon follow, and particularly that an exhaustive biography of the great man may not be long delayed, who,—pardon the attempt to embrace in a single expression the rich endowments of his peculiar nature,—*starting from the centre of a personal character of deep meaning, harmoniously trained and cultivated, and enlightened by Christianity, attained an understanding and a mastery of the entire sphere of human knowledge and life, as no other person of the present century has done.*

ARTICLE IV.

DUTIES OF OUR LAYMEN.

BY A RULING ELDER.*

“Occupy till I come,” was a commission given especially to certain *male* servants. Responsibility is indeed confined to no sex. Yet there are reasons why the highest duties and the largest behests should be laid on men. To them belong health, will, courage, energy, activity, wealth, enterprize, intellect, opportunities,—nay the multiplicity of talents—beyond those that pertain, in general, to the other sex. That Christian women use their talents more wisely, and liberally, and usefully than men, is the more to their credit, and to the reproach of the male membership. It was said only of a woman, “She hath done what she could.” And, looking over all our communions, who does not see that they not only outnumber but outstrip, in all the religious employments appropriate to their sphere,

* We depart from our usual rule in thus alluding to the author of this Article. A part of its peculiar force lies in the fact that it is a layman speaking to laymen. One of the most pressing needs, too, in our Church, is the giving to the Ruling Eldership its proper position, as a spiritual power.—EDITORS.

the activities of the other sex? Yet all this does not invalidate the position that the superior responsibilities and advantages for usefulness in the Christian life are with the laymen.

To arouse, and direct, and sanctify these powers in behalf of the spread of Christ's kingdom, would be a mission worthy of the highest genius and noblest intellect. Would that some great mind, of apostolic fervor and unwearied energy, could go abroad through our churches, and in behalf of this specialty, give an impulse, such as we have sometimes seen in some great reform—as when Edwards plead for Sabbath keeping; or Cornelius for ministerial education; or Beecher for temperance—an impulse that would quicken into newness of life the masses of inert, impassive lay membership, that lie like a dead weight everywhere through Christendom.

There has been for many ages of Christian history, among laymen, a disposition, almost equivalent to a wilful purpose, to depute nearly all religious knowledge, and activity, and influence to the ministry; making them the almost exclusive proxies of the Church. The grand battle pieces, in the Trojan wars, so thrillingly wrought out by the old blind bard, exhibit chiefly great warriors contending for the mastery; while the rank and file of the forces, the masses of military, all lie ignobly in the shadows of the picture; as if the tides of war all turned on the exploits of leaders. So we seem to have set up our clerical heroes, and expect them to do all the fighting of the Church militant.

We might adduce from the history of the Church abundant proof, that in all its seasons of prosperity, whether in particular or in general revivals of religion, the services of the lay membership have been largely required and freely given. From the days when the brethren who, "scattered abroad, went everywhere preaching the word," down to the successes of the Gospel in our own country and in Great Britain, yet fresh and fragrant in our memories, the Christian brotherhood have been zealous and efficient workers. Could the lay energies which were brought into exercise two years ago, be sustained, and still further quickened, and be diffused all over Christendom, how would the aridity and unsightliness and barrenness of our Churches be changed into verdure, and beauty, and fertility!

Does not the parable of the sower, in the *relation of the soil to the seed*, elucidate a fact apt to be overlooked? It is this, that the responsibility for the failure of the truth to exert a saving power, lies, to a large extent, *with the pews*, rather than the pulpit. The parable intimates, what is observation and experience, that most of the seed is fruitless; and the censures, direct or implied, that lie along its statements, do not fall on the sower. And this suggests the question whether we do not habitually hold the pulpit to too much responsibility for the want of success in preaching; thus unduly exonerating those who sit under its ministry from their delinquency in the premises? And how indeed shall the stones that encumber the soil be gathered away—how shall the thorns be extirpated, and the whole ground be put in condition for certain and profitable culture, but by the diligent and wise pains-taking of the Master's laborers? And how too shall the vacant places of the gospel feast, ready with all its abundance, and fitness, and pleasantness of food, be filled, if His servants go not forth and persuade and constrain the reluctant and unwilling and resisting needy ones into the guest chamber; and in all the courtesies and attentions and services of the feast, see that they are provided with place and plenty?

Now, as indolence is not a virtue in common business, and the shirking of toils out of our own hands into those of others, are not generous in any department of secular life, much less are they so in the responsibilities and labors that belong to religion. And as there is no warrant in conscience, or common sense, or manliness for the state of things complained of, so there is none in Scripture, that highest and supremest dictum of duty. While there are minute and specific directions, luminous and unmistakable, to guide the evangelist and pastor—the “doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness,” that every where adorn the word of God, are simply that the lay mind, universal, of the Church, might be “thoroughly furnished unto all good works.” The Church, the *Church*—not the ministry apart from the Church, in any sense—is spoken of as “the salt of the earth;” “the light of the world;” “the pillar and ground of the truth;” as “good soldiers of Jesus Christ;” “obedient children;” as those that “strive for the

mastery;" "runners in the race set before us;" "good and faithful servants;" "branches that bring forth much fruit." Scripture seems to have almost exhausted the vocabulary of injunction and illustration in regard to the responsibilities of the Christian brotherhood. Blessed indeed are "those servants, whom when the Lord cometh he shall find so doing;" while doubly condemned will he be, who wearing Christ's livery, in indolent enjoyment, will say, "My Lord delayeth his coming;" but who "shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and appoint him his portion with the hypocrites."

True piety is a working principle. Its idea is expressed in the parable of the leaven. Active, deliberate, constant, unwearied, pervasive, increasing—always approximating the complete. Or like the growth of the body—development in every direction, outward as well as inward, even to the "measure of the stature of the fulness of the perfect man in Christ Jesus." Nor should it be a few of the lay brethren doing this work. All the diversified talent of the body of Christians should be invoked. Some have wisdom in counsel; some have restless activity; some have power in their presence; some have gifts of speech; some have influence by an ever fresh friendliness of spirit; some have a tact almost as marvellous as instinct; some have in their earnestness a passport to usefulness; some have a natural authority, to which other minds yield themselves; some win by the magnetism of love; and all may attract, as does even the loadstone, in its quiet *vis inertia*, by "a life hid with Christ in God." But as in military movements, it will not do to have men, who, in a panic, disorganized, may be scattered by the mere spectre of fear; so the Church militant must have such discipline and tactics, such appointments and employments, that its soldiery, in all its grades, shall be doing the right work, at the right time, and in the right place. "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do," written on the palm of every man's right hand! And all indolence and selfishness perpetually rebuked and kept at bay, by this word, "the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

We proceed to discuss some points of lay duty, without being able to take up all that deserve our attention; and these only

relative ones. The wide field of private and personal obligations we do not now propose to touch.

1. "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another." Whether this is a historical sketch by the prophet, describing some marvellous episode in the past of the Jewish Church; or an abrupt prophecy of an almost millennial condition of the incoming dispensation, does not certainly appear. Yet it affords us a topic of duty, rich in its aspects of beauty, and full of delightful Christian fruitage. We mean *the social Christian life*. An utterly unsocial Christianity would be a solecism—as much related to a true brotherhood as a sandy desert would be to "a field which the Lord hath blessed." There is, of course, more or less of the exercise of the social principle in the Church; yet vastly less than is requisite. If we consider a supposed wise exercise of this duty in any given Church, how beautiful in its aspects, and how refreshing and wholesome in its results, would it appear! The refined ministering of their suavity unobtrusively to the uncultivated; the opulent "condescending to men of low estate;" the educated making the proper social contact with the uneducated; the spiritually-minded imparting their tone to those lying near the dubious border-line between the world and the Church—the superior everywhere levelling up the inferior; the weak strengthened; the wandering reclaimed; the uninformed taught; the timid encouraged; the worldly-minded spiritualized; the Church made more homogeneous—"the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part."

And not alone the exercise of the social principle on the Church, but also on the *impenitent world*. It is here that the delinquency of church members is most palpable. Among themselves there is professional character enough to give some savor of social Christian life. Necessity, habit, and choice, all conspire to some Christian intercourse; but, outside of this, our male membership is, in many cases, little better than negative quantities in algebra; which, to the unmathematical eye, look like numbers; while the more there is of them, the less is the sum total. It is here, most signally and disastrously, for the spread of religion, that Christian activity is transferred by

our male constituency to the ministry; a proxy system which met, often and faithfully, to some extent, cannot be fulfilled—thus leaving a large measure of personal effort unaccomplished. The reserve of Christian men, in regard to religious matters, towards the irreligious, impresses the latter unfavorably both towards religion and the character of professors. Every other thing, in which men take an interest, *they talk about*; but this is ignored. If the heart be fully sensible of the value of piety to itself; if it have any appreciation of its value to others; if it have any generous promptings towards the spiritual well being of others; if it have any sense of their danger without it—then out of the abundance of such a heart the tongue will speak. In a sense, every man of God should be an evangelist. The impenitent, who are accustomed to hear the truth in our sanctuaries, will be likely to receive, with profit, its reiteration from the lips of friendship. And to that large number, everywhere, who live within the sound of the church-going bell, but who rarely cross church thresholds, how useful would be the discreet, faithful, and loving voice of Christian warning, invitation, entreaty, and instruction! Coming from the unprofessional, it would enlist confidence, and disarm hostility. When the “bride” says “come,” many will respond to the call; and the waste places of empty pews will often be filled.

In the ever-ripening harvest fields of the earth, many reapers should every where go forth “bringing their sheaves with them.” John, full of the love of Jesus, said “Behold the Lamb of God!” “And the two disciples heard him speak and they followed Jesus;” “And one of the two findeth his own brother, Simon, and brought him to Jesus.” “Philip findeth Nathaniel, and saith unto him, We have found Him of whom Moses in the law did write, Jesus of Nazareth. Come and see.”” Even the woman of Samaria, in the newness of her knowledge of Christ, could run with alacrity among her fellow citizens, crying, “Come, see a man who told me all things that ever I did. Is not this the Christ?” And if the testimony of such a one led many of the Samaritans to believe on him, are there not trophies of grace to be won from the enemy, for Christ, by those who have long tasted that the Lord is gracious? Who will go abroad, in the fulness of their experience, and in

the earnestness of their love, like David, saying, "Come, all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul?"

2. Related to the foregoing topic, is a special field of duty for Christian workers,—*the Sunday School*. We may thank God that many laborers have gone into this vineyard; and, in its wholesome exercise, are gathering strength and wages and clusters of heavenly vintage. But still it may be said, "And he went out about the third hour, and found others standing idle in the market place." To these we may say, "Go ye also into the vineyard." The value of the Sunday School as a helper to family training, and for a general awakening of the interest of the Church in the young; as a corrective of bad teaching in foolish and ungodly households; as a needful supplement to all other forms of instruction; as a means of grace resulting largely in the conversion of youth; as well as in its power of *self-education* in regard to teachers themselves, is not properly appreciated perhaps by many; and we are sure that multitudes of our laymen have a very inadequate sense of its importance. In neglecting this agency, they suffer a great duty to go by default; and are neglecting for themselves the food of those who "hunger and thirst after righteousness."

The large and liberal attention which is being given, especially in populous places, to Mission Sunday Schools, is full of promise, both for the special life and growth of the Church exercised thereby, and for the well-being of those "ready to perish for lack of knowledge." While these once sterile fields of labor are being opened for culture and are requiring a continually increasing number of laborers, there are richer soils lying fallow, and ready to grow up with thorns and briers. We mean the youth of our congregations, and in society around us, who are reaching or have past their majority, and who have deserted the Sunday Schools. There is no good reason, but the contrary, why these should not be retained there, in Bible classes. The success of the institution is imperfect without this result. To occupy this highest sphere of Sunday School duty, will demand the best talent of our Christian men. It is one that will do honor to themselves, cultivate their capacity for general usefulness to the Church and the world, and give

the institution a power to which it is entitled in the progress of the Church toward the millennial age.

We cannot enlarge, as we would desire, on this subject, so full of urgency and utility; and may only thus briefly indicate our sense of its claims and advantages. A full discussion is indeed not so needful for it as for some others; being often enforced from the pulpit, and by the religious press; and also in associations and conventions of Sunday School teachers, now so frequently held; and from which we trust influences have gone forth, and from similar convocations may continue to issue, that will quicken the lay mind of all our churches into new, and more intelligent and holy activities for the success of this precious work.

3. Duties sometimes have their own era. There is a fitness of time which requires certain things. At the present day there is a necessity for our laymen *to be more denominational*. Not sectarian; but as having more of the *esprit du corps* of their own church organization. Speaking to this point, we believe that the religious world is about to witness the rapid decline of co-operative Christianity. Its receipts in money in its different organizations, its numerical force, and its visible efficiency, may not have been impaired so far by denominational movements, but increased by the advancing religious spirit of the age. Yet it is obvious that causes are at work, which will tend to its abatement and decay. The present century has seen the birth of great national societies, which rapidly culminated to a high degree of efficiency; and almost as rapidly are likely to pass away. They were the natural outgrowth of Christian union; and many still on the stage of life fondly hoped that they were God's way for making his Church *one*. But they now appear to have been only intended as a temporary measure—concentrating the scattered energies of the leading wise men of various sects for the adoption of holy schemes of well-doing; and for the pervasion, from influential centres, of the outlying masses of Christian mind with a nobler tone of Christian endeavor; and also to reach in the only way then practicable, large sections of country occupied by a heterogeneous population. They have accomplished much; but

are likely to give way to the earnest, rigid and efficient denominationalism now rising up every where over our land. Some of us may live to be mourners at the obsequies of most of the national benevolent societies. They will probably find their sepulture, as they have had their cradle, within the present century. Perhaps the American Bible Society will keep its manhood unimpaired through the coming generations—the last relic of the modern form of co-operative Christianity.

Lamenting, as many of us do, this change in the programme of Christian effort, we must accept it as a destiny. Almost all large-hearted minds come to this conclusion reluctantly. They are reconciled to it by various considerations. One is the fitness of different denominations, for different classes of minds. Again, the most thorough, persistent and efficient work can only be done through each man's elected Church. He does not get his motive power strong enough anywhere else. There is, also, a growing conviction that the oneness of the Church does not depend on an outward or visible unity in one, or in a very few denominations.

In the economy of society, it would not be wise to have one dry goods-store, and one grocery, and one bank, and so on; to supply, on the community system, the wants of the public; but that the whole should be thrown open to competition, in order to the best and largest supply, and the most liberal accommodation. So may God wisely intend that independent and somewhat rival religious organizations should supply gospel wants; and as competing merchants may live side by side, in amicable enterprise; so may the denominations, stimulated to the highest degree of religious activity, yet dwell together as brethren. In a word, let the Presbyterian become more and more a Presbyterian—and so through the inventory of Churches—each man cherishing his own pastor and local church, and giving his zeal and money and prayers for the enlargement and success of the educational and publication and missionary schemes of his own denomination.

We must, at least at present, accept the denominational action as the indication of God's method. And if they are wise, our laymen will adapt themselves to this make-up of religious providence. To this end let them cherish the historic life of

their own people. And what a noble and stimulating record it is! Having its well-spring in the beautiful simplicity and purity of the primitive Church—its stream broken, indeed, and intermitted along the ages; breaking forth afresh in the days of the Reformation; its waters of life growing wider and deeper and stronger—a life current at which the nations of the earth may drink and be refreshed, wash and be made clean—well may her sons cherish with an honest gratulation her noble memories! Look at her grand historic features! Of men: Calvin, Knox, Hampden, Hamilton, Chalmers. Of people: Genevan and Huguenot, English and Scotch, Irish and American. Of “resistings unto blood:” Derry, Enniskillen, Boyne Water, Drumclog. Of principles: the love of knowledge, civil and religious liberty, and a pure Gospel; all permeating the nations with a new social, educational, governmental and religious life. Of numbers: counted in all her church communions, by the million; and stretching over the continents and the isles of the sea!

But not alone this historic life should they cherish; but eminently, also, those forms of sound words,—doctrines set in order by the lights of theology—the creed of the Church, without which it would be as a rope of sand. Let every layman know intimately, as household words, what our Church believes, and be able to give a reason—and that best of all reasons, *proof texts*—for the faith that is in him. Every family should have its Confession of Faith: and there is no better place for it than, well-bound and in keeping with its companions, on the centre-table. We need not say that a thorough knowledge of the Shorter Catechism is needful for a sound Presbyterianism. An unwholesome neglect of this, we fear, obtains largely. Even after it has been learned in early youth, it is suffered, in a vast many instances, to fade out of the memory. It is, indeed, strong meat; but only the more needful, as the aliment, intellectual and moral, of the current reading, is of such factitious and doubtful mixture. The vast variety of side-dishes, dessert and pastries that constitute so much of the intellectual “bill of fare” of the times, makes it more expedient that this wholesome and nutritious dish should grace and bless the table! This terse, well-ordered, expressive, truthful and time-honored

little manual should be a *vade-mecum* with the old and young of our whole denomination.

4. Another obligation of our laymen, of prime importance, is that of *Christian benevolence*. This is specially their duty. With few exceptions, the monied resources of the church are in their hands. They hold the key and keep the coffer. What each man should give should be determined by himself—but his giving should be according to his means—*conscientious, systematic, discriminating and generous*. Ten per cent. of their revenue has been assumed by a number as their standard; though there are many whose resources will enable them greatly to exceed this. Yet this rate would, if universal, meet all the demands, in all their forms, on God's treasury. Through all the grades of pecuniary ability, from small to great, from poverty even to opulence, there is something, little or much, due to God's cause, which cannot safely be withheld; and the payment of which, we have divine testimony for saying, will bring its liberal reward. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; there is that withholdeth more than is meet; but it tendeth to poverty." Christian benevolence should surpass other forms of liberality; and among religious men it should, at least, keep pace with the generosity of worldly men, of equal pecuniary means, in regard to the special objects of liberality among the latter. They should seek familiarity with, and interest themselves in, all the forms of religious benevolence—particularly those that relate to our own denomination. Everywhere in the Church it should be regarded as one of the tests of piety and a means of grace. Christian men should avail themselves also of the ready susceptibilities of their children for the nurture of this form of character; that the coming generation may not fail, however the present one may, to attain the needful standard of liberality.

Religious benevolence is one of the triple powers of Christianity. Liberal giving, diligent doing, and earnest praying, are the three great instrumentalities of the Church, which the Spirit of God will bless, to the pulling down of the strongholds of evil, and the upbuilding of that kingdom, which is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. We cannot withhold or dwarf this power of beneficence without dishonoring and

disordering and thwarting the play of the other two forces. Perhaps the one thing that is wanting now, as much as any other, is a grateful, self-denying, intelligent, loving spirit of benevolence. It is needed for the revenue it will bring to meet all the increasing wants of Christian progress; but it is wanted also for its work on our own souls; relaxing our selfishness; teaching us that the sweetest and best and holiest use of money is in making gifts to God's cause; doing this out of a heart in sympathy with the mind of Christ—out of a heart that yearns over the good such gifts may do in a world made desolate by sin, and to souls crowding downward to death—out of a heart which trembles at the warnings of God against selfishness—out of a heart whose generous impulses are but the throbbings of a divine life from Him who has said, that with “such sacrifices he is well pleased.”

What will it profit us, if superfluities load our tables; if furniture adorn our dwellings; if elegancies of dress deck our persons; if we lay up, in store, reserves for the future—what will it profit us if we have impoverished our souls by expenditures for comfort, or pleasure, or pride—and impoverished Christ in our withholdings? The self-denial by which we should have given—the holy love by which we should have given—the stimulus of sympathy by which we should have given—the sense of responsibility by which we should have given,—would have been means of grace worth more to us, in the true enjoyment of life, in a conscience void of offence towards God and man, and in the gladness unspeakable of a soul at harmony with righteousness and peace in the Holy Ghost, than any earthly good that perishes with the using.

5. We would further call the attention of our laymen *to the better support of the ministry*. In a small minority of our churches an adequate provision for this object is generously made. But in the large majority, the compensation is far below the average emoluments of educated and of business men; unworthy of their moral worth and services; and unworthy, too, of those to whom they minister.

This state of things is one cause of the decline in candidates for ministerial education. It is a generally conceded thing that a minister's life is merely a starveling business! And

thus insensibly it is lowered in the esteem of Christian parents; and through them, in their children. It may be said that if there were a high standard of piety among Christian young men, they would, in the spirit of self-denial, throw themselves into the work of the ministry. But the stream will not rise higher than the fountain. If there be not in the body of Christians a self-denying and generous spirit, there will not be such in any class of it, and especially in our young men, who have all the world before them where to choose; so that it will not do to reproach them for a defect which is measurably the result of our own deficiency.

The law of compensation for ministerial service is one that would hardly seem necessary to require enforcement. Precluded as clergymen are from those worldly pursuits by which others seek emoluments and fortune; exercising a profession which would seem to bring them closely in contact with the generous sympathies of the people; performing public duties of the highest value—one would think that the risks were that the “mammon of unrighteousness” would be in the excess rather than in the minimum. But we need not say how palpably otherwise it is. The cry comes up from all denominations that the ministry are not adequately sustained. Paul wrote some things “hard to be understood:” but his sayings in 1 Cor. 9: 7—14, are not in that category. Will our brethren turn to them and ponder them? There is a finish and beauty and fullness in the passage which makes it like “apples of gold in pictures of silver.” Rhetoric and logic in strength and beauty interlacing each other; and the whole enforced with a precept as pointed and urgent and obligatory as any in the decalogue: “Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.”

6. The Christian man has, *in his business*, a power which is either a detriment or a blessing, according to his use of it. If it be exercised by any palpable selfishness, cunning, greed, unscrupulousness, disregard of the rights and comforts of others, or worldly-mindedness in any of its forms, there will be a taint about his character, impairing his usefulness in all his religious undertakings. He may be tolerated in the machinery of the Church, out of the necessity for laborers; or in hopefulness that

grace will outgrow or extirpate these noxious weeds of character; or sometimes from less worthy motives. But there is always a moral malaria about any one wearing the livery of Christ, whose dealings with his fellow-men are not strictly upright, truthful, impartial, generous, humane, courteous, manly! On the other hand, a Christian can and ought to show in all the walks of life, that while he is not "slothful in business," he is also "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." Reason and experience, as well as Scripture, teach us that it is not necessary to seek a cloister to escape temptation, and "to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world." If religion be objectively related to God, it is also so towards men; and the commandments, though written, accordingly, on two tables, were but *one* decalogue. A majority of them, too, lie in the common functions of life, as these are connected with our fellow-creatures. We are, moreover, so constituted that the industry requisite for any lawful pursuit is as wholesome for the soul as it is for the body and mind. It is not hard to conceive of a Christian man, moving in all the enterprises and activities of his vocation; touching, at all points of contact, the enterprises and activities of irreligious men; and so deporting himself that no credible impeachment of any of the moralities of life, shall lie against him. Nor is it any further stretch of the conception, to suppose such an one, with all his diligence and thrift, letting his light so shine before men, that they may see his good works and glorify their Father which is in heaven. "Brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

7. We may notice here briefly the important relations of the Christian man *in the family*. As a husband, father, master, brother or son, his position involves great responsibilities, largely affecting the religious weal of the domestic circle: and through that, it has world-wide issues. Christ has made the first of these relations the symbol of his union to "the bride, the Lamb's wife." The second is the emblem of God's headship, as "our Father who art in heaven." The next is guarded by a warning that we have a "Master in heaven." The fourth is

shadowed forth in the comparison to Him that "sticketh closer than a brother." And the last is touchingly exhibited in the privileges "of adoption, by which we cry Abba, Father." No mind but the Infinite One which has given us these figures of speech, and almost countless precepts in his word, bearing on these obligations, can appreciate or express the ills which follow their default, or the blessings consequent on their fulfilment. To notice merely the influences that pertain to them would be beyond our present compass. We can only advert to the subject in this summary way, in order to stir up the brethren "by way of remembrance."

8. Any discussion of the duties appertaining to our male membership would be very incomplete without enjoining on them the obligation to *social and public prayer*. In many of our churches the power of laymen is only partially developed in this direction. There are many, whose piety and fitness for this exercise are unquestionable, who are relying supinely on those brethren, who have more zeal, or courage, or sense of duty than they have in this matter. It is not a question of intellectual capacity; for often we find that the educated church members, and those who are ready of utterance in business affairs, ignore this duty; while others less apt of speech and mental qualifications perform it. Taking our churches at large, perhaps not one-half the male members meet this reasonable requirement. They would find their profit every way in it. It would contribute to the development of their religious knowledge; to a higher elevation of their Christian character; to an enlargement of their religious zeal; to a deeper interest in souls; to more peace in believing and joy in the Holy Ghost; to more confidence among the Church at large in their profession of piety. And then they would be partakers more than now, in the march, and the skirmishes, and victories of the church militant—not mere camp followers, but part of the sacramental host, which the "Captain of our salvation" is leading forth, conquering and to conquer.

9. A great many other topics might be discussed, but we can barely refer to them. One that would seem hardly needful to speak of is, a regular attendance at the church services, not merely on the Sabbath, but through the week. Looking

at the thin audiences of men at the latter, one would think that the apostle was speaking a sad prophecy for all time when he said: "Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is!"

We may adduce, also, a delinquency towards "the stranger that is within thy gates," in the matter of offering him a seat in the house of God. Almost all of our readers who have travelled, have had painful experience of this lack of church hospitality, especially in cities; making them feel how homeless they are among brethren—strangers in the "household of faith." If our men, not lacking in civility elsewhere, could realize how unsympathizing and ungracious and uncivil this neglect is, they would, we should think, utterly eschew the default.

Many of our male members have, directly or indirectly, in their employ, a number of persons whose attendance at the sanctuary they could easily secure; to whom, indeed, a courteous invitation and a proper effort to accommodate them, would be received as a compliment; thus establishing a cordiality which would be found mutually conducive to the pecuniary interests of both parties; realizing thus that this, as well as all forms of godliness, "is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

"Given to hospitality." Such is the curt and significant outline of a phase of character, given by the apostle, who had doubtless met, in his missionary wanderings, with some of the *genus homo* who give the "cold shoulder" to itinerant and visiting preachers; and thus he appreciated more keenly and described more vividly those who ministered to his wants, in his self-denying travels. We have plenty of lay-members who have well-furnished parlors, and comfortable beds, and abundant larders, to whom a prophet's chamber is a myth—unless it may be at an irruption of a synod or presbytery, and then they receive it as another "persecution of the saints." Our brethren will find it to their profit, in every respect, if they will cultivate this grace. "Lord, when saw we thee an hungered and fed thee, or thirsty and gave thee drink, or a stranger and took thee in?" "And the King shall answer, Inasmuch as

you have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

We would bespeak from our brethren a deeper interest in the missionary enterprises of the day. All the details, especially of those connected with our own Church, should command their attention. While our hearts have been perplexed and saddened, and sometimes alarmed, at the recent aspects of home missions among our people; yet we have an abiding conviction that the ample and earnest discussion of the subject, which has occurred during the last few years, has done much to stir up the thoughts of our laymen to its nature, difficulties, requirements and prospects: so that we look confidently that, in the early future, we shall behold a great advance over even our most favored past history, in all that constitutes success. Our present relation to the foreign field, through our old and accredited and noble agency, is such as may well elicit, as it demands, our intelligent and hearty co-operation. Let this matter, in both its aspects, foreign and domestic, secure at the family altar, and in the missionary concert, the prayers of our male membership, as well as their liberal gifts. And thrice blessed are those Christian households, out of which go sons and daughters to build up the desolations of our land, or to carry the unsearchable riches of Christ to the heathen.

10. This Article is not designed especially to attract the attention of our church officers; being intended to contribute something to arouse the Christian brotherhood of our people at large. Yet all that we have said has indeed more pertinency to them than to the body of our lay brethren. Without entering into any discussion of the Scripture basis of the ruling eldership, we may say that their position as office-bearers gives them advantages and involves responsibilities beyond others. Having been chosen by the Church to preserve its order and nurture its life, they have a sanction growing out of the confidence thereby manifested and invested in them, which justifies and requires their special attention to every Christian duty, that is in any wise incumbent on others.

We may notice here a common delinquency in the matter of *representations of the Sessions* in the church courts. This ad-

mirable and useful feature in our church polity is greatly damaged by neglect in this particular. Presbyterian and synodical records, almost everywhere, show a delinquency in this matter quite marvellous and censurable. It would be an eminently healthy sign, in our Church, if this default were largely corrected. We would that our brethren in the eldership would make a special note of this. We speak frankly to them, in this matter, and some others following; being of their number and "in the same condemnation." Our absence from the ecclesiastical courts is a stigma; it is also a mischief to ourselves; and is a wrong done to the churches we should represent. To the extent of the delinquency it unpresbyterianizes those assemblies.

Need we say that there is also a great default in the members of our Church Sessions, in regard to that *watch and care* over the flock, which will prevent wanderings, delinquencies and backslidings among the membership. Representing, as each eldership is presumed to represent, the highest style of piety in its particular church, called unsought by its communicants to their office bearing, and charged by God as overseers of the flock, they are in no sense arrogating powers, but meeting responsibilities, not to be evaded or transferred, while they pay this needful attention to the church.

And in the exercise of *discipline*—sadly needful almost everywhere—how little is done by our elders! The membership is often allowed to neglect, continuously, palpable duties; to engage in practices of a doubtful, inconsistent, and ultimately dangerous character; and sometimes to practise immoralities; without notice, warning, rebuke, or accountability. As we look over our churches, how many "branches" are not merely unfruitful, but visibly in the various states of blight, disease, decay and rottenness! A diligence, far below the true standard of official duty, ought to prevent or remedy these sad impairments of the beauty and fruitfulness of the Church. What may we suppose would be the dealing of our blessed Saviour, if he were again in the earth walking among the vines of Zion? "Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit."

There is still a higher and holier and happier duty pertain-

ing to these office-bearers. It is that they "*feed the Church of God* which he hath purchased with his own blood." Not that they have the prerogative of public teaching and preaching. Yet there may be an informal exercise in public of the "gift of speech," that by proper culture, and on suitable occasions, may be used to great advantage. The common sense things of piety, said by common sense men, have often a directness and influence on incidental occasions, which mere theological and official speech may fail to accomplish. There ought to be more use made of this privilege of talk. We are sure it is not going to be abused; and therefore may exhort the brethren with the more urgency to "speak often one to another."

There is a large measure of usefulness in this gift open to our elders in *religious visitings* through the congregation. They should aim at a thorough knowledge of the individual religious character of the people; and at a cultivation of their own powers, by reading, reflection and prayer for this object. In no other way can they learn fully the condition and wants of their church. At the same time all their own gifts of piety will be enhanced; and the religious well-being of the entire body be cultivated. Will not brethren be encouraged by the specific and glorious promise made to the fulfilment of this duty? "And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels."

The office of a *Sunday School teacher* falls in this prerogative of the eldership. To a large extent, we believe they exercise it. Yet, looking over our churches, are there not many well qualified by education, experience, talent, and piety who are neglecting it—many of them making the excuse of week-day toils and advancing years; and devolving on the young and inexperienced, duties which they themselves are better fitted to perform? "Brethren, these things ought not so to be."

There are many other considerations pertaining to this part of our subject—but we cannot, for want of space, treat of them. We would refer this class of our readers to the tract issued by our Publication Committee, entitled "The Office of Ruling Elders," for a full and earnest and admirable discussion of the subject. It would be money well spent, if some one would see

to it that this brief treatise were put into the hands of all our eldership.

We expressed, in the opening of this Article, the desire that some bold and brave and earnest spirit would present to the churches these duties and delinquencies. Yet this is a vain wish. But all that is practicable in the matter might be done by our several pastors, if they would but thoughtfully and diligently and affectionately and earnestly undertake it. Who like them, for instance, could evoke the *social life* of a church? And so through most of the inventory of lay duties. In some of our churches we find noble examples of this pastoral utility. But in how many is it wanting! Would that these honored servants of God could see their duty and privilege in this great necessity. They would find its results every way to their own advantage; and in regard to Zion, it would be said of her, "Thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not. Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily. Thy righteousness shall go before thee: the glory of the Lord shall be thy rear-ward."

Finally, By the wants of those perishing for lack of knowledge in heathen lands—by the countless waste places of our own country—by the ignorance and irreligion which lie around our homesteads—by an inefficient church-membership everywhere needing to be brought up to a higher tone of life and character—by the yearnings of our ministry for the counsel and co-operation of their laymen—by the damage done to their own souls in neglected duty—by the holy joys of diligent obedience—by the love of Christ constraining them—by the plaudit, "well done good and faithful servant"—by that shining which shall be "as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars forever and ever"—we would plead with our male membership that in all the duties of toiling and giving and praying for the kingdom of Christ, they "quit themselves like MEN!"

ARTICLE V.

THE NEW RULE OF THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.*

That royal jester and buffoon—the second Charles of England—is said once to have gravely puzzled his courtiers by asking them how they accounted for the fact that putting a fish into a vessel of water already filled to the brim, would not make it overflow. Various explanations were given, until at last it occurred to one of the company to put the fact so coolly assumed, to the test, when it was found that the supposed fact was no fact at all. Many a controversy lives and thrives through an almost utter oblivion of the real facts of the case, which are kept out of sight, sometimes with, and sometimes without design. In our judgment, the time has come when the assumed grounds of those who defend the course of the Home Missionary Society towards the Presbyterian Church, should be brought to the test. We want to know the facts.

The American Home Missionary Society had a Presbyterian paternity. This is a fact beyond question. The United Domestic Missionary Society, formed in 1821 by the union of two smaller societies sustained by Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch Churches in the city of New York, resolved itself in 1826 into the American Home Missionary Society. Very little change was made except in the name itself. The same officers were still, for the most part, retained in their former posts. The life-members and directors of the former were life-mem-

* Relations of the Presbyterian Church to the Work of Home Missions: Report of Assembly's Commission of Investigation: Presented at Pittsburgh, May, 1860.

We make this comprehensive and able Report the text of our Article, but we have taken care to establish all our own positions by original investigation. Some points we have dwelt upon but lightly, because they are so fully discussed in this Report.

bers and directors of the latter, and all was the same except the enlargement in the plans and operations of the Society.

But it is said that the idea of a national society, formed by a union of smaller societies, originated with Congregationalists in New England. It is ascribed to Dr. Porter, of Andover, and is said through him to have been brought to the attention of a body of Congregational ministers who met in convention at Boston, in December 1825, and by them to have been endorsed. But this very date destroys the claim. The idea was of earlier origin. Previous to the formation of the United Domestic Missionary Society in 1821, the Young Men's Missionary Society of New York, decided that it was expedient "that there should be a general union and co-operation of existing Missionary Societies," and that it was "desirable that a union should be formed between this Society and the New York Evangelical Missionary Society, *as a step* towards such general union and co-operation." The idea was thus embodied in the very organization of the United Domestic Missionary Society, and was only more extensively realized in the organization of the American Home Missionary Society. Here is the fact. The A. H. M. S. had a Presbyterian paternity. We ground on this no claim to exclusive Presbyterian control, but we do say the Presbyterian originators of the Society might well be supposed to have understood its principles, and it is absurd to attribute to them the adoption of rules which would operate against the interests of their own denomination, or the rights of Presbyteries. If we find, therefore, in the operation of the Society, the adoption of rules or principles which have such a bearing, it is fair to assume that they are an innovation on the original plan.

But it is claimed that Presbyterians surrendered some of their rights in the formation of the Society. Much is said of a *compact* between the two denominations. In the Report of the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society for 1856,* it is said: "The inauguration of a Committee on Church Extension is, in itself, an abandonment of the co-operative policy, just as far as the new scheme is carried out, for it is nothing less than to resume those denominational functions which Presby-

* Copied into the columns of the "Home Missionary."

terians and Congregationalists alike mutually agreed to surrender as a pre-requisite to co-operation at all."

But where is the record of such an agreement? How was it possible that it should be made by either denomination as such? In the Convention by which the organization of the Society was inaugurated in 1826, there were one hundred and twenty-nine persons, of whom twenty-seven only were Congregationalists of New England. Is it credible that a Convention so constituted would enter into a *mutual agreement*, "surrendering" the Constitutional rights and duties of the Presbyterian Church? They had no authority to do it. They would not stultify themselves by doing, or proposing to do, any such thing.

And what power were the twenty-seven Congregationalists of New England, present in the Convention, warranted to exercise? Let the *Independent*,—which seems to be the General Assembly of the Congregationalists—answer. In its issue of June 7, 1860, speaking of the Committee of Conference with Congregational bodies, proposed by the late General Assembly, it says: "The scheme of conference and adjustment is wholly impracticable; the General Associations do not represent the churches at all, and would not presume to act in such a matter, as if they were the organs of the churches in their several States." Would the twenty-seven Congregational members of the Convention, which were not appointed by any Congregational body to represent the churches, and who came on their own responsibility, at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the U. D. M. S.—would they venture to form a compact that was to bind the whole denomination? The idea is simply absurd. And as to Presbyterians, no Convention, without the sanction of a majority of the Presbyteries, and of the General Assembly itself, could bargain away the Constitutional rights and privileges of the denomination.

The theory of a *compact* is therefore a mere nullity. The Convention might act for itself—individual members might pledge themselves, but it could not bind the churches, and plainly never did, or intended to do any such thing. From its own declarations, it is plain that the Society was formed "to bind churches," not denominations. It had nothing to do

with Presbyteries, Associations, ecclesiastical bodies, or Conventions, outside of its own organization. It was to receive such sums as individuals, churches and auxiliaries saw fit to bestow, and to disburse them to "feeble churches." This was the theory of its constitution, and on this ground it might stand, independent of all large ecclesiastical bodies, while a needy congregation claimed its aid, or a solitary church, or a single individual chose to make it the channel of its charity.

But the Society has seen fit to change its policy and inaugurate new rules. It now demands the co-operation of Presbyteries, Associations, and ecclesiastical bodies, as such, under penalty of withholding aid from all the churches under their care. Its rule, which we pronounce an innovation, requires all the churches of these bodies, a portion of which are aided by the Society, to contribute to its funds "to the full measure of their ability;" and if any of them venture to make a collection for home missionary objects, without passing them through the treasury of the Society, all the churches of the body are denied aid.

Of the bearings of the rule, and its interference with the rights of Presbyteries, we shall speak hereafter. Our attention is first directed to the fact that *it is a new rule*. It is not to be supposed that a body of churches under the care of a Presbytery, are the less entitled to aid on account of the fact of their relation. Each has the same claim—if a feeble church—that it had before that relation existed. If the Presbytery see fit to appoint, for the mutual convenience of itself and the Society, a committee of missions from its own members, no right of any individual church is thereby surrendered. Nothing but an absolute lack of the requisite funds can justify the Society in withholding aid, if in other respects the application is unobjectionable. Each church—in a Society which assumes to know nothing of denominational sympathies or arrangements—has a right to stand on its own individual merits. If properly certified that it needs and deserves aid, the Society, whose professed aim is "to aid feeble churches," can ask no more. It has no business to investigate Presbyterial relations; and any rule which assumes to do this, is an

innovation on the original policy and the constitutional principles of the Society.

Is it said that the Presbytery with all its churches, by appointing a Committee on Missions, is thenceforth to be regarded in the light of an auxiliary? Let it be granted. The vital question then is, What is the policy of the Society, and what its rules in dealing with auxiliaries? To answer this we turn to the early Reports of the Society, when its constitutional principles were clearly understood and plainly defined. Here we find it expressly stipulated that each auxiliary "is left to the independent and unembarrassed exercise of all its rights in the business of appropriating its own funds to the relief of the needy within its limits, while it secures to itself the additional advantage of directing other appropriations made by the parent Society within the same bounds." These stipulations, we are told, "will put it out of the power of the parent Society to contravene the wishes of those whose business it is to manage the affairs and guard the purity of the churches in the different sections of our country."

What broader or more complete vindication could the Alton Presbytery need of its right to appoint an exploring missionary within its own bounds? Plainly, if there is anywhere a curtailment of jurisdiction, it is on the part of the parent Society. The auxiliary Presbytery has absolute control within its limits—the right not only to appropriate its own funds, but the "additional advantage of directing other appropriations, made by the parent Society, within the same bounds." Is not that a new rule; is it not an obvious innovation, which sweeps all this away; and, as in the case of the Alton Presbytery, assumes to deny it the right to employ in its own field an exploring missionary?

But our position is not sustained merely by the clearly enunciated principles of the early Reports. For many years it was the practice of the Society to aid churches under the care of Presbyteries that were auxiliary to the Board of Domestic Missions of the General Assembly. Plainly these churches did not all contribute "to the full extent of their ability" to the treasury of the Society. They were giving to the Assembly's Board, yet there was no rule to cut them off. Not an instance

is on record of the application of such a rule. It did not exist. Yet the occasions for its application, if it did exist, were not wanting. They were remarkably abundant. Any one who has the necessary documents on hand, can satisfy himself on this point. Year after year, churches continued to receive aid of the Society, after the Presbyteries with which they were connected had become formally and really auxiliary to the Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions. The volunteer testimony of the ("Old School") Editor of the St. Louis *Presbyterian*, the Rev. Dr. Van Court, given voluntarily, on his own personal knowledge of the facts, is scarcely necessary to show that the rule of the Society is an innovation. It was never heard of till the early principles of the Society were well nigh forgotten, and an emergency arose where it was necessary to make an example in order to subdue the missionary enterprise of Presbyteries to the control of the Society.

If trouble, therefore, has grown out of the application of this rule, the authors of the rule are responsible for it. Alton Presbytery, in employing an exploring missionary, did no more than what it was clearly authorized to do by the distinctly enunciated rules of the early Reports. It may not be flattering to the consistency of the managers of the Society, to find their greatest difficulty in their own reports, but the fact is that they have introduced a *new rule*, and one which is in direct conflict with the entire previous policy of the Society. If a man turn his face from the sun, he should not complain of it as changing its position.

1. We are now prepared to examine the New Rule of the Society in its various features and in its operation. Its first aspect toward those immediately affected, or in danger of being affected, is that of an engine of terror. It is doubtless meant to overawe and frighten, to subdue refractory Presbyteries, and bring them submissively under the Society's control. It deals with the ecclesiastical body as a unit, visiting upon all the churches the sins—if such they are—of one. Here is imputation of a kind against which we apprehend that even Princeton would be apt to utter an unqualified protest. The condition on which a feeble church can have aid continued to it, is that of being responsible for the action of all the other churches of

the Presbytery, some of whom may feel, perhaps, as well qualified to appropriate their own funds to supply destitutions at their own door, as an organization a thousand miles away. If one or more of these churches fail to hand over contributions "to the full extent of their ability" to the Society's treasury, and to this alone, the vengeance which they can afford to despise shall hover over the heads of the feeblcr organizations with which they are ecclesiastically connected.

A system, with such features as this, is a system of terror. To say nothing now of the injustice which it involves, in punishing the innocent for the guilty (?) it carries apprehension and anxiety to the hearts of those on whom the heaviest burden of pioneer evangelization rests. It fills them with gloomy fears of failure in their enterprise. It impresses them with the insecure tenure upon which, even amid their hard struggle, their scant but highly-prized privileges are held. Its effect cannot but be disheartening and disastrous. It tends to crush the feeble hopes of those, whom above all others, we would cherish with our warmest sympathies.

We do not speak these words at random. We have abundant and conclusive evidence of the truth of what we affirm. Far beyond the local limits of Alton Presbytery, the influence of the example which the Society has made of that Presbytery, has been felt. We have been assured of cases where the feeble churches "tremble" with apprehension, lest some one of their favored neighbors should venture to add to their home missionary collection, some contribution for other objects of home effort. Such is the bearing of the new rule. Those who framed it know best whether it was intended to be, what it has become, an engine of terror, in the very sphere that demands the warmest and kindest sympathy. If, unwittingly, they have beaten the ploughshare into the sword, the time has come when they should strive honestly and earnestly to undo their own work.

2. Another feature of the rule which deserves to be noted, is its disruptive influence upon the Presbyterian Church. It is vain for the advocates of the Society to disavow any intention looking toward this result. If they have called into existence an engine which they are incompetent to manage, and which tends to objects they do not desire, they must still bear the re-

sponsibility. If feeble churches are punished for being in connection with a certain Presbytery, the tendency of the punishment is to drive them from it. With a noble and praiseworthy loyalty, they may see fit to retain their connection, but it is in spite of powerful influences brought to bear upon them by the operation of the new rule, driving them to secede. The issue is fairly stated, though perhaps with imprudent honesty, by the agent of the Society within the bounds of Schuyler Presbytery. "It is," he says, "with ecclesiastical bodies as such, and not with individual churches, *i. e.*, as long as they continue as they are. If they change their relations, and identify themselves with a Presbytery or Association in full hearty co-operation with the Society, then will they be aided if necessary."

There is no mistaking the purport of this language. It means, "secede, withdraw, abandon the Presbytery, become Congregational or Independent, and we will help." It holds out a premium to disorganization. It invites disruption. It tends to disintegrate the whole Church.

3. Nor in considering the operation of the rule, should its bearing upon individual missionaries and churches, even those who have been steadfastly and honestly devoted to the Society, be overlooked. We have before us now, written evidence of its disastrous influence in this respect. The hardships of the pioneer pastor in the West are great enough at the best, but in repeated instances, they have been harshly aggravated by the operation of the new rule.* The amount upon which the missionary had depended to eke out a scanty support has been withheld, and he has been forced to retain his post in constant danger of capitulating to starvation. And what it is for him to choose between abandoning his field, and subjecting himself to a self-denial almost too severe for endurance, is probably scarcely appreciated by those who framed the rule in the enjoyment of comfortable salaries or abundant means.

* A minister who had labored for several years at the West, under the patronage of the Society, recently remarked to us: "I never for a moment would have thought of going out under their patronage, if I had imagined there was a rule which made my support dependent on the course of other churches of the Presbytery." The tendency of the rule is to keep Presbyterian ministers from entering the field at all under the patronage of the Society.

4. But the rule, moreover, is such that by the very terms of it, it is unequal and unjust. It discriminates against Presbyterians. "The issue," we are told, "is with *ecclesiastical* bodies as such." It is churches under the care of "*ecclesiastical*" bodies that are required to contribute "to the full extent of their ability." This can properly and strictly mean only Presbyteries, for an Association, according to the Congregational vocabulary, is no *ecclesiastical* body. It is a voluntary association. It does not represent the churches, and does not assume to do it. The very theory of Congregationalism disowns all ecclesiasticism except as resident in the individual church. Over and over again we have been told* "that Congregationalism is complete in a single church;" "no two of its churches are *ecclesiastically* connected, or dependent on a higher tribunal." "A single company of believers—that is the extent of the *ecclesiastical* arena." If any position is established beyond all question by the unanimous testimony of Congregationalists, it is that they recognise no such thing among them as an "*ecclesiastical*" body above or beside the individual local church.

Here, then, is a rule, framed ostensibly for two denominations, yet applicable only to one. If a dozen Congregational churches seemingly united in an Association, should chance, by the action of two or three contributing through other channels, to come under the comprehension of the rule which requires all the churches to contribute "to the full extent of their ability," and thus run the hazard of being cut off from aid, all that would be necessary to escape with impunity would be for them to drop the shadowy mask of *ecclesiastical* unity, which is all that "Association" means, and appeal for help on their own individual merits. The rule could not touch them. It applies to "*ecclesiastical* bodies" only, and "the issue is with *ecclesiastical* bodies as such."

But a Presbytery affords a fair target for this new artillery. The churches under its care are not merely loosely aggregated atoms. A broadside directed at ranks of soldiers will tell better than when directed at solitary pedestrians scattered over a broad region, and scattering still more at the first alarm. The

* Cong. Quarterly, I. 346.

new rule is adroitly framed to do execution among Presbyterian churches, but so as to be entirely inapplicable to Congregationalists. On the Congregational ecclesiastical theory, it cannot reach them at all. To speak of the impartiality of the rule is simply an abuse of terms.

5. But if unequal in the very forms of expression, it is not, and has never been impartially applied. Granting that an Association is an "ecclesiastical body," none has yet been dealt with after the style of Alton, Monroe and Schuyler Presbyteries. What is the reason of this? Are Congregationalists so immaculate in respect to the high crime and misdemeanor of not contributing "to the full extent of their ability," solely to the treasury of the Society? He would be either a very bold or a very ignorant man who would affirm it. Who has not heard of the American Missionary Association, with its home as well as foreign department, and in the former expending several thousand dollars annually more than the Church Extension Committee? Whence does this money come? Who are the "bolters" in this case? Congregationalists, almost to a man. Eighteen or twenty thousand dollars annually are "withheld" by Congregationalists from the Society, and "devoted to sectarian objects." We do not question the right of the donors in this matter, to dispose as they please of their own funds, but why is nothing said of their proceedings, and of their violation of the rule of the Society? Is the Missionary Association of such moderate spirit and gentle demeanor, that the Society is constrained to spread over it the mantle of charity? Within its elliptic orbit we find the two foci of the most ultra-anti-slavery and the most intense Congregationalism. Is it, then, only incidentally denominational? It is certainly a very singular accident, that among its one hundred home missionaries, only one name should be found in the Minutes of the General Assembly, and he, probably, a stated supply of a Congregational Church. But perhaps the eighteen or twenty thousand dollars expended in this denominational work, do not come in any considerable measure from churches in Associations aided by the Society. On this point we appeal to the monthly reports of the organ of the Missionary Association for some years past. Here we find hundreds and thousands of dollars contributed,

and systematically, by Associated Congregational churches. It is true it is somewhat difficult—for the Congregational Year Book consistently enough makes no report except of individual churches—to find to what Associations the churches belong, but we have ventured to grapple with the difficulty, and in numerous instances, with rich results. Indeed we are quite well satisfied, from our own investigations, of the general accuracy of the statement which appeared some time since, from the pen of a correspondent, in the columns of the *Boston Recorder*, to the effect, that “not in one single Association in Illinois have the churches been giving to the A. H. M. S. according ‘to the full measure of their ability’ for ten years past; on the other hand, they have been giving more than one-half their money to another Society antagonistic to the A. H. M. S.”

The Illinois Auxiliary of the Missionary Association is engineered and manned by the Congregational State Association. Its last meeting was held in the same place, and on the same day, and was conducted by the same men, as the State Association. The cause of the former was heartily endorsed by the latter, and commended to the liberality of the churches, full as heartily as the Home Missionary Society. Nineteen missionaries, besides an exploring agent, were sustained within the bounds of the State by this “sectarian” organization, and at an expense several times exceeding the cost of the exploring missionaries of Alton Presbytery in the same State. Has any notice been taken of this? Has Congregational zeal for the Society taken the beam out of its own eye? What are we to think of the impartial application of a rule which would cut off more than half the Associations in several western States, and yet has never been employed except to strike down Presbyteries? Let some score or two of western Associations be cut off by the Society, and we shall begin to believe that it intends at least to be impartial. But till that time comes, *credat Judæus Appella!*

6. But it is now time to consider what the new rule assumes. It takes it for granted, that the Society can do, is fully equipped for and capable of doing, all the home missionary work that Congregationalists and Presbyterians need to have done in the broad field of the West. It denies the necessity of the Church

Extension Committee, or of the system by either denomination of exploring missionaries.

Now, in regard to this point, we prefer to summon witnesses from among those who will not be accused of partiality for Presbyterianism. And we ask why it is that Congregationalists employ any other agency than that of the Society? Why do they patronize the Missionary Association, and grasp at the funds of the old Connecticut Missionary Society for denominational uses? Evidently to promote and carry forward a work which the Society does not perform. Like Presbyterians, they find cities and large towns where they wish to plant Congregational churches, which the rules of the Society will not allow it to aid. They secure the means, and do it—and glory in doing it.* But if the necessity exist for them, it exists also for Presbyterians, and they feel the need of some organization to meet exceptional cases, and frankly say so. They are not envious of the character of “bolters,” as some Congregationalists call their brethren who patronize the Missionary Association. They prefer a more open and manly course. Yet their Church Extension scheme is denounced by the *Home Missionary* as “sectarian,” and the Congregational journals have taken up the phrase and echoed it back and forth all over the land.

And as to the need of exploring missionaries, we will not quote Presbyterian authority. We call Congregationalists to the witness stand. Let them say whether the Society does or can do all the home missionary work that is needed at the West. A Kansas correspondent of the *Congregationalist* of Boston, in pleading for aid for denominational effort in that field—aid which the Society had refused to grant,—said: “People at the East cannot fully appreciate the need of such an agency. Nor can any description of our wants we may give, adequately present that necessity. . . . Churches of some kind will be organized in all the more important points, and the Congregational elements will fall into other bodies, unless we take measures to organize Congregational Churches ‘in advance of all others!’” The *Congregationalist* adds signifi-

* See report of the State Association, in a recent number of the *Congregational Herald* of Chicago.

cantly, and intelligently, no doubt, "we desire earnestly to second the appeal."

Again, a writer in the *Congregational Quarterly*, (January, 1860,) who has himself had experience as a missionary on the field, says: "There is a kind of missionary labor much needed in the West, which the A. H. M. S. does not perform. . . . In new countries the policy of the Society should be preceded by the labors of a few John the Baptists to prepare the way of the Lord." "It is impossible for the missionaries of the Society to do this work to any great extent. . . . We cannot perform this outside labor without detriment to our own fields. . . . We cannot wisely leave our people long enough to bestow upon these regions the amount of labor necessary to prepare the way for the organization of churches, and for permanent missionaries. . . . The Society is doing little to secure the organization of new churches." The plan which this writer proposes is identical with that of exploring missionaries. Yet he says: "Every one acquainted with the organization of the A. H. M. S., knows that such a plan is impracticable. If these pioneer missionaries were Congregationalists, it would give Presbyterians occasion of complaint, and the reverse if they were Presbyterians. . . . The 'terms of union' are such, that the first steps of the missionary work cannot be taken by the Society. It cannot reach those communities most in need of the Gospel."

Here is the testimony of experience. We cheerfully accept and endorse it. It states facts which can no longer be blinked. There is a necessity, not to be branded by the term "sectarian," which demands that a work be done in fields like those of many of our western Presbyteries, which the Society does not and cannot perform. The new rule of the Society, in the face of overwhelming testimony, and constantly multiplying facts, denies this necessity. It says to both denominations: "Do nothing in the missionary field, except under our patronage and control. Give us the monopoly of the field. We will take the responsibility." Such counsel from a priest at the confessional would be more appropriate than when addressed by fallible men to ministers and laymen who can best judge for what in their own immediate fields and spheres of effort God will hold them

responsible. The new rule of the Society is arrogant in its claims, dictatorial in tone, and false in its assumptions.

7. Its operation once more, is to interfere with the rights and duties of Presbyteries. They are presumptively the best judges of the wants of their own field. They have the right, anterior and superior to all conventional compacts, to look after their own destitutions. This, moreover, is their duty. They cannot demit it, or put it out on contract, or execute it altogether by proxy. Yet on the principles of the new rule, this is precisely what they are called to do. A Presbytery, by the very theory of its constitution, has the care of its churches and its own mission field. It meets and consults for the welfare of these. Yet the Society would relieve it of this duty by means of its agents, nursing for it its own children, and in fact claiming to be their mother. We have no disposition to surrender on such terms, the rights and duties inherent in our very organization. If these are the "terms of union," they are terms which we cannot accept.

In fact, no more expeditious or effectual method could be devised to palsy the missionary energy of any ecclesiastical body, than just to take from it the supervision of its own mission field, and relieve it of the necessity of effort to supply its own destitutions. It can then meet to discuss forms of order, to engage in general debate, or pray for the world at large, but the inspiring motives to missionary zeal, which are furnished in its own sphere, are withdrawn. Those themes which should bind its membership together in common effort, which should link them together with the strongest sympathies of common concern for the great interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, do not come legitimately before them. A Society a thousand miles away, has told them that they need not trouble themselves with the wants of their field or the needs of their feeble and pastorless churches. Its rule sounds virtually in their ears the peremptory mandate with which Cromwell dismissed the Rump Parliament, and the proper legitimate business of the Presbytery is taken almost entirely out of its hands. What sort of an influence will such a state of things exert upon our ecclesiastical bodies?

8. We are now prepared to consider the new rule as to the extent of its real bearings and application. And here again

we appeal to Congregational authority. We might say that the rule logically and consistently applied, cut off not only every Presbytery in the land whose churches contribute to the Church Extension cause, but the entire Presbyterian Church, and this might be charged to the account of *our prejudices*. How, then, do Congregationalists interpret the rule? Let the State Associations of Illinois and Iowa answer. The first of these, at its late meeting, called upon the Society to pursue a bold, prompt and logical course in the application of the rule to the excision of our whole Church, and its organ, the *Congregational Herald*, some months previous, declared that it could see no other course for the Society to take, unless the Church Extension scheme were abandoned by Presbyterians. The Association of Michigan—if we recollect right—endorsed, also, this application of the rule.

Doubtless they have given the correct view of the bearing of the rule. It does actually cut off, if logically and consistently carried out, the entire Presbyterian, as well as a large portion of the Congregational Church. It applies to a General Assembly as well as a Presbytery or Synod, and it needs but a stroke of the pen to make it as effectual in the one case as in the other.

It is true, indeed, that the spectacle presented by these volunteer interpreters of the law—transgressors of it themselves far beyond the measure of their accused brethren—is not very edifying. Suppose their view that the New Rule is legitimate, to be correct, and we have a criminal turning State's evidence against his accomplice, or rather a prisoner leaping from the dock into the post of the prosecuting attorney, and bearing down with the most disinterested severity upon one guilty, to some extent, of the crime for which he had been himself arraigned. It is surprising that a pure and simple love of truth should have led the State Association of Illinois, with the Missionary Association under one arm, and the Society under the other, to volunteer not only to inform against Presbyterians for Church Extension, but to have adjusted all the necessary machinery,—the interpretation of the rule,—so that the excising process may realize for the whole Presbyterian Church the benevolent wish of Nero in respect to the necks of his Roman subjects.

The explanation, however, may perhaps be suggested by the lines of M'Fingal:

"No man e'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law;"

for as yet the State and local Associations have not experienced the choking process of the Society's halter. Still we must accept the Congregational interpretation of the rule. Logically considered, it cuts off every church in connection with the General Assembly. With such a fact before us, it is superfluous to ask whether the Presbyterian founders of the Society ever intended to frame such a rule, or contemplated the possibility of such gross injustice.

9. But the results of the rule have not thus far been of a kind to offset the objectionable features of the principle which it involves, or to commend it to the favor of Presbyterians. They have, indeed, demonstrated conclusively the absolute necessity of the scheme of Church Extension which some of the Congregational journals have been specially clamorous that our General Assembly should abandon. They have satisfied the most incredulous that we should be recreant to duty, if we made no provision for our destitute fields beyond what the Home Missionary Society affords. But they have produced this conviction by a method open to grave exception. In the course of a few years we have had thrown upon our hands, a mission field abandoned by the Society, which in extent is equal almost to an empire. We do not here enter into the question of the causes which have resulted in leaving our feeble churches and pioneer laborers in the State of Missouri without aid from the Society, but this State, which offers to our denomination a most important field, and which is peculiarly inviting to the enterprise of a Church occupying the position of our own, embraces an area of 67,880 square miles, or more than two thousand more than the entire area of all the New England States. Nor is this all. The twenty counties in southern Illinois, which constitute the field of Alton Presbytery, cover an area of some 10,000 square miles, or more than twice that of the State of Connecticut, while the Presbyteries of Schuyler and Monroe, swell the extent of the aggregate field from which the Society has withdrawn all aid to Presbyterian missionaries,

to something more than 80,000 square miles, or over two-thirds the area of all the middle States of the Union!

Who, for a moment, could justify the Presbyterian Church in disregarding the urgent claims of this vast region, to say nothing now of the need of special effort in cities and large towns in which Presbyterian churches cannot receive aid from the Society, yet where it is most important that they should be established? Church Extension has become for us an absolute necessity. It can be abandoned only by endorsing the sentiment of a Congregational journal, that our denomination has "no right to live." But we are not yet ready for annihilation. We have not the disposition, nor do we believe that any law of justice or Christianity requires of us the disposition, to commit, as a denomination, the crime of *felo de se*. We apprehend that we are called of God not only to live, but to live and work, and to do our part in impressing our type of Christian sentiment, doctrine and usage on the heart and conscience of the land. And to this end, we must look to these needs of our body which voluntary organizations outside of us cannot be expected to regard with special sympathy. In spite of the odium which has been studiously heaped in unfriendly quarters upon the very term of Church Extension, we shall prosecute the work it indicates with such energies as we can command. We shall do it in no "sectarian" spirit. We shall do it out of no hostility to other agencies which are designed to extend the cause of our common Master. But we shall do it from the conviction that loyalty to the Great Head of the Church will not allow us to abandon it or neglect a field which is peculiarly our own. Nor will it abate our zeal or energy of purpose that a professedly national Institution, designed "to aid feeble churches," has seen fit to menace us in the prosecution of our work by the application of a rule which, logically considered, cuts off from aid every feeble church in our connection.

10. We are fully aware that Congregationalists, and we doubt not honestly, take a different view of the matter. They have never yet had a fair opportunity to know the ground on which we stand. We have carefully noted the utterances of their journals and more elaborate periodicals on this subject, and we have never yet met with any statement of the case which could

afford them any clear idea of the real position occupied by our denomination. Indeed the most studious efforts have apparently been made to misrepresent us, and even the organ of the Society, that should have stood aloof from controversy between two denominations co-operating in its support, has employed language and introduced statements calculated to present to its numerous readers a false and prejudiced view of the case. Although that organ is sustained annually at an expense of over \$1000,* drawn from the common fund, it has been employed to misrepresent the position of the Presbyterian Church, and has failed to correct the errors of which it has been convicted. We have felt the wrong done us, and have sometimes, considering the source from which it came, been ready to exclaim, more in sadness than in anger, *Ei tu Brute!* Of course, in such circumstances, and especially when the entire official influence of the Society has been studiously employed with Congregational Associations, to foster and strengthen Congregational prejudice, it was not to be expected that outside of our own denomination, our real relation to the rules of the Society should be fairly understood.

We say this in justice to our Congregational brethren, and in apology for them, but at the same time we maintain that they should have taken better means to inform themselves as to the merits of a controversy in which they have been called to take a part. With a unanimity that scarcely surprises us, they have felt that the Society was managed in their interest, and that all they had to do was simply to express their satisfaction with it. This they have done in no very measured terms, and with edifying frequency. They have seemed to imagine that the only possible remedy for our grievances was to be found in our absolute withdrawal from a Society which was of Presbyterian parentage, and which we have loved with no common affection. They have seemed to be oblivious of the fact that the rule itself of the Society of which we complain, is due in large part to their own increased denominational zeal, and that its more extended application is urged upon the managers of the Society by zealous Congregationalists, thus exclaiming us utterly from the common heritage.

* Above the amount of subscriptions.

In ascribing the origin of the new rule largely to this cause, we cannot be mistaken. The connection between them is too obvious to be denied. Fifty years ago, Connecticut, and we may say, New England Congregationalism, was strongly disposed to favor the Presbyterian system. The leading ministers of Massachusetts presented in the pages of the *Panoplist* (1814, 1815) the most full and thorough exposure of the laxness and defects of Congregationalism which we have ever seen, a most elaborate commentary on the declaration of the elder Edwards that he had "long been out of conceit" of it. Dr. Woods and Andover—so we are told by Congregational authority*—held that it did not make much difference whether a man was a Presbyterian or Congregationalist in New England, but that he ought to be a decided Presbyterian out of it. Any one who chooses to turn to Dr. Dwight's sermon on Church Order, will perceive that he preferred a moderate Presbyterianism, as he had witnessed it in the General Assemblies of which he had been a member, to the more lax system which prevailed in his native State. The address of the General Association of Connecticut to its churches in 1808 or 1809,† written probably by Dr. Backus, presents not merely his individual views, but those of the body of Connecticut ministers, and a perusal of this will satisfy any one, of the honest preference which was felt by them for a system more approximating toward Presbyterianism.

Such was the state of feeling which prevailed largely in New England for many years. It originated and sustained in good faith for a long time the celebrated Plan of Union. It aided essentially in the inauguration of the various benevolent institutions dating from the first quarter of the present century. It sanctioned the formation of the Home Missionary Society on a basis free from all denominational bias. It transmitted influences west of the Hudson which live and flourish yet, and which, we trust, will continue to prevail in the Presbyterian Church till the end of time.

But with years there came a change. Dr. Rice noted it on his visit to Boston as early as 1830.‡ He thought he saw the

* The *Independent*.

† We have not the documents by us now, and cannot fix the year precisely.

‡ Life of Dr. Rice.

rise of a denominational feeling, which in some quarters was already becoming intense. Upon the division of the Presbyterian Church in 1837-38, it received a new impulse. The liberality of feeling on the part of our Church encouraged it in the expectation of making conquest of us. Not long afterwards we heard the conviction to this effect expressed by a leading Congregational pastor, whose influence is still powerful in the land, and for us it has been the key to his course ever since. Our Church has expected accessions from New England, and were prepared in the most liberal spirit to welcome them, and it was not particularly agreeable, when instead of these, they were met on the part of these for sympathy with whom they had suffered so much, with plans of invasion and inroads upon their own churches. Still they bore it patiently. Occasionally, and here and there from individuals, impatient words might be uttered, but they did not express the *animus* of the denomination. As a body they were incredulous of any change in New England. They cherished the memory of better days. They recalled the sentiments of Woods and Morse and Dwight and the younger Edwards, and the fathers of the *Plan of Union*. It was therefore with strange surprise that they learned the proceedings of the Albany Convention in 1852, in abrogating that Plan, without so much as a previous conference or communication with the General Assembly. This event startled them by the evidence which it was intended to afford, that the co-operative denominations were two, and not one. It was the deliberate declaration of the great body of Congregationalists in the land, represented in the Convention, that the time had come to consider a dissolution of partnership, that Congregationalists were henceforth—as they had a perfect right to do—to look after their own interests, and that Presbyterians also must look to theirs.

But the latter even yet were slow to take the hint. It was, however, reflected and re-echoed in Congregational journals, till the deaf could hear. Congregational polity was glorified and Presbyterianism defamed. In the language of a writer in the *Boston Congregationalist*, not long since: “Within a few years, great efforts have been made to explain and commend the principles of Congregationalists as a denomination. This

has been a constant theme of discussion in religious papers, magazines and periodicals." This is only too true, and the result which was almost inevitable has followed. Congregationalists have been estranged from their Presbyterian brethren. There is scarce a meeting of an Association, or Convention, or even a collation, at which occasion is not taken to represent the two co-operative denominations as having distinct and separate, if not hostile interests. The *Congregational Herald* places Presbyterianism, as far as Church government is concerned, on the same platform with Episcopacy. In common with other journals more moderate in tone, it insists that it were better that co-operation in home missions should cease. Responding to the sentiment of the *Congregational Quarterly*, "in the meantime we hope that it is becoming more evident that Congregationalism and Presbyterianism are two," it says, "We sympathize with the hope. Wherever the field is wide enough for both, it is better that they should separate, doing their work in their own way. It was their common weakness and not their strength which led to their early co-operation in the missionary and education enterprises, and as each is growing stronger and more self-reliant, the call for such co-operation is feeblor."

In an address before the Congregational Union, some two or three years since, the speaker, with the general approval, and to the great satisfaction of most of his audience, took precisely the same ground. He thought that the scheme of co-operative effort "evinced only the wisdom and self-knowledge" to which the fathers had then "attained," but that "experience had yet her lessons to give," and that separation was fast becoming a necessity on the part of two polities which were in his view radically diverse.

In a similar strain, the authors of the report of the Education Society for 1858, no doubt measuring fully the meaning of their words, remark: "In the present state of the country, the two denominations can, without doubt, work with more vigor toward one great and common end—the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom—by separate action. It is, therefore, probably better that the transition period should be as brief as possible." And again: "So far from making any objection to

this course, we think it better, all things considered, that the transfer should be final and complete. We think in view of the present condition of affairs in the two bodies, we shall work more efficiently if we work separately."

To the same purport, the *Congregational Journal* of New Hampshire says: "We go for a dissolution of the partnership between Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians, rather than have the present state of things continue. . . . It would be the end of strife. . . . It would be the means of extending the home missionary work in both denominations. . . . Were all the various evangelical sects in this country to unite in one Society as the Congregationalists and New School Presbyterians have done for home missionary purposes, scarcely a more serious calamity could happen to Christianity as a living regenerating power. What we now witness in the workings of co-operation between only two uncongenial elements, would be carried throughout the whole of our American Zion. No, let each build his own house in his own way. . . .

In this matter, experience has proved that *division*, not union, is strength."

In like manner the *Congregational Quarterly* seems to exult in the prospective separation of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in the home missionary work, and looks forward cheerfully to the time when the organization of the Society will be left to the exclusive management and control of the former denomination. The *Boston Recorder*, commenting on the remarks of the Quarterly, which it quotes, adds the expression of its conviction that the division "would not be delayed for a single hour," were it not for the financial entanglements in the Society in which both denominations are involved. We have no doubt that these various journals and writers are honest in the expression of their convictions, and Congregationalists cannot complain if Presbyterians give them credit for meaning precisely what they say.

The last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church did give them such credit. They saw the hopelessness of every effort to produce any change in the policy of the Society so prejudicial to the prosperity of their churches. They sought in a Christian spirit, and by the adoption of a manly method of

proceeding, to reduce or remove the difficulties of which both denominations complain. They are not to be blamed for believing what they have been told in the *Congregational Quarterly* and elsewhere, that "both denominations are hampered by their union in the Society on the western field," and that a dissolution of the co-operative policy was called for alike by the dictates of wisdom and the demands of Christianity. In this belief, they took measures for the appointment of Committees from their own body and the New England Associations, with which they were in correspondence, for the purpose of a mutual conference which might consider and recommend what measures, if any, should be taken to relieve the present difficulties of the co-operative policy. Their action was based, not on fanciful representations, but on well-sustained facts. They supposed that Congregationalists,—complaining of Presbyterians on various grounds, and even individuals remarking on the assumed, but, as we are constrained from reliable testimony to believe, the untenable position that Presbyterians receive from the Society considerably more than they give—professing to favor separation and yet desirous to exercise and manifest a conciliatory spirit, would, if disposed to act in consistency with their own avowed sentiments, be prepared to meet them in consultation upon a problem of common interest to both denominations, and prayerfully and kindly deliberate on the methods which, in the present juncture, might best promote the cause of their common Master.

The manner in which their proposal was received by the New England Associations, is now a matter of history. Unanimously did these decline the proposed conference. If Presbyterians were dissatisfied, they might leave, but they should carry nothing with them,—no terms of compromise should be allowed—not even a hearing of their complaints should be permitted. One journal—perhaps with an imprudent frankness—went so far as to express the apprehension, that the ignorance of Congregationalists who might be appointed to the conference, might be such, in regard to the whole matter, as to endanger their being overmatched or convinced by their Presbyterian brethren.

We must confess, that with these facts of the case before us,

comment is as difficult as it is an unnecessary task. The facts speak for themselves. The leading minds and journals of the Congregational denomination have been echoing and re-echoing the sentiment, that the two denominations must separate, that their polities are widely distinct, that their interests are separate, that separation is inevitable, and that it were better that it should not be long delayed; and now, when the aggrieved party simply asks for a mutual conference from Congregational bodies with which it is in correspondence, in order that something may be devised to remedy the difficulty, if possible, the request is refused, and they who talked of a partnership, and a compact effected by twenty-seven volunteer Congregationalists and one hundred and two Presbyterians, the terms of which were to bind the two denominations thenceforth, start back with almost indignant surprise, exclaiming, as though it were proposed even to dissolve the Society, "We have no power to do any thing in the case."

Can it be that the proposal was so far misunderstood? Can it be that it was imagined that the conference proposed was to displace the officers of the Society, or remould its constitution? We can scarcely believe it. The plan of the Assembly was no Jesuit scheme—no Trojan horse. In a courteous and Christian spirit, it proposed what it had a perfect right to propose, and which it did not seem eminently courteous or Christian to reject.

As the matter stands, Presbyterians feel that they have been wronged. The Society denies them redress, and even the Congregational bodies with which they correspond, refuse them the hearing which they had modestly asked. History will make up her verdict on this refusal. And she will not consult for this, Congregational surmise and suspicion, but the abundant and repeated testimony of her leaders and leading journals, that even an entire separation of the two denominations in their co-operative policy, is desirable and necessary to the highest ends of the Gospel evangelization of the land.

There are several other points important to be considered in a full discussion of the subject, to a portion of which only we can now advert. The innovation of the Society upon its original and constitutional principles, has seriously affected,

and in some quarters, destroyed the confidence reposed hitherto in its management. Presbyterians, who have felt the injustice done them, cannot be expected henceforth heartily to co-operate with the Society. The misrepresentations which have gone abroad; which have been sanctioned, if not originated by the official organ of the Society, and which cannot well be corrected where the greatest apprehensions exist, have produced a degree of alienation between the two co-operative denominations, which greatly aggravate the difficulties, if it does not entirely preclude the hope of any satisfactory adjustment. The tenacity with which the new rule is maintained and defended by the managers of the Society, seems to forbid any prospect—even if the Congregational bodies were indifferent in the matter—of their receding from the positions taken. The volunteer circulation of the *New Englander*, in behalf of the publishers, by the agency of the Society, manifests the Congregational sympathy of those who can extend their official service, at the Society's expense, to circulate a denominational journal, which has several times interposed with Articles which have tended to pre-judge the whole question at issue. Leading Congregationalists and Congregational journals have freely assumed that the Society was soon to come under their sole and exclusive control. The tone in which some of them have dictated to the Society the policy it should pursue in cutting off the entire Presbyterian Church, threatening it, in case of failure to comply, with the withdrawal of the funds of New England Societies, and their disbursements, at the West, under the direction of their own executive committees, shows the confident assurance with which they regard the officers of the Society as their exclusive agents, and the intolerant spirit with which they regard the further co-operation of the two denominations.

Even in New England, it has been proposed, in order "to cut the knot," that the Massachusetts auxiliary should declare itself independent of the parent Society. The result of such a measure would undoubtedly lead either to the breaking down of the "National" Society, or to the enfeebling its operations, and seriously modifying its character. It has been suggested, beyond question, by the agitations which have recently prevailed in regard to certain of the benevolent Societies, and

which, sooner or later, may reach them all. The fact is, that on all sides, there is an increased jealousy of their management. Their growing power and patronage changes the feelings with which they are regarded, from confidence to suspicion. A spirit is abroad which demands a closer investigation of their proceedings. Financial waste and extravagance are in repeated instances brought to light; and while the personal integrity of the managers remains unimpeached, it becomes a grave question, how reform is possible.

We note these facts to show the altered relations in which the larger Societies now stand to the Churches. A quarter of a century has produced some changes of sentiment and feeling in the Presbyterian Church, but it has also produced most important changes in these Societies themselves, and in respect to the light in which they must be regarded. The policy that once was wise might be injudicious now. Thoughtful Christian men should study for their guidance the lessons of experience and the developments of Providence. The devotion to institutions is a human weakness, laudable in some of its aspects, but often tending to mislead. We may confer upon these human instrumentalities the honor which belongs to the Church of Christ alone. We may rob Zion of what is properly her due, and bestow it where it does not belong. Charity is greater than her instruments. The fountain is more than its channels. The organizations of benevolence are but the provisions for the distributions of its gifts, which may take almost any variety of shape. As worldly enterprise will open itself paths of effort, or devise methods of operation, so the enterprise of Christian charity will manifest its vital energy in seeking out spheres of effort through new methods, when the old prove insufficient or inadequate. An organization might perish, and the spirit of it might survive in other forms, but let charity die out, and all organizations will be vain to revive it.

The Home Missionary Society can no longer, but to a very limited extent, draw out the charitable energies of our Church. By its own measures it has shaken the confidence reposed in it. Yet, much as we must regret the fact, it may still, in the wise ordering of Providence, teach us some important lessons, which we have been slow to learn. Charity cannot be forced. It

must have, and it will find at last, its own channels, not through a rude iconoclasm, as objectionable as a blind idolatry, but by a wise study of the wants to be relieved, and the methods of reaching them best adapted to the nature and organization of the Church.

In the appendix we give certain evidences bearing on the facts:—1. That the rule in question, is new, [paper A.,] and 2. That Congregationalists have violated it with impunity, [paper B.] The particular attention of our readers is called to these facts.

APPENDIX.—A.

We have been given to understand in successive publications (Reports of Home Missionary) of the A. H. M. S., that the Rule has been of long standing, and that its principles have been acted upon through the entire period of the Society's existence. A sufficient reply to this is the indisputable fact that even where Presbyteries were auxiliary to the Presbyterian Board, their churches continued to receive aid as long as they desired it. We give the proof in the following statements, derived in part from the files of the *Missionary Reporter*, edited (1830, 1831) by Rev. J. T. Russell, Corresponding Secretary of the Assembly's Board of Missions, and printed in connection with the *Christian Advocate*; and in part from Annual Reports of the A. H. M. S.

Oxford Presbytery in Ohio—some of its churches were in Indiana:—The Oxford Presbytery became auxiliary to the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, April 7, 1830, by the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Oxford Presbytery be, and it is hereby formed into a Domestic Missionary Society, auxiliary to the Board of Missions belonging to the General Assembly in the United States of America.—*Missionary Reporter*, June, 1830. Page 321.

April 7, 1831.—The Oxford Presbytery passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the management of missionary concerns belong especially to the Church in her distinctive character, and that as a Presbytery we have full confidence in the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, and cordially approve of its proceedings, so far as they have come to our knowledge.—*Missionary Reporter for June*, 1831. Page 332.

Individual churches appear to have become auxiliary to that Board—sessional auxiliaries are mentioned in the *Missionary Reporter* for June, 1830, page 322, as numbering about 350, and a list is given occupying nearly a page in the *Missionary Reporter* for February, 1830, page 106.

Collections to the Board of Missions of the General Assembly in the Presbytery of Oxford:—

New Lexington, O.	<i>Miss. Rep.</i> , Feb., 1831,	\$5.80
Eaton, O.	do Nov., 1831,	20.25
Oxford Presbytery, by Rev. P. Monfort,	<i>Miss. Rep.</i> , May, 1831,	8.50
		\$34.55

Missionaries of the American Home Missionary Society in the Presbytery of Oxford, with the dates of commission and amount of aid:—Brownsville and Connorsville, Ind., Rev. Ulric Maynard one year, from November 8, 1830, four and a-half months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1831. Also one year from November 8, 1831, three and three quarters months' aid, *Ann. Report*, 1832.

This commission was given more than a year after the Presbytery became auxiliary to the Board of Missions, and seven months after the Resolution of April 7, 1831.

Greenville and Beulah churches one year, from October 26, 1830, three months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1831.—*Rev. John Ross.*

Vevay and Scotch and Dutch settlements, Ind. Rev. John Morrell one year, from November 20, 1831, his support pledged, (twelve months' aid,) but "it is expected the people will relieve the Society of most of his support."

The commission is repeated in the next report, with the pledge of full support.

Mr. Morrell was commissioned for Liberty, Brownsville and Connorsville, Ind., for nine months, from January 1, 1833, four and one-half months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1832 and 1834.

Presbytery of Mississippi:—In the *Missionary Reporter* of June, 1830, we find an acknowledgment of \$227.50, as received by the Board of Missions from the Presbytery of Mississippi, and we also find from the annual reports of the American Home Missionary Society for 1831 and 1832, that Rev. Peter Donan was a missionary of the Society at Vicksburg, Miss., one year, from November 1, 1830, with his full support (twelve months' aid) pledged, and that his commission was continued one year from March 25, 1831, with the same pledge of support.

With reference to the region of the South-West, the language of Rev. Dr. Van Court, of the St. Louis *Presbyterian*, is very

explicit. It supersedes altogether the necessity of any examination in regard to that field. He corresponded for aid with both the Board and the Society, and secured aid from both after the full statement of the fact. There was not the least objection on the part of the Society. The testimony of Dr. Van Court was given in an editorial article some months since. He distinctly asserts, on his own personal knowledge, that the rule of the Society is a *New Rule*.

Cincinnati Presbytery.—The Board of Missions acknowledges the receipt of \$100 from the Presbytery of Cincinnati, *Miss. Rep.*, April, 1831, also Synod of Cincinnati, by Treasurer, \$31.00, *Miss. Rep.*, January, 1831, and Williamsburgh, \$6.07, *Miss. Rep.*, January, 1831.

We also find the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati in the list of auxiliaries of the Board of Missions, *Miss. Rep.*, February, 1830, page 106.

The following churches in that Presbytery were aided by the American Home Missionary Society:—

Mount Pleasant, Rev. David Root, four months, from January 20, 1832, with two months' aid, that is, half his support.

New Richmond, Rev. Thomas Cole, one year, from September 14, 1830, six months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1831.

Batavia, Rev. James M. Rowland, one year, from November 9, 1831, seven and one-half months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1832.

Felicity, Rev. A. T. Rankin, one year, from April 1, 1832, three months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1833; also April 1, 1835, one and one-half months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1856.

Delhi, Rev. Horace Bushnell:

One year, from April 1, 1833,	$4\frac{1}{2}$ months' aid,	<i>Ann. Rep.</i> , 1833
“ “ 1834,	“ “ “	1835
“ “ 1835,	“ “ “	1836
“ “ 1836, 6	“ “ “	1837
“ “ 1837,	“ “ “	1838
“ “ 1838, 3	“ “ “	1839
“ “ 1839,	“ “ “	1840

Batavia, Rev. George Beecher:

One year, from June 4, 1833,	6 months' aid,	<i>Ann. Rep.</i> , 1834
“ May 5, 1834,	“ “ “	1835
“ “ 1835,	not given,	“ 1836
“ “ 1836,	$4\frac{1}{2}$ months' aid,	“ 1837
“ “ 1837,	“ “ “	1838

Presbytery of Troy:—In a list of auxiliaries to the General Assembly's Board of Missions in the *Missionary Reporter* of February, 1830, we find the following churches:

Troy, First Presbyterian Church; Troy, Second Presbyterian Church; Lansingburgh.

Collections to the Assembly's Board in that Presbytery:
 Whitehall Presbyterian Church, *Miss. Rep.*, June, 1830, \$7.00
 Lansingburgh " " " Feb., 1831, 50.00

\$57.00

We find the following churches in that Presbytery aided by the American Home Missionary Society.

Brunswick, Rev. Leonard Johnson.

One year, from Sept. 1, 1830, 2½ months of aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1831
 " " 1831, " " " 1832

Bolton, Rev. Reuben Willoughby:

One year, from Nov. 1, 1832, 4½ months of aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1833
 " " 1833, " " " 1834

Sandy Hill, Rev. Washington Rosevelt:

One year, from Dec. 1, 1831, 2½ months of aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1832
 " Oct. 14, 1833, " " " 1834

Hoosick, Rev. L. P. Blodgett:

One year, from April 23, 1832, 3 months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1832
 " " 11, 1833, " " " 1834
 " March 14, 1836, 2¼ " " " 1836

Sand Lake, Rev. Gardner Hayden:

One year, from July 1, 1832, 3 months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1833
 " " 1833, " " " 1834

Brunswick, Rev. Gardner Hayden:

One year, from Dec. 1, 1835, 1½ months' aid, *Ann. Rep.*, 1836
 " " 1836, " " " 1837

B.

The evidence is abundant to show that in the State of Illinois, especially, and to a large extent in other States, the Executive Committee of the A. H. M. S. have not applied their rule with impartiality. Congregational churches have largely contributed to the Missionary Association, while other churches in the same "ecclesiastical" body were largely aided by the Society. To make this more evident, we have chosen the very period for an examination, when the Society was harassing Alton Presbytery, to bring it to terms never imposed upon the Associations.

By examining the acknowledgment of receipts of the American Missionary Association, from August, 1854, to November, 1856, and also the Congregational Year Book for 1854 and 1858, and the Minutes of the Illinois Association for 1860, we find the following facts: In ascertaining the receipts, those churches only are taken which are mentioned as Congregational churches in connection with the donation. The account

of churches aided, is taken from the Reports of the American Home Missionary Society.

BUREAU ASSOCIATION, including churches which joined when organized.

Collections to the American Missionary Association, from November, 1854, to October, 1856, \$304.00.

Churches aided by the American Home Missionary Society:

Sheffield, in connection part of the time with Buda and Annavan, from May 1, 1854, to May 1, 1860. Rev. Addison Lyman, \$1500.00.

Annavan, in connection with Cornwall, one year from July 1, 1855, to July 1, 1858. Rev. Ava Prescott, \$688.00.

Kanavee:—Rev. C. H. Pierce, one year from July 1, 1855, \$200.00.

Mendota:—Rev. Newton Barrett, one year May 1, 1856, \$200.00; one year June 11, 1857, \$300.00.

CHICAGO ASSOCIATION.

Collections to the American Missionary Association,
\$1071.56.

Church aided by the American Home Missionary Society:

Crete:—Rev. Luman C. Smith, from December, 1853, to December, 1857, \$800.00.

ELGIN ASSOCIATION.

Collections to the Am. Missionary Association, \$400.95.

Churches in Elgin Association aided by the Am. Home Missionary Society.

Barrington:—Rev. D. S. Dickinson, from April 1, 1854, to April 1, 1856, \$675.00.

Sycamore:—Rev. Davies Gore, from September 15, 1854, to September 15, 1856, \$380.00.

Crystal Lake:—Rev. John V. Downs, January 1, 1855, to November 1855, at \$100 per year.

Rev. F. L. Fellows, from April 1, 1856, to April 1, 1860, \$460.00.

Dundee:—Rev. A. G. Hibberd, one year from July 1, 1857, \$100.

Tremont:—Rev. C. C. Adams, two years to March 1, 1857; date of the past year not given, \$500.00.

FOX RIVER UNION ASSOCIATION.

Collections to the Am. Missionary Association, \$531.06.

Churches in Fox River Union Association aided by the Am. Home Missionary Society:—

Napierville:—Rev. Hope Brown. The first year his support was pledged. We are not told what help he received from the Society, after that.

From May 25, 1846, to May 25, 1855, \$700.00.

There can be no doubt that the American Missionary Association was receiving funds from the churches of that Association, during the whole of Rev. Mr. Brown's ministry.

Oswego, First Church:—Rev. J. Van Antwerp, from May 1, 1854, to May 1, 1857, \$600.00.

Lamoille:—Rev. E. Colman, one year from May 27, 1855, \$200.00.

GENESEO ASSOCIATION.

Collections to the Am. Missionary Association, \$399.21.

Churches in Geneseo Association aided by the American Home Missionary Society:—

Cambridge:—Rev. J. D. Baber, from June 1, 1854, to June 1, 1858, \$800.00.

Port Byron and Hampton, each a part of the time and one year in connection.

From April 25, 1854, to April 5, 1860, \$950.00.

Como:—Rev. J. N. North, commissioned for two years from May 5, 1855, \$350.00.

Resigned, November 1, 1856: Rev. S. Hemenvay, December 1, 1856, \$100.00.

Must have left before the close of his commission. See below.

Albany:—Rev. James Quick, one year from October 1, 1856, \$200.00.

Must have left before the close of his commission.

Rev. S. Hemenvay, one year from Aug. 1, 1857, \$200.00.

ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION.

Collections to the Am. Missionary Association, \$342.50.

Churches aided by the American Home Missionary Society, in the Illinois Association.

Rockport and Atlas:—Rev. C. S. Cady, one year from April 1, 1854, \$150.00.

Montebello:—Rev. W. C. Merritt, from October 25, 1854, to October 25, 1856, \$500.00.

Round Prairie:—Rev. W. P. Coltrin, from December 1, 1854, to December 1, 1856, \$250.00.

Lattorpe:—Rev. T. H. Johnson, from April 20, 1854, to April 20, 1858, \$800.00.

Carthage:—Rev. W. B. Atkinson, one year from January 1, 1852. Commission for \$250.00.

Left October 1, 1856.

ROCKFORD ASSOCIATION.

Collections to the Am. Missionary Association, \$260.16.

Churches in the Rockford Association aided by the American Home Missionary Society.

Nora, in communication with a Presbyterian Church.

Rev. A. D. Laughlin, from May 15, 1855, to May 15, 1857, \$795.00.

Lee Centre:—Rev. S. W. Phelps, from May 20, 1854, to May 20, 1857, \$850.00.

Lysander and Burritt:—Rev. E. W. Kellogg, from October 5, 1855, to January 1, 1859, \$650.00.

The last commission was for three months

Winnebago:—Rev. Samuel Sloan, from July 1, 1855, to July, 1857, \$400.00.

Grand Detour:—Rev. S. Kellogg, from September 1, 1856, to September 1, 1858, \$350.00.

These facts speak for themselves. It may indeed be said that a part of the funds contributed to the Missionary Association, were for the foreign field, but in very few cases, indeed, are they thus specified, and even if the amount contributed were reduced by half, so as to correspond with the portion expended on the home field, the conclusion would still be, that on a quite extended scale, Congregationalists had violated the new rule of the Society, and had still been left unmolested.

ARTICLE VI.

THE FATHERS OF THE HARRISBURG PRESBYTERY.

When the measures which divided the Presbyterian Church in 1838, were entered upon, the opposition to them, and especially to the two which were most prominent—the Act and Testimony and the Excising Acts—came from two classes of men, who were very different in their origin as in their character. The one class either came themselves from New England, or claimed their ancestry there. Their Presbyterianism was, to a considerable extent, a matter of expediency; their doctrinal views, of a mild type of Calvinism, and their attachments and associations were, to a great extent, Puritan. As the violent and aggressive party were, but few of them, of this lineage or mode of thinking, one of the sources of bitterness, in the contest, was this diversity of origin, and methods of thought and action. The Schools did not differ, essentially, either as to doctrine or order, but when they were exasperated by party feeling, every diversity of national origin, phraseology, thought, and even accent, was seized upon as a badge of truth or error.

The other class was of Scottish or Scotch-Irish lineage. They were all original and thorough Presbyterians. For the most part, they had no new speculations in theology to announce, and advocated no changes in church order. Their spirit was that of the American Presbyterian Church, from the beginning. The sermons which they preached before 1838, they preached afterwards. They had been associated with their brethren of similar origin, in a thousand ways. They had been brought to the saving knowledge of the Redeemer under the same ministry; they had gone to the same schools; they had studied out of the same Latin Grammar; they had married into the same families; they had common recollections of the same ancestry;

they had communed together, preached and prayed and wept together, when God had poured out his Spirit on their churches; they had ridden side by side to the same Presbytery and Synod, and held commissions together in the same General Assembly. Their thoughts, traditions, books, plans, counsels, hopes and fears, even their prejudices, were the same, and those whose common blood ran in their veins, rested side by side in the same quiet graveyard.

When the storm swept over the Presbyterian Church, it would have been supposed that this class of men would all have stood together. To a great extent it was so. Men in whom they had confidence, assured them that heresy was rampant, and that the ark of God was in danger. The panic was an intense one, and it carried multitudes with it. And besides those who, in some way, were induced to believe in the supposed danger, there was a considerable class of *mediocre* or inferior men, who followed their leaders, or went by sympathy with the mass of those of common origin with themselves, without much investigation.

It hence followed that when a man of Scottish or Scotch-Irish origin, took ground against the Act and Testimony, or the Exscinding Acts, he was usually an independent thinker. Some of them, of course, had formed associations and connections, in various ways, with men of Puritan origin. Some had been educated in New England, or had become attached to the revival measures, or modes of thinking and acting of the Puritan class; and some, especially, whose hearts were deeply spiritual, felt that the revival preachers were men of God, and earnestly and solemnly devoted to his work. But these exceptions aside, and allowance being made for this counter prejudice or prepossession, the men of the lineage of which we speak, in opposing the measures of their exscinding brethren, were actuated by the highest and purest motives. They acted in the spirit of martyrdom. Not all who thought with them had the courage to act with them. There were men—some of them persons of learning and high standing—who were as fully satisfied as were their brethren, of the unconstitutional character of the measures adopted, but they shrank from the trial of risking their good name, their position in the Church, their means of living, their earthly all, for a principle. They could

not bear to separate from brethren and friends, from all that, to them, made up the warm realities and gentle charities of life, and go into untried connections; to associate with strangers, and in middle or old age, and from the bosom to a powerful ecclesiasticism, go forth as to a new enterprise, to construct a Church. Hence they spoke of their dislike to these violent measures; they absented themselves from church courts, or voted *non liquet*, or at most recorded their name against revolutionary violence; and when sore pressed by conscience, they, in some cases, placed their protests on the minutes of their ecclesiastical bodies, or published them in the newspapers. These things done, they acquiesced in what they saw no method of preventing, and remained in connection with their excising friends. They have since striven to persuade themselves, from the success which has attended their Church, that it was all right, that the result has proven it, that they were too timid, or were mistaken, and that "Providence has favored the heavy battalions." It is tremulously that they say such things, and much in the spirit described by the great Roman satirist:—

Ut sit magna, tamen certe *lenta* ira Deorum est.
 Si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes,
 Quando ad me venient? Sed et exorabile numen
 Fortasse experiar: solet his ignoscere. Multi
 Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato.
 Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema.

We only say, *The end is not yet*. How startlingly like the ninety-fourth Psalm, this grand old Roman writes! "They break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and afflict thy heritage. Yet they say, the Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it. He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see?"

Nec surdum, nec Tiresiam quenquam esse Deorum.

In strong contrast with this class, who, we fear, took counsel too much of flesh and blood, were the men who, with no purpose to gain, with no improvement in theology to urge, with no new measure to inaugurate, with no possible expectation of personal aggrandizement, with no prejudice to gratify, and against every worldly inducement, stood firmly by the simple

right, because it was right. We are sensible of a sin of omission in regard to them. They asked no praise; they expected no monument; they stood in the quiet fear of God in their lot, uncheered by any human voice, unsustained by any *prestige* of popularity. They had not put themselves forward, or desired to govern the Church. But, in the providence of God, the question came to their home, to their church, to their presbytery, whether they would sanction wrong; and they quietly refused to do it.

We cannot be mistaken when we say that such men had the spirit of the primitive believer. Dwelling obscurely in some province of the Roman Empire, the proconsul received orders that this new sect should be extirpated. Brought to the temple of Jupiter, the Christian, who had sought not notoriety, but only asked permission to serve God in peace, is placed before the statue, and asked only to cast one grain of incense into the censer of the god. "Sum Christianus," is his sublime reply, and he is led straight to execution. It was when Tetzel brought his indulgences within Luther's parish, among the people, *for whose souls he was responsible*, that he rose like a lion from the swellings of Jordan, to oppose such wickedness. This is the special type of the excellence of these our fathers, whose sepulchres we feel it our duty to garnish. They did not go out of their way to oppose any man, but in the place the Lord had put them, they stood patiently and unswervingly for the truth and order of his house. "Here stand I," said Luther, and he said it, not as we now think of it, with applauding millions looking on. He said it as a lone man, with the martyrdom of Huss in his eye, and nothing but God and his own steadfast soul to strengthen him. "Here stand I. I can do no otherwise. God help me! Amen." So stood these our fathers. They are before the throne, and human praise is nothing to them, but it is something to us that such moral greatness should not go unchronicled. So stood the Scottish martyrs, their own ancestors. Such were the men who mouldered in the prison of the Bass; who went to heaven from the gallows of the Grassmarket; who fought for Christ's crown and covenant at Drumclog, and who perished with the pure maiden, Margaret Wilson, in the rising tides of Solway Frith. We

knew them well, and we knew their motives. No men ever acted, in any age of the Church, or under any dark cloud of circumstances permitted by the gracious God to try the Christian's faith, with an eye more single to his glory, or with less admixture of earthly dross to mar their noble example. We know what we speak and whereof we affirm. And hence do we feel that we owe them a debt not yet paid, and which our Church should hasten to redeem.

There are about one hundred and twenty thousand Presbyterian church members, of all kinds, within the State of Pennsylvania; three-fourths of whom are of Scottish or Irish origin. A million of people in the State are descended from this stock. As we remarked in a former Article in this Review, it was the policy of the proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, to settle the Scottish and Irish people on the lower Susquehanna and the Juniata, so as to avoid collision with the other settlers, especially the Germans. It hence came to be the fact, that the Presbytery of Carlisle, constituted now nearly one hundred years ago,* and some of its churches being almost one hundred and thirty years old,† lay in the very heart of this great Scotch-Irish settlement. It could not be otherwise than that they should be greatly agitated by the occurrences of the Second Great Schism in our Church, as they had been by those of the First, for there were, even at that early day, both Old and New side men in its bounds.

The first prosecution for alleged heresy, accordingly, preceding those of Dr. Beecher and Mr. Barnes, took place in this Presbytery. The Rev. George Duffield, D. D., was arraigned and tried upon charges founded upon an elaborate work of seven hundred pages on Regeneration, which he had published. After an agitating trial, protracted through several meetings of Presbytery; through the tact of the Rev. Robert Kennedy, one of the Committee of Prosecution, who introduced a resolution of simple admonition, which was passed because

* The *original* creation was in 1765. There were subsequent fluctuations, not necessary to be noticed here. See the Records of the Presbyterian Church, p. 348.

† Paxton and Derry. See a communication to the old Synod, in 1736. Records, p. 125.

the Presbytery were afraid to proceed to extremities, and knew not what else to do, the whole matter terminated in nothing. A notable attempt to burn a man alive for the sin of—metaphysics.

As introductory to our purpose, we do not know that we can do better than to bring in an extract from a letter of Dr. Duffield, in which he speaks with affectionate regard of the men to whom we desire to call attention in these brief notices. The letter was prompted by some inquiries addressed to him in relation to Mr. Kennedy. It is dated at Detroit, on the fifteenth of August of this year:—

“It gives me pleasure to contribute any thing to preserve the memory of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, for whom I ever cherished a strong affection, though a considerable degree of seniority and remoteness of abode from my own, rendered our intercourse but occasional. Mr. Kennedy, Rev. Dr. Cathcart and Dr. Paxton were altogether unlike the men that were leaders of the Presbytery of Carlisle. Neither to Dr. Cathcart nor to Dr. Paxton,* has justice been done, and far less to Mr. Kennedy. He was a fine classic scholar, a man of real humour, keen wit, and not a little drollery. His sarcasm was delicate, pointed, and always made a clear cut, like a sharp, smooth, highly sharpened razor. But for the occasion of the trial, in which prominence was given to myself, and for which was manufactured a crying fame, Mr. Kennedy would have continued in his quietude, and been contented to live and die with more regard to the eye of the Master than to those of his fellows. He was given a conspicuous place then by the Presbytery, as one of the Committee of Prosecution, and though reluctantly acting, virtually exposed the real character of the prosecution. He never conferred with me, nor corresponded

* In Dr. Sprague's Annals, Vol. III., page 554, will be found a well-written letter by the late Dr. M'Conaughy, giving a sketch of Dr. Paxton. Professor Paxton, of the Allegheny Theological Seminary, is his grandson. The similarity of the name with the Indian Paxton, Paixtung, or Paxetung—five or six methods of spelling in the old records—seems to be merely a coincidence, curious from the fact of the residence of this family so near the “Paxton Boys,” for both lived in Lancaster County. The name, however, is that of a town in Berwickshire, Scotland, and of two parishes in Huntingdonshire, England.

with me, and was too independent and honorable to lend his ear to any, but formed his own independent judgment upon the data that came before him in the publications of the day, and the progress of the trial. His speech threw the partizans into amazement and bewilderment. The final resolution of the Presbytery, which I have always believed was from his pen, left me most unexpectedly in a position that rendered it unnecessary for me to carry the case, by appeal, to the General Assembly.

“Mr. Kennedy was an original, independent thinker; quiet, modest, reserved, known only to his friends. He eschewed the petty ecclesiastical strifes of the day, and laboriously and meekly prosecuted his Master’s work. I wish I knew more of him, but it was only during the times of trial, in which I was so deeply involved, that I was brought in close contact with him, and, but for it, would never have known the simplicity, fervor and noble disinterestedness of his heart. He was much better known to the late John M’Knight, that most estimable brother, tenderly beloved by me, having lived nearer to him, and laboring in a congregation adjoining to one of his. Mr. Kennedy was of the real sterling old Scotch-Irish Lancaster County stock of Presbyterians. Dr. Cathcart was of the same race, and among the last of the kind that the North of Ireland transferred to our shores. The above is given impromptu, and mainly, if possible, to impart to your own mind somewhat of the fervor of that respect and friendship I cherished for Mr. Kennedy, in view of his manly, wise, politic, disinterested and most efficacious attempts to defend what he regarded right and truth, from the violence and prejudice of his brethren.”

* * * * *

Mr. E. D. Kennedy called upon us with a mass of materials for a sketch of his father’s life. In the most modest manner he stated that the librarian to the Presbyterian Historical Society wished him to deposit in the archives of that society, some memorial of him. He had gathered up these materials, not with any view whatever to publication, but simply that they might be laid away quietly among other memorials of good men. He had written to the Rev. Dr. Elliott of the Allegheny Seminary, for a sketch of his father’s life, and liked it very

well, as Dr. E. was a neighbor and acquaintance of his father, only that at the point where Mr. Kennedy had taken his stand in the Church difficulties, he thought Dr. E. had hardly done him justice. He had written to the Rev. Dr. De Witt of Harrisburg, to supplement the narrative, and Dr. D. had replied, advising that the materials should all be placed in the hands of the Editor of this Review, and that a sketch of Mr. Kennedy should be published in it, instead of being merely deposited with the Historical Society. Mr. Kennedy, however, did not propose this, but thought that perhaps the Editor would supplement the sketch to be deposited with the Society; that thus a true and complete narrative might be left for any one who might at any time feel an interest in it.

It was thus that we came to prepare this Article on the Rev. Robert Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Cathcart. The more we thought of it, the more we felt that something should be published concerning them *as representative men; as belonging to a class, who, at a great crisis, without thought of applause, did one of the noblest of human deeds for Christ and for his Church; as men who aided to keep alive the power of nobleness, and whose moral courage was far greater than they ever thought it was.* As an example and encouragement to the silently great; to the unconscious heroes; we devote these few pages to the lives of Robert Kennedy and Robert Cathcart.

The following is from the sketch prepared by Dr. Elliott, with some additions by Mr. E. D. Kennedy:—

The Rev. Robert Kennedy was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on the 4th of July, 1778. His grandfather, William Kennedy, with his brother Robert, emigrated from Ireland to this country in 1730, and settled in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. Robert had a son, William, who was a major in the revolutionary army, and was killed by the tories near the commencement of the war. Some members of that branch of the family continued to reside in the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia up to 1836. William Kennedy, the brother of Robert, and grandfather of the subject of this memoir, had four sons, Thomas, James, Robert, and John,—and three daughters. James, the second son, was married in 1761 to Jane Maxwell, daughter of John Maxwell, and sister of General Maxwell of revolutionary memory. They had twelve children, of whom Robert, afterwards the Rev. Robert Kennedy, was the ninth. Of his early history, and under whose direction he received his elementary and classical education, we have no information further than that tradition reports him to have been a

youth of steady habits. He made a profession of religion in the church at Pequea, but at what time is not known. His collegiate education was received at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he graduated, September 20th, 1797. He studied theology with the Rev. Nathaniel Sample, then pastor of the congregations of Lancaster and Middle Octorara. Being in due time introduced to the Presbytery of New Castle by Mr. Sample, he was taken under their care as a candidate for the Gospel ministry, on the 12th of June, 1798, and on the 20th of August, 1799, he was licensed at Upper Octorara to preach the Gospel. At the request of the church of that place, he was appointed by the Presbytery to supply them half of the time for six months. At the close of this time, by the leave of Presbytery, he travelled without their bounds, and spent the greater part of the time in supplying vacant churches in the Presbytery of Carlisle. On the 30th September, 1800, he was dismissed by the Presbytery of New Castle to put himself under the care of the Presbytery of Carlisle, and received by this latter Presbytery on the 7th of October, 1800. On the 9th of September, 1802, a call was put into his hands from the united congregations of East and Lower West Conococheague, known as Green Castle and Welsh Run, which call he accepted, and on the 13th of August, 1803, he was ordained to the office of the holy ministry, and installed the pastor of said churches. In these churches he continued to labor until the 9th of April, 1816, when, at his request, the pastoral relation between him and them was dissolved. His action in relation to this matter was believed by many of his most judicious friends to have been too hasty, as the circumstances were altogether insufficient to authorize so important a step. A very fulsome obituary notice of a young man of the congregation, who had been an officer in the army during the war just closed, had been published in some of the papers in that vicinity. Mr. Kennedy entertained a high regard for the character of the young man, but thought the production in very bad taste. Some one was so unfortunate as to misunderstand his views, and represented the matter to the family of the deceased in such a manner as to wound their feelings. Some remarks, also, which he made from the pulpit on a day of especial observance, were interpreted by prejudiced politicians as having a party aspect, and these things were caught up and repeated by the gossiping members of his church, in every circle in which they moved. Mr. Kennedy hearing them, and being of a sensitive nature, without consulting any of his friends, announced to his congregation, after preaching on the Sabbath, that he would apply to the Presbytery, at its next meeting, for a dissolution of his pastoral relations to his congregation. By the persuasion of his friends, however, when the matter became known, the application was either not made to the Presbytery, or, if made, was withdrawn. But he made an application to the Presbytery at their meeting on the 9th of April, 1816, and his pastoral relations were dissolved.

During the month of May, 1816, he removed with his family to Cumberland, Maryland, where he had been invited to preach to a

small church, and take the charge of the Academy. Upon his arrival there, he delivered an address before the Board of Trustees of the Academy, which was so favorably received that a copy of it was requested by them for publication. Previous to the removal of Mr. Kennedy to Cumberland, the Methodists had the principal occupancy of the ground. His plain, vigorous, and fearless manner of preaching awakened their jealousy, and aroused them to opposition; although friendly at first, after some time they withdrew their intercourse, and kept aloof from his preaching. His geographical position, at the extreme western border of the Presbytery, cut off from intercourse with his ministerial brethren, left him to act alone, without the counsel or sympathy of those with whom he had been accustomed to consult and act. His situation was one calculated to produce discouragement. Feeling the loneliness of his position, as it regarded ministerial and ecclesiastical intercourse, he projected the organization of a new Presbytery, as indicated in a letter to a clerical friend. It was to consist of five members, who lived within a compass of sixty miles. But the project was never carried into effect.

In the midsts of his discouragements, however, he was not left without some token of Divine favor. In 1820, God visited his church and the town, with a precious revival of religion, during which a goodly number were converted to Christ. But the next year, movements of a different character made their appearance. Theatrical exhibitions were introduced into the town by the young men of the place, to the great detriment of religion. Articles in their favor were written and published in the papers of the town. Mr. Kennedy furnished anonymous articles in reply, and so scorching was one of them, that the name of the author was demanded, with threats of punishment when he should be discovered. The name was given with his consent; but although it created great excitement, they did not carry their threats into effect. Mr. Kennedy firmly maintained his ground, in which, to their honor be it recorded, he was sustained by the pious Methodists and Lutherans of the town. But the Episcopalians were on the side of the Thespians. As time passed on, various efforts were made by his opposers to remove him from the Academy. It was alleged that he was too indulgent to the boys, which prevented their improvement. The true cause, however, was, as he informed the parents, that the lads were deficient in brains. But his candor gave offence, and drew down on him the displeasure of some of the patrons of the school.

At one time, during his absence, an Episcopal Board of Trustees was elected, and a teacher was brought in, but soon left. Finding that his salary from the church and the proceeds from the school were not enough to support his family, and keep his son at the Theological Seminary at Princeton, he concluded to return to his former residence on a farm, within the bounds of the congregation of Welch Run, in the Spring of 1825. The church of Welch Run being vacant—Green Castle having secured the whole of the labors of a pastor—Mr. Kennedy preached to them as a stated supply, giving part of his time to the congregation of Great Cove, at McConnells town. He

continued in charge of these two churches until 1833, when his labors were divided between the Welch Run Church and some of the small towns in the neighborhood. As neither of these congregations could afford to give him much of a salary, he supported his family by his own exertions on his farm in Franklin county. He established the habit of cutting harvest without the use of liquor, against great opposition both from the laborers and the farmers. At first it appeared as if he would lose his whole crop, on which his family depended; but he shouldered his cradle himself, assisted only by a hired lad of sixteen years, his little son of twelve, and a bound boy of eleven. After the first day, his daughter begged that she might be allowed to assist her father. This little party toiled from day to day, in the hot sun, without making much headway, until after the neighbors had cut their harvests, when they nobly came to his assistance, with their hands, and cut the whole of the remainder of his crop in one day. After the first year or two, he had no difficulty in getting as many hands as he required, and now no person in that neighborhood thinks of taking liquor to the harvest field.

Mr. Kennedy was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was united February 17th, 1801, was Jane Herron, sister of Rev. Dr. Herron, of Pittsburgh; she died May 31st, 1803. By her he had two sons, one of whom, John H. Kennedy, became a minister in the Presbyterian Church, and was for a time pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and afterwards a Professor for a number of years in Jefferson College, Pennsylvania. He was married a second time, on the 5th of June, 1806, to Mary Davidson, of Franklin county, Pennsylvania, by whom he had ten children, all of whom are dead (1858) but one son and one daughter.

In stature Mr. Kennedy was of medium size, slender, and of fair complexion, blue eyes, very near-sighted, and rather careless in his dress. He was plain and unostentatious in his manners and in all his habits. He was a man of vigorous intellect, and a fine scholar, especially in classical literature. As a preacher, he held a very respectable rank in a Presbytery in which he had as compeers some of the ablest men in the Presbyterian Church. His sermons were full of solid evangelical matter, well arranged, and forcibly expressed, were written in full, committed to memory, and delivered without notes. His style was highly figurative, but sometimes deficient in taste. His delivery was earnest and persuasive, but not very graceful. He rarely failed, however, to secure the fixed and sustained attention of his audience. Upon the whole, he was a good preacher, a scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God. He was a man of great frankness of character; he never disguised his opinions, but fearlessly avowed them without reserve on all proper occasions. In debate or writing for publication, he frequently made use of classical quotations. He was sometimes sarcastic, in the indulgence of which he occasionally gave offence.

Mr. Kennedy's piety was intelligent and practical, the product of spiritual illumination and sanctifying grace, with great freedom from pretension on his part. It manifested itself in a clear comprehension of the system of divine truth as revealed in the word of God, and

in a consistent and active obedience to the requirements of duty. Although we have no account of his conversion, or of the inward expression of his heart at this time, we have what is equivalent in a paper found among his manuscripts, bearing date December 8th, 1798, between eight and nine months previous to his licensure. This paper is denominated, "A solemn dedication of all I have and am to the service of God." In this solemn act of consecration, signed and sealed by his own hand, there is ample evidence of a deep and earnest exercise of soul, under the saving influences of the Spirit of God.

Shortly before Mr. Kennedy's death, Rev. Mr. Davie said to him: "Father Kennedy, you have often administered the consolations of religion to others, will you leave to us, who are to stand in your stead, your feelings in dying?" He calmly replied: "I do not experience those rapturous feelings which some have spoken of in dying, but my faith in the efficacy of the blood and atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is as strong as ever."

Shortly before his death, and after his sight had fled, he requested his wife to call his children around his bed-side; and when informed that they were there, he raised his head and said: "My dear children, I am about to leave you; may the blessing of God rest with you through time and eternity;" and in a few minutes thereafter he died.

His death was on October 31st, 1843, of a lingering disease of near a year's standing, caused by a fall, and from exposure to damp when his system was under the influence of medicine.

The Rev. Matthew Brown, D. D., for many years President of Jefferson College, preached the funeral sermon of Professor Kennedy, the son of Rev. Robert Kennedy, referred to in Dr. Elliott's sketch. The sermon was delivered in the College Chapel, December 24th, 1840. Dr. Brown speaks very highly of Professor Kennedy. He was graduated at Jefferson College, and at the Theological Seminary at Princeton. He was a nephew of the venerable Dr. Herron, so many years pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Pittsburgh, his mother being Dr. Herron's sister. He was commissioned Chaplain to go out in the Brandywine, the government vessel appointed to carry Lafayette back to his native land. But the appointment did not reach him till after his instalment. In his twenty-fourth year he received a call to the Sixth Church in this city, then vacant by the translation of Dr. Neill to the Presidency of Dickinson College. That type of his theology may be known from the fact that Dr. Green was one of his pew-holders. Resigning his charge after four years' settlement, he accepted the Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Jef-

person College, preaching also to a congregation in the neighborhood. He died of consumption in his thirty-ninth year.

We have descriptions in English literature, of the lives of beneficed clergymen. The affectionate veneration of Goldsmith, touching his sweet and golden genius, has made the country vicar classic, wherever our language is known. The whole structure of English society, is, happily, so penetrated by the Established Church, that every book of country life contains its rector or its curate. Presbyterian ministers have hardly been so fortunate in their chroniclers. Sir Walter Scott was not prepared to do them justice, and while Professor Wilson has written far more truly of them, yet, usually, they stand out upon the page of general history and literature, rather at those salient times when the stern virtues, for which they are remarkable, were needed. The world understands that they do not blench when the storm is wildest. It has learned that neither the thickest of the battle field, or the roar of the populace, or the slow tortures of the dungeon, or the sharp pains of martyrdom, has been able to subdue their unquenchable spirit. It has fallen to their lot, too, to encourage revolution, because they have always stood by popular rights, when other men have gained the reputation of Christian mildness, by shrinking from them. They, too, have been called, in the world's history, to maintain those sterner forms of Christian doctrine, which the world else would have allowed to die. In a word, *because other men would not do the work*, the Presbyterian ministry have been the forlorn hope; the volunteer storming party; the defenders of lone towers; the besieged in famine-stricken cities; the leaders of the persecuted hill-folk; the guides of colonies of outlawed men; the apostles of liberty when liberty was most unpopular—they have been every thing except flatterers in courts and encouragers of despotism.

But it is not so well known, at least by the world at large, what their manner of life has been in milder times, and in the quiet society of their families and their flocks. Thoroughly educated, usually having attended an academy where *sound* instruction was given, then graduated at college and at the theological seminary, they accept a call in some obscure place, where they expect to be quiet, do some good, and by the mercy

of God, reach heaven at last. The detestable habit of dismissing a minister every few years, has scarcely reached those secluded retreats, and a pastorate extended to from twenty to fifty years, was not uncommon. Thus they lived in the same parsonage all this time; they baptized and married almost two generations, and very many whom they loved they had laid in the grave. With each successive year they took deeper hold upon the hearts of their people; their children grew up, known and loved by the whole neighborhood. Here they studied quietly and undisturbed the Word of God, old tomes of sound divinity and standard literature; the works they read had the advantage of being worth reading; the world, often many generations of it, had sifted out the chaff for them, and they gave their time and thoughts only to books that had been stamped as standard, by mankind. Some of them taught small classical schools; a dozen or more boys or young men, preparing for college, received a thorough training in Greek and Latin, especially in Homer and Horace. They preached sound theology on the Sabbath, and gradually wrought into the minds and hearts of their people, the very truth of God's Book. The world roared through great cities, and poured its waves along great highways; it disturbed them but little; they abode under the shadow of the Almighty. High thoughts, indeed, were theirs, but they were mainly thoughts of God's purposes, conceived in eternity, and in process of execution here, and their profoundest delight was in seeing the seeds of divine truth blossoming from the hearts of the young immortals committed to their charge. To them, the meeting of the Presbytery and the Synod, were events, and some three or four times in their lives, they were interested, but rather quiet members, of the General Assembly in Philadelphia. Stern only in defence of the principles of their faith, and in their judgments of themselves, there bloomed all along their lives the gentleness of Christ, and around no men gathered a body of people more reliable for every thing which sustains and elevates a State. From such flocks came forth, at need, patriots to defend their country, and honest men in every department of life. The religion of these churches was never a trade or a mere sentiment; it was sacred as the ark of the covenant, and deep as the sun-

less caverns of the immortal spirit. We say not that a different race might not have been trained to excellence by different methods, but if Presbyterianism is a synonym for great and good results, it is owing to the patient labor, the undying energy, and the faithful piety of these men.

At the meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia at Gettysburg, in 1834, the subject of the approval of the Act and Testimony came under consideration. It is well known that this was a document of the then ultra "Old School," who were endeavoring to rally the Church to the division which ultimately was accomplished by the Excising Acts. The Act and Testimony was opposed by the Princeton Professors, and the moderate "Old School" men, but was earnestly pressed by its friends as a test of orthodoxy. Mr. Kennedy made a speech against it, which was so much admired, that six months after its delivery, he was urged to publish it, and in consequence, sent it to the *Philadelphian*, then edited by Dr. Ely. We make some extracts from this speech, to show the peculiar character of Mr. Kennedy's mind. In his letter, forwarding it, he says:—"Should Dr. Ely consent to publish it, I hope it may be of some use to promote good humor and kindly feelings among the brethren who may meet in Pittsburgh. I have added a few notes for the purpose of illustration and amusement."

"Ridiculum acri

Fortius et melius, magnas plerumque secat res."

The Act and Testimony is a broad text, and might easily furnish materials for a long speech; but wishing not to be tedious, I shall select two particulars, as the subjects of remark. The first is the charge against the General Assembly, of countenancing error and heresy; and the second of having constituted an elective affinity Presbytery and Synod.

I. The Act and Testimony speaks "of alarming errors, which have hitherto been connived at, and now at length have been countenanced and sustained by the acts of the supreme judicature of our Church." It is not my intention to assert the infallibility of the General Assembly. Whether the tribunal of the Pope in a general council, be infallible or not, we will all readily admit, that there is no infallible tribunal in the Presbyterian Church. But there is a tribunal of final resort; and the proceedings of this tribunal claim and deserve a respectful consideration and obedience of all the members, and of all the inferior judicatures of our church. If the General Assembly has erred, (as no doubt it has in many instances,) we who are Presbyterians ought

to treat its errors, as a dutiful child does those of a beloved father; we ought to exercise respectful forbearance and submission, so far as the higher authority of God and conscience will permit. Such submission we have all promised in our ordination vows, and in the very nature of things it must be due to a tribunal of final resort. With becoming deference to the General Assembly, let us examine whether the high charges contained in the Act and Testimony are just or not.

It charges the Assembly with countenancing and sustaining *alarming errors*—yes, *alarming errors*. Now, sir, this Madam Alarm is as insidious a huzzy as ever lived on the earth. You know how the jade deceived Demosthenes. At the battle of Cheronea when Madam Alarm was driving him in full flight through the woods, his coat caught upon a thorn bush, and supposing it to be a Macedonian soldier, he cried aloud to spare his life.

From this it appears that the wisest and even the bravest of men are not entirely secure from the delusions of Madam Alarm. But some men are much more liable to her impositions than others; and these are sometimes men of a high degree of refinement and integrity. Some of our city clergy who have more study than exercise, have such a nervous sensitiveness, that the slightest touch seems to go to their hearts. Now, when the edge of controversy is brought to operate upon their nervous system in such a state of excitability, it immediately throws them into the *horrors*. While in this unhappy condition, mere straws become stumbling-blocks; and a bramble bush or even a shadow, seen through the fog of their gloomy imaginations, appears like hydras, and gorgons, and chimeras dire. And when the pinions of these unfortunate brethren are once erected, it is impossible to smooth them down, either by the exercise of their own reason, or by the assurances of others. Every attempt to calm their troubled spirits, only increases the fever of their alarm. It matters not how good, and wise, and judicious they may be on other occasions, their alarm now operates as an inverting lens, which turns every object upside down, and exhibits before them the most frightful monsters. A curious anecdote illustrative of this, is related in Cook's Voyages. When the crew put in at Tortoise Island to obtain a fresh supply of provisions, one of the sailors got lost, and was missing for several days. When ready to sail, they all set out in search of their lost companion. All day they searched in vain. In the evening they saw a large track in the sand, and being a good deal alarmed, they encamped for the night, kindled fires, and set out guards. About midnight one of the guards fired an alarm, and roused the whole crew, assuring them that he had seen something like a great bear creeping towards the fire. The commander next espied the monster, and fancied it was as large as an elephant, and ordered out a sergeant with his picket to shoot it. But the sergeant was no alarmist. He wished to see what it was before he would shoot it; and he soon perceived that it was a man; and he joyfully recognized their lost companion, who was so famished that he could only crawl on his hands and knees. Had this sergeant been as much alarmed as his captain, he would have killed his companion. But he was a cold-blooded *fence-man*. And I who am a *fence-man*

too, beg leave to assure our alarmed brethren, that those whom they conceive to be heretics, are not monsters,—they are really men like themselves; their companions in the gospel ministry; and if they will fire on them and destroy them, they will do an injury to the cause of their Master and to their fellow-creatures which cannot be easily repaired.

Some of our beloved brethren who have unfortunately fallen into the delusions of Madam Alarm, have been induced to form the most awful conceptions of these errors. There were some blots upon Mr. Barnes' sermon which attracted their notice, which at first appeared very small, but every time they spoke or wrote upon the subject, they seemed to get larger and larger; and at last they seemed to spread over the whole paper and became awfully alarming. It reminds me of an incident which happened when I was a boy. As my brother and I were turning the cows into the pasture, he perceived a fire-fly rising from an old graveyard; at first it seemed the size of a candle,—then as large as a dog,—again like a horse,—and at last like a burning mountain,—and then he shouted to me to run for life. But I happened to be no more alarmed with the burning mountain than I am now with the errors of Barnes' sermon.

II. I proceed now to the second topic of remark—the charge against the Assembly for authorizing a Presbytery and Synod to be constituted on the principle of elective affinity.

What elective affinity in a chemical sense is, I cannot precisely say; for this delightful and useful branch of study, in my youthful days was not a common part of academical education; but from what I have seen on the subject, instead of being so alarming and dangerous as some of the brethren imagine, it is one of the most amiable and useful principles in nature. It is this which brings those particles of matter together, which are suitable to be formed into one body, and rejects those which are unsuitable. If it were not for this principle of elective affinity—if the particles of matter coalesced and united, without any choice, just as they might happen to come into contact, we would have abundance of scuff and dross, and asperity and opacity, but nothing of the regular and uniform texture of the useful and precious metals, or the medicinal preparations of salts and alkalis, or the beautiful brilliancy of crystals and gems.

And probably a chemical botanist could trace this principle of elective affinity through the whole vegetable kingdom, and show how every tree, and shrub, and plant, selects those particles of nutriment which are most appropriate, and rejects those which are useless or offensive.

And among the animals, whether beasts, birds, fish or insects, this principle is proverbially prevalent,—“Every kind loves its own kind.” “Birds of a feather flock together.” When the little feathered songsters are permitted to select their own companions and their own perches, they warble their morning matins with transporting melody; but if you force the canary and mocking bird into the same cage with the butcher bird and sparrow hawk, instead of increasing their harmony, you will have more screams than music.

And is this principle which is so universally prevalent throughout

all the mineral, and vegetable, and animal kingdoms, to be entirely excluded from the human family? Whatever some monks and bachelors may think of this, I am persuaded it will never take well with the fair sex. They, in forming associations, both with males and females, ever have gone, and always will go on the principle of elective affinity. Suppose you should pass a law that all the wives and all the misses of this town, should suppress all those likings and congruities of disposition which have formerly produced intimacies, and should hereafter associate with none but a dozen or a score of their nearest neighbors, would they obey such a law? Why not? It would render visiting much more convenient, save a great deal of trouble in scampering from one part of the town to the other in quest of associates, and would have a happy tendency to equalize and consolidate female society. Surely they can have no objections to such a convenient and useful arrangement, but what arises from pride and prejudice. Persuade or even compel them to relinquish these hateful principles, to give up these select associations and form themselves into such compact clubs as nature and convenience would seem to dictate. Will they obey such a law? No, sir. However meek and gentle the ladies of this town may be, they would nullify all such regulations.

Do you excuse them by saying, they cannot associate with all their neighbors promiscuously, because with some of them they differ entirely in their religious sentiments. Well, let them confine their associations to those of their nearest neighbors who are of the same religious sentiments with themselves. To this surely they cannot object. If they can sit down with such associates habitually at the Lord's table, can they refuse to sit with them in their parties, regularly at the same tea-board? What a happy influence will such promiscuous meetings have to destroy distinctions, and prejudices, and affinities, and simplify female visitations? And, then, what a delightful scenery will be exhibited in a tea party! All the smiles and dimples, and all the expressions of tenderness, and fellowship, and all such nonsense will be done away; and instead of them we shall have such glooms, and scowls, and gibes, as will be vastly solemn, and must have a happy tendency to cherish those cardinal virtues, repentance and mortification.

But, perhaps, sir, our beloved brethren will admit the principle of elective affinity associations with regard to females, but not with regard to clergymen. Why? Because women have always been somewhat whimsical in their *likes* and *dislikes*. As the poet says, "*Semper varium et mutabile femina.*" But clergymen who have been trained from their youth to suppress all their prejudices, and to constrain all their feelings and likings, to move along in the track of convenience and expediency: yes, clergymen will certainly be most edified by being uniformly associated together, according to the principles of geographical contiguity. We clergymen will all readily admit, that we are made of better materials, and have received a finer polish than the rest of mankind, and consequently that we can operate together in closer union. I am no mechanic, but I have sometimes observed that when the wheels of a complicated machine are perfectly polished and

perfectly balanced, they will bear to be brought into very close contact without any obstruction or hurtful friction; and in that case if the machine be keyed up tight, all the parts will operate together to infinite advantage. Now, as all clergymen are, or at least ought to be, well polished and well balanced wheels in ecclesiastical machinery, they will all bear to be brought promiscuously together into close and happy contact. Or, if any of them should happen to be a little rough and repulsive to each other, or even a little loose and wabbling on their axles,—no matter for what,—clerical wheels are not like common wheels which might rub or break each other to pieces; they are made of such exquisite materials, that if you only key them up closely together, they will soon polish themselves and work together astonishingly.

But some of our brethren say,—“Can clergymen be Christians and refuse to sit together in the same judicatories?” That all clergymen are Christians, I will not undertake to affirm; but I have read of two clergymen who, I verily believe, were Christians. who on a certain occasion contended so sharply, that they could no longer travel together as they had hitherto done, to preach the Gospel. How unclerical and how disreputable this dispute and separation! True. But so it was. Well, what did they do after this unhappy separation? Why, the one took Mark for his companion, and the other took Silas, and they set out in different directions with their newly elective affinity associates, and I doubt not, they had less of bitter contention, and preached the gospel more successfully than if they had been chained together in the same Presbytery. Will it be said that in this instance these clergymen were equally divided, two and two, and when they differed they could do nothing but separate. Had either side possessed a majority, they ought to have constrained the others to submit to go along with them, rather than suffer such a disgraceful separation. What they would have done or ought to have done, had either party possessed a majority, I cannot say; but the facts as here recorded may teach us that it is better to agree to separate, than continue together to quarrel. And we may learn this lesson from the example of the patriarchs as well as of the apostles. Probably Abraham’s party had as great a majority over Lot’s as the Old School party in the Philadelphia Presbytery had over their New School brethren; yet the old patriarch did not say to his nephew, you must and shall stay, and be under my direction and control, and not weaken the church of God and give the heathen an advantage over us by our separation. No, the good old man was an elective affinity man. And Abraham said unto Lot, “Let there be no strife I pray thee between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen, for we be brethren. Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.” But we have greater authority for elective affinity principles than that of Abraham and Paul; we have the authority of the Master himself at the head of all his apostles. At first, indeed, when the disciples found a man casting out devils in the name of Christ, they for-

bade him, because he followed not with them. But when the Master said unto them, "Forbid him not," they all acquiesced and suffered the man to go on by himself, or connect himself with an elective affinity Presbytery of his own choice, and cast out as many devils as he could in the name of Jesus. And I have no belief that the indulgence of this schismatical man, in going by himself to cast out devils, was any disservice to the cause of our common Lord.

Who does not know, sir, that men will do more work, and do it better too, when they are indulged to act in their own way, than when they are constrained to follow in the leading strings of others? All restraints and yokes upon the Lord's freemen, whether imposed by majorities or minorities, are an evil which ought to be remedied as far as proper regard for truth and duty will permit them to be remedied. Admit that we of the Old School have a majority, (and I hope we have a large and respectable majority,) how shall we treat our New School brethren? Shall we burn them all for heretics? That would be too cruel. Shall we then keep them under and grind their faces to the earth, and cause them to groan by reason of their hard bondage? As this would be ungenerous, so I am persuaded it would be unwise. Oppression generally produces reaction. It engages the interposition of Heaven and the sympathies of the world in favor of the oppressed, and often enables them to turn the tables upon their oppressors. Let the example of Pharaoh be a warning to all subsequent generations.

In a word, sir, while we recognize our brethren as Christian ministers, and while they and we can agree to sit together in the same judicatories, let us treat them kindly, and agree to agree, if we can. If we must separate, let us agree to separate. Let them choose their companions and form their Presbyteries on the plan of elective affinity if they please; and let them preach and live and pray, as well as they can, and let us strive to excel them in all these respects. This, in my judgment, is the best way to fill heaven with rejoicing, and to burst the bowels of hell with envy.

When the Exscinding Acts had been passed, and the Presbyterian Church was divided, it became a very serious question with Mr. Kennedy, what course he ought to pursue. At the meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, in 1839, at the instance of two or three ministers in the interior of Pennsylvania, who could not go with the exscinding body, the Presbytery of Harrisburg was constituted, and Mr. Kennedy was invited to unite with it. He came, accordingly, to its first meeting in Carlisle, in March, 1840, gladdening the younger members of the body by his presence; and thus the standard of Constitutional American Presbyterianism was reared in Central Pennsylvania.

Mr. Kennedy attended one meeting of the Synod of Pennsylvania, at which he was elected Moderator. Of his course in

all these transactions, Dr. De Witt thus speaks in a letter to Mr. E. D. Kennedy: "I was well acquainted with your father, and cordially co-operated with him in the formation of the Harrisburg Presbytery, and its separation from the Synod of Philadelphia. My impressions were then, and have continued so, that your father's conduct throughout the exciting scenes that took place in the Carlisle Presbytery and Synod of Philadelphia at that time, was influenced by the purest Christian motives—a high sense of responsibility to God and his Church."

It now becomes our duty and our pleasure, to advert to the character of the venerable man who, older than Mr. Kennedy, constituted the Presbytery, and preached its opening sermon in his eighty-second year.

The REV. ROBERT CATHCART, D. D., was born in 1759, near Coleraine, in Londonderry, Ireland. He studied at the University of Glasgow, and was licensed by the Presbytery of Route, in Ireland. He came to the United States in 1790, where he joined the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the year after the formation of the General Assembly. In October, 1793, he was installed pastor of the congregations of York and Hopewell, by the Presbytery of Carlisle. Of the latter, he was pastor forty-two, and of the former, forty-four years, these being his only pastoral charges. During these forty-two years, though Hopewell was fifteen miles from York, he never failed, when at home, to preach, but one Sabbath. For forty years, he never missed attending Synod, but once, and then he was ill. For nearly thirty years he was elected a Commissioner to the General Assembly every year, and for nearly twenty years he was Clerk of the Assembly. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Queen's, now Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was a Trustee of Dickinson College for thirty years, and during all that time attended all their commencements. While a trustee there, he obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity for Dr. Scott, the Commentator. We obtain some of these facts from a letter of Rev. D. H. Emerson, one of Dr. Cathcart's successors at York, published in Dr. Sprague's Annals. The letter is full of affectionate and respectful feeling, and does the writer very great credit. Mr. Emerson says: "I knew Dr. Cathcart as intimately as any man

can know a father. I visited him every week during nearly five years, unless prevented by sickness; and, with the best opportunities for becoming acquainted with his character, my deliberate judgment is, that he was among the purest and best of our American clergymen." In another part of the letter, he says: "He was in the habit of reading, daily, at least two chapters in the Bible, in connection with Scott's Commentary. His reading, particularly for the last twelve years of his life, was immense. Having a strong constitution, unimpaired eye-sight, an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a wonderfully retentive memory, he would read every thing valuable within his reach, and would delight his friends with the stores of information which he would pour forth, during a social interview. This habit of reading, and of constantly exercising his mental powers, continued to the last moment of life."

The moral support which Dr. Cathcart gave to the cause of Constitutional Presbyterianism, was great. Some of the elements of that support were: His age and experience, for his mind, from 1830 to 1840, embracing the critical time of the disruption, was in undiminished vigor. Perhaps he never thought more clearly, or saw truth more plainly, than in those years, for his constitution was one of extraordinary vigor. His orthodoxy was entirely undisputed. It was admitted on all hands, that there was no change of theological opinions to bias him, in the least, in the controversy. Educated, as we stated, in Glasgow, he came to America with his theological opinions fixed, and, *when fixed*, no man, or combination or number of men, could change Dr. Cathcart. The limestone rocks, underlying the York Valley, were not more unchangeable than he. So there was no help for it. Obstinate orthodox, and obstinately constitutional, when he said that the Ex-communicating Acts were an abomination, the "Old School" had to swallow it the best way they could. Besides, Dr. Cathcart understood ecclesiastical law, and the principles of the Constitution of our Church, as few men had the opportunity of doing. A trained Presbyterian from infancy; studying in Scotland; very intimate with the ablest of our American Presbyterian fathers; attending the Assembly, and acting as its Clerk for the long period we have mentioned; fond of the study of constitutional

questions, he understood exactly what was right and what was wrong about this thing, and every body knew that he did. Add to this that his nature was transparently truthful, and when he pronounced with clear, sarcastic, and even terrible emphasis, that the "Old School" had violated every principle of truth, righteousness, and constitutional law, in the Excising Acts, it was difficult to resist the impression that he was right. He was a Nestor whose "eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated." Besides, he was purely disinterested. He had no purpose to secure, no object to gain. Retired from pastoral labor, on a competency of his own, his calm utterances bore much of the weight they deserved. It was at the trial of the York Church-suit, that the celebrated opinion of Judge Gibson was given, that revised so materially the *dicta* of that given in the general case. During all that trial in the court below, for two weeks, he sat an interested spectator, and gave his testimony clearly in favor of our Church. He could not be moved from the truth, and he was a bulwark of the right.

His successors in the pastorate at York were greatly attached to him. He was an *interesting* man. His manner, dry at first, opened more and more as one knew him better, and the attachment of his younger brethren gradually grew into respectful affection.

The Borough of York lies in one of the loveliest and most fertile of valleys, rich with "the finest of the wheat," sheltered by hills on each side, with the beautiful Codorus winding its ever graceful way through it. The scenery is especially soothing, and has a quality about it which we might express by the word *satisfactory*. The mind and heart rest upon it. It was, hence, a place to which men naturally retired. The town, large enough to afford a good society, and every necessary comfort, and embedded in its beautiful scenery and rich agricultural resources, with a delightful climate, seemed a spot in which repose and enjoyment were natural.

One of the successors of Dr. Cathcart in the ministry at York, thus wrote of him in a contemporary newspaper, at the time of his death. And, with liberal extracts from his sketch, we close an Article, which, as our readers may well believe, has been, throughout, a labor of love.

I wish some one could stereotype all that was good, and even great, in Dr. Cathcart. A monument should be erected, not merely of marble, but of imperishable words, that the world "would not willingly let die," ere the golden bowl has been so long broken at the fountain, that its mould has passed from the memory of man.

If this may not be done, then let even a weak chronicler make a sketch of the venerable man, as he lives in one of the clearest pictures of memory.

The most prominent trait of Dr. Cathcart's character, as impressed upon me, is his *gentlemanliness*. Perhaps it is because this high quality is less common now than it used to be. A more perfect gentleman at heart, than Dr. Cathcart, I never knew. His was not the polished exterior, assumed for a purpose or an occasion, to veil selfishness, and then laid aside, like a garment folded away, to be used for a similar purpose. His character was genuine. Delicacy in regard to improper interference with the station or duties of another, was one of his most prominent features. His long connection (forty-four years) with the York Church, as their pastor, would have enabled him, as it has others similarly situated, to give his successor much trouble. If he ever had the slightest disposition to do so, he never manifested it; but gave the strength of his influence, in public and private, to sustaining him. The same trait was seen in all his intercourse. Where he had rights, he maintained them; where he had not, he was a law unto himself, in refraining from intermeddling. He was a "gentleman of the old school," nicely discriminating occasions, a principle of fine feeling running like a thread through his whole conduct.

2. Dr. Cathcart was emphatically an *honest man*. His care and punctuality in pecuniary matters, are well known. But this, which sometimes proceeds from mere regard to public opinion, was in him genuine honesty of heart. He was above suspicion. No man, even in his most secret thoughts, I suppose, ever took Dr. Cathcart for a disingenuous man. His sturdy and Puritan honesty made him almost uncharitable towards hypocrisy. He could not away with it. That a man should be genuine—that words and heart should agree, though he did not say as much about it as Carlyle, was to him the prime thing in a man. Indeed, it made him unsuspicious. Not feeling any movement of insincerity in himself, he was not apt to imagine it in others. And this was one of the sources of that tranquillity of character, for which he was remarkable. The "*mens conscia recti*,"—the straight-forwardness of his temper, made him an excellent exemplification of that noble passage of Scripture—"He that walketh uprightly, walketh surely." If the bones of the prophet revived the dead by their touch, then could we wish the memory of Dr. Cathcart to re-kindle in an age which mistakes hypocrisy for wisdom, and deceit for prudence, the pure, stern honesty which once characterized the Puritan of England and of Scotland. No one doubted the honesty of the Iron-

sides and the Covenanters. It will be a sad day for the Church, if a Presbyterian's word ceases to be "as good as his bond."

3. Dr. Cathcart's attachment to the Constitution of the Church, was with him a passion. Indeed there was something statesman-like in his tastes. He was interested in the large movements of nations; in the acts of deliberative bodies; in all that related to the polity of the Church. Perhaps no minister was better known throughout our American Israel. His constant attendance in the General Assembly, where he was elected Clerk year after year, as a matter of course, brought him in contact with all the prominent ministers of the Church. When the great wrong, now consigned to history, of the Exscinding Acts, was perpetrated, Dr. Cathcart did not hesitate for an instant. His voice, his pen, his influence, all the weight of his experience and character, was thrown into the scale of the injured party. His was no calculating policy. He did not wait to see where the majority would be, or how the courts of law would decide. It was enough for him that the Constitution had been violated. It was enough for him that great injustice had been committed, without any regard to law. He stood firm in his position; and when the Presbytery of Harrisburg was organized, he presided, preached the sermon, and enrolled himself at the head of its ministers, in a region where this course threatened many of his old friendships. Nor was this by any means a mere prejudice on his part. Many an ancient reminiscence of ecclesiastical precedent; many an item of constitutional law; many a keen, sarcastic retort, showed that he was anchored on principle, and that the lessons of a long life had been too well learned, to allow him to be unsettled in his views by the "juvenile patriarchs" of a later generation.

4. Dr. Cathcart's devotion to the best interests of the whole race of man, well entitle him to the name of philanthropist. No aspect of benevolent effort was uninteresting to him; no man knew so well what was passing throughout the world; no man's memory was so accurate a chronicle of the times. A thousand times has he sat down beside some friend, often some bright-eyed youth or maiden—for he was one of those whose feelings never grew old—and given a complete review of everything contained in the newspapers of the week. But nothing interested him so much as the advance of religion in the world. He was devoted to the missionary cause, and contributed to the extent—yea, and beyond his ability, as some thought, to the American Board. He watched its proceedings with intense interest, read every word of every Missionary Herald, and delighted to tell us how the missionary cause was progressing in every country where the messengers of the cross have gone. It is observable of some old men—and the same is true of ministers in more than one melancholy case—that they grow selfish as they grow old; animal appetites, as in original childhood, gain sensibly over intellectual and moral qualities, and they narrow down to a very minute sphere. Nothing of this kind was visible

in Dr. Cathcart. Beautiful as is the York Valley—a perfect gem of rich cultivated scenery; entirely as he felt at home there; long as he had resided by its clear river, its hills never bounded his sympathies. The feeling of Terence, expressing kindred with all mankind, or the still grander feeling, "*the field is the world*," was the key-note to his constant habit of mind. He was devoted with singular attachment to the temperance cause; he watched with much anxiety the statistics of crime; he was deeply interested in all the aspects of politics, as connected, especially, with the onward progress of the human race; and while, to a considerable extent, a "*laudator temporis acti*," he had yet ever a warm, sympathizing feeling for every thing that makes man wiser, better, holier, more active, industrious, or even comfortable.

5. Dr. Cathcart was liberal, in the truest sense. Never was there a more thorough Presbyterian. Religion, in his mind, ever pursued its tranquil way along by Westminster and Geneva, and he could hardly conceive of a connected or logical theology, which was not Calvinistic. All other systems appeared to him defective; not indeed fundamentally erroneous, but defective in clearness, method and power. And as in doctrine, so in government—the republicanism of Presbyterianism struck him as beautiful and well ordered. Jerusalem to him, according to our forms, was builded as a city which is compact together. Our admirable Confession of Faith, our Catechisms, with their clear, racy and discriminating English of an age which had not yet felt foreign admixtures or domestic feebleness, was to him next to the Holy Word itself; and his *New Schoolism* consisted in preserving the Constitution intact, in doctrine, government and discipline, just as handed down by the fathers. But all this did not prevent a spirit of enlarged charity for others. Indeed, this liberality was a part of his Presbyterianism, as well as of his Christianity. He could not conceive of a religion without it. In the arms of charity, he embraced all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and felt that under various forms and different rituals, and varying shades of doctrinal belief, as to non-essentials, the same spirit of piety might and often did dwell.

6. The character of the piety was modified by the nature of the man. If his temperament were ever glowing, he restrained it. It appeared more in intellection and in action, than in feeling. It was observed, however, by those who knew him best and longest, that the further he went down into the vale of life, the clearer was his vision of celestial realities; the nearer he drew to the gates of the city of God, the more he caught of the glories of the upper sanctuary upon his spirit. Does not this seem exceedingly beautiful, when every year mellows an old man's heart, and the softening radiance of God's angels are reflected upon his countenance, ere they bear him away forever? And true it is, that Dr. Cathcart's "last days were his best days," the whole Christianity of York

being witness. And never was he so beloved, as just before "he was not, for God took him."

We might dwell on other and more minute features of our departed friend, but it cannot be necessary. One was the conscience he made of punctuality; another was his untiring industry. He was fond of exertion, both physical and mental; and to this was, no doubt, owing—allowance being made for an uncommonly robust muscular frame—his long life, his long preserved vigor, and as an especial favor of Providence, the clearness of his eye-sight. He read constantly, literally from morning to night; and an uncommonly retentive memory enabled him to preserve almost every thing that he read. But he was social also, retaining something European in his habits, in this respect. As long as he could walk, he would visit his old friends; and he loved to re-kindle old recollections with them. Having known nearly all the celebrated men who were cotemporary with him in America, he was very interesting in bringing out their characteristic traits, by anecdotes, told with much vivacity, of circumstances occurring in his own intercourse with them. In short, he was a source of unfailing interest; and his withdrawal causes a vacancy which none but himself could fill as he did. He was original; every thing he did was his own, and no man who possesses this excellent trait, can fail to be interesting.

But he is gone. Of his last moments, it is not my privilege to speak; nor are they material. His life spoke for him. If to have every thought softened by a Christian atmosphere, to have every purpose connected with the advancement of Christianity and the best interests of men, to be much in prayer, and devoted to every gathering together of God's people;—if these be indications of a heart right with God, then our venerable father is walking in white above, with those who are worthy.

He will not be forgotten. His brethren in the ministry will remember his manly form, shaming the effeminacy of more modern times. His flock will often gather round his grave, to think of the ancient times; and the children, as they walk in the beautiful and quiet grave-yard, where his remains, I doubt not, are laid, will be checked in their mirth by the recollection of the man of God, who, after dwelling near a century on earth, passed to the enjoyment of an eternal inheritance with his Saviour in heaven.

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Complete Course of Patrology, by the Abbé J. P. Migne. Greek. Five more vols. up to 95.

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THE unexpected length of some of the Articles has unfortunately crowded out about forty Book Notices. We will see that justice is done to this department in the next Number.

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NO. XXXV.

ARTICLE I.

PAGANISM A DEMON WORSHIP.*

WHEN the apostle affirms with emphasis, "But I say that the things that the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils and not to God," he fully sustains the position which we mean to take in this Article. It is, that all Pagan nations, so far as they are religious at all, are devoted to the service of the great adversary of God and man. Holy Scripture further teaches us that it is the will of Jesus that his friends shall go to them all, and tell them what he has done and endured to save them from the degrading service of the devil; and that the story of the cross—the doctrines of Jesus—if received, will certainly effect the complete and eternal salvation of every one who receives them. This is what every true friend of the Redeemer must believe. To carry out the

* The special value of this Article consists in the fact, that its author was for many years a missionary among the Dakotas, and gives the results of his own observations as bearing upon the question discussed. From the prejudice of education and the beauty of the classic writings, we are all inclined practically to doubt that the Greeks and Romans, in common with all other Pagan nations, worshipped demons. This Article, we hope, will tend to supplant æsthetic sentiment by Scripture truth. Though not essential to the argument, we have felt unwilling to erase the warm-hearted appeal to the Church.—EDITORS.

purposes of Jesus, in this respect, and by this means to do this work, is that to which each of them has, directly or indirectly, solemnly consecrated himself. Yet, that there is a great amount of *practical* unbelief in Christian churches, in our own country and all over the Christian world, on this momentous subject, is abundantly evinced, by the general apathy of both ministers and people, by the feeble efforts of the churches, the smallness of the number of those who are found willing to engage directly in this work, and by the insufficiency of the sums which are contributed to meet the pecuniary demands of such an enterprise as the evangelization of the world.

It is true that there is, at the present time, a considerable degree of interest in missions manifested in all the different branches of the Christian Church, which has greatly increased during the last fifty years, and which is still increasing. The assurance that it will still increase more and more is a matter of great joy. Individuals have evinced, and are now evincing, in a high degree, the spirit of apostles—the spirit of Jesus; and by the public consecration of themselves, and of all that they had of a secular nature, either in possession or in prospect, to this work, have demonstrated that *they* believed the teachings of the merciful Saviour in this matter, and that they believed with all the heart.

Still, it is painfully evident, that the churches are, to-day, far behind the spirit of their Lord, and that the individuals who even approach the standard of the apostles, and of the Great Captain of the Christian host, in zeal and effort, and sacrifice of ease, to carry out the purposes of God's grace, in behalf of the idolatrous nations of the earth, are, in proportion, as but one to a thousand.

The millions of those who compose the churches, believe, or profess to believe, that the teachings of the Bible are the teachings of God. They profess to believe that *man is lost in sin, that Jesus toiled and died to save him, and that nothing else can save him, except the provisions of the Gospel.* Each one of these millions professes to believe that it is the expressed will of the risen Redeemer, that *he* should make it the great and all-absorbing business of life, the whole life, so far as he

is able to do it, in his own person, or by the agency of others, to tell every human being, plainly and earnestly, that Christ died for him, and to strive to win his soul to Jesus. Every one of these many millions professes to believe, that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ is so wedded to the divine power, that it will certainly effect the complete and eternal salvation of every one who receives it. They profess to be in full sympathy with him who loved all and died for all, and with the apostle of the Gentiles when he said, *The love of Christ constraineth us, for we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead, and that he died for all, that they who live should live henceforth not unto themselves, but unto him who died for them and rose again.* Every one of them has openly declared, that he is alive to his responsibility to his blessed Redeemer, and that he has taken the unalterable resolution that he will meet and live his responsibility. He has, in the most solemn and affecting manner, entered into an especial agreement with God, his Father, his Saviour, his Sanctifier and Comforter, and with the Church, that he will devote his life, his thoughts, his feelings, his efforts, his substance and his prayers, to the service of Jesus, to carry out and complete that which was so well begun by the apostles of Jesus; and yet, notwithstanding all these professions, Pagans may be counted by tens and by hundreds of millions who have not even heard the name of Jesus. Hundreds of millions have not a solitary friend to point them to the Lamb of God; to the blood of the atonement.

As we run our eye hastily over the nations, we see only here and there one or two, or it may be, half-a-dozen, resolute soldiers of Jesus, standing alone, in the midst of the camp of the enemy, toiling at mighty odds to subdue them to Jesus, and who are often obliged to feel that, in a great measure, they lack the support of even the sympathetic *feeling* of their professed brethren and sisters in Christ. They are obliged to see door after door open before them, in the good providence of God, for the entrance of Christianity, and no one appears to enter and carry through it the Gospel of salvation. They often hear the Macedonian cry come up from the perishing millions, and they echo that cry in the ears of the churches

at home, and still there is no response, or if the churches return an answer, it is often only that the treasuries are empty, or that the men cannot be found who are willing to go; while it is well known that multitudes, in these very churches, are amassing wealth by hundreds, by thousands, and by tens of thousands, and that scores and hundreds of ministers even are seeking in vain to crowd themselves into the towns and cities of our own country, many of which are already more than supplied. Does not this state of things evince an astonishing amount of unbelief on the part of multitudes of the professed friends of Jesus and of his cause on earth? If not, what does it mean, when we see countless multitudes of our fellow creatures, groping their dark way down to the regions of death and hell, perishing for lack of knowledge, with no one to instruct them, while our churches are full of the professed followers of the toiling, suffering, self-sacrificing Saviour, who are loading, burdening, themselves with costly but useless, and often disgusting, ornaments, to feed their vanity, and luxuriating in wealth, while their Lord's treasury is empty, or only stingily supplied with a very small part of the unused surplus of the proud rich, mingled with the mites of the poor? When we hear the perishing nations prolong their deep groans for help, which groans have gone up to heaven and stirred the compassionate love of God, induced him to become incarnate, and shed his blood for them, and yet such multitudes of those who profess to be in full sympathy with him are as unmoved as if they were mere machines?

The churches do not believe the testimony of Scripture touching this matter. They do not believe that the heathen will be turned into hell, with all the nations that forget God. They do not believe that it is the will of Jesus that *they shall go every where to teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. They do not believe that the Gospel can renovate and save the degraded and idolatrous nations, and that there is no other name, except the name of Jesus, given under heaven whereby we must be saved. They do not believe that he that hath the Son hath life, and that he that hath not the Son hath not life.

They do not believe that *they* are bound by the bonds of the Gospel to evangelize the nations. They do not half believe.

What does the Gospel demand of our faith in this matter? The very provisions of the Gospel indicate what we are to believe concerning the character and condition and prospect of Pagan idolaters—of all those for whom its provisions have been made. We do not need to go to them to learn what are their necessities. It is a glorious and solemn truth, that Jesus Christ came to seek and to save those that were lost; to bring back to God those who were gone away from God, and the inspired apostle tells us, that the nations of the earth are without God in the world. It is true that they are not without religion, for in all things we find that they are still, as in Paul's time, too superstitious—too *wahkan*. But what does Paul say of their religion? The things that the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to *devils* and not to God. If anywhere on earth, we might expect to find the knowledge of the true God, where the sacred writings were unknown, surely it should have been among some of those people who had been so long favoured with the teachings of the philosophers and moralists of Greece and Rome. But Paul and his associates canvassed the Roman Empire, which had swallowed up the States of Greece, and did they find it? No. They found those nations *all dead in trespasses and sins*. God was not known. Even those Roman officers who had long been stationed in the province of Judea, who read the Hebrew Scriptures, who gave much alms to the people, who built synagogues, and who thus learned to pray to God, even they stood in perishing need of the gracious provisions of the Gospel. What did Paul think of this matter? Read his description of Pagans in his letter to the Romans, the best, because the most truthful, description of the character of Pagans that has ever been written; or read the significance of the labors of Paul's life, and learn what sentiments he entertained.

Now shall we believe the scope of the whole Gospel scheme, the manifest design of all the Gospel provisions, the direct and unequivocal declarations of the sacred writings, the reality and honesty of the lives and deaths too, of Jesus and of the apostles whom he had chosen; or shall we believe the contrary and stupifying testimony of those liberal moralists who make no

pretensions to piety, and of those professed friends of Christ who would have us think that the poor heathen are doing the best they can do in religion, that they are sincere, and hearty, and zealous in their way, and that the merciful God will accept their good intentions and forgive their errors; and thus, in our faith and sympathy, give the lie to the teachings, and insult the death agonies of the world's Redeemer? The fact is, "the poor Indian"—the Pagan—*does not* "see God," *but demons*, "in the clouds, and hears them in the wind." "*Jehovah*" *is not* "in every clime adored." The poet uttered a great falsehood, for the "*heathen know not God.*" They do not know any more of God now than they did when Jesus lived on earth, and when Peter and Paul preached and wrote. "No man knoweth who the Father is but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son doth reveal him."

Let us look at this subject as facts present it to us at the present time; let us read a chapter from the great book of demon worship—that worship which has for long ages been celebrated with all the zeal and devotion which even devils could demand, along the rivers, in the forests, and over the plains of Minnesota, by those strange, those mysterious people, who so lately occupied the points where now stand our towns and villages, and those fertile fields whence come the rich agricultural products with which our granaries are now filled. When we think of them, in all their physical, and social, and political degradation, we feel sad; and when we see that this is only the legitimate fruit of that spiritual tyranny which binds them in bondage to the devil, we could sit down and weep over them as Christ wept over Jerusalem. Darkness broods over their souls. No ray of light beams on their anxious mind. To them, heaven and earth are full of demons, rankling with hate, engaged in eternal strife, but there is no glimpse of the Almighty God of love and grace to calm their agitated mind, and soothe their sorrow. Dread of future evil fills their souls, and through fear of death they are all their lifetime subject to bondage. Chains of ignorance bind and devils oppress them. They are slaves to the hateful *wahkan*, and they bow down their back always.

When we get the idea which the Indian attaches to the term *wahkan*, we have a correct and full idea of all that is called

god by him, or that he worships. The Dahkotchah gods are *Tahkooch-Wahkan*, i. e., that which is *wahkan*. The objects of their superstition are almost numberless, but *wahkan* is the chief quality of them all; and the chief difference among their gods is that some are *wahkan* for one purpose and some for another, some to a greater and some to a less degree. We believe that what is expressed by this term is the only quality that these Indians deify. This they do revere whenever they see it, and they see it everywhere. The word signifies anything which an ignorant savage cannot comprehend—anything that is strange or mysterious.

We have been as familiar with the Dahkotchah mind on this subject as we could be, being with them in a great variety of circumstances, and for a long time, and constantly studying this subject with intense interest, yet have we never been able to discover any evidence that they divide those imaginary beings whom they worship, into classes of good and evil. We find no reason to believe that the Dahkotchahs ever distinguished what is termed the GREAT SPIRIT from their other divinities, till they were taught to do so by men of other nations, who were acquainted with the teachings of the Bible. They have no chants, nor feasts, nor sacrificial rites, which have any reference to such a being, who is superior to all other beings, that we have been able to discover, except it may be some, that there is satisfactory evidence to show are of recent origin, and which do not properly belong to their system. Even the name which they give to the Great Spirit now, is simply, the Great *Wahkan*.

The Indians are sometimes evidently ashamed to have the white man know what is the object of some of their religious performances, and they may tell us that their medicine-dance, *wahkan-wahchepe*, has respect to the Great Spirit, but we know positively that both the medicine-dance, and the medicine-feast were, according to their belief, instituted by a great imaginary monster, whose spirit pervades the earth and the water, and which they call the OANKTAYHE. The celebrated medicine sack is also from him, and their most respectable and important religious rites have respect to this object of superstition, and to the souls of dead men. Mr. Carver relates a strange ceremony, the performance of which he wit-

nessed when with them, the object of which he tells us, was to obtain an interview with the Great Spirit. But this assertion only proves that he assumed to know, what he did not know; for we have learned certainly, that in the performance of that same ceremony, there is no reference whatever to such a being, but that the object of it is to propitiate the favor of another of their imaginary gods, which they term *Tah-koo-shkan-shkan*, a god which is by far the most wantonly wicked, and outrageously cruel, and capricious, and deceitful, and false, of their numerous demons; so that if there is one of their gods who is more completely a devil than the others, this is the one. He is believed to dwell in stones, and implements of war, and is constantly served by them through fear. To him belong the armour-feast, *wotahway wohanpe*, and the vapor-bath, *enepe*. It is true that the Dahkotahs do sometimes appeal to the Great Spirit, when in council with white men, but not near so often as interpreters do it for them. Their appeals are to the *Tah-koo wahkan*, not to a *Great Wahkan*—to the gods, not to a *Great God*. When they do appeal to the Great Spirit, it is done from respect to the white man's religion, and Christian worship is by them often distinguished from heathen worship, by this term, the worship of the Great Spirit. They know not God. There is no idea of the true God to be found in their whole system, except as Europeans have introduced it. Even the idea of *eternal existence*, the mind of the Indian does not seem to have conceived, and all their gods are mortal. They are continued by succession. They are male and female like the gods of the Greeks, and subject to the same physical laws of propagation generally, as mere animals are.

We deem it out of place here, to say anything, in particular, concerning the form or mode of the physical manifestation of the gods, or of the places of their abodes, and will only remark in passing, that they are engaged in constant and deadly strife among themselves, and the different classes feel the same inveterate hatred towards each other, that is seen to exist between the different tribes of Indians.

The representatives of the Dahkotchah gods on earth, are what we call *medicine-men*, but in their own dialect they are more appropriately termed *wahkan men*, *vechashtah wahkan*. These

men are gods with diminished proportions, and differ from other men, in that they do not come into existence, in human form, in the same order of nature. According to the account which these men and women too, for females are sometimes *wahkan*, give of themselves, they first wake into conscious existence mysteriously floating in ether. As the winged seed of the thistle or of the cotton-wood is floated in the air, so they are gently wafted by the intelligent influence of the "Four-winds," or by *Tahkoo-shkan-shkan*, through the regions of the air, until they are eventually conducted to the abode of some one of the superior gods, by whom they are received into the most intimate communion. Here they remain until they become familiar with the abilities, desires, caprices and employments of that particular class of the *Tahkoo wahkan*. They become assimilated to them in all their *wahkan* qualities, imbibing their spirit, and becoming thoroughly acquainted with all the chants, feasts, fasts, dances and sacrificial rites, which it is deemed necessary to impose on men in this life. In this manner, some of them are believed to pass through a succession of inspirations, with various classes of the superior divinities, until they are completely *wahkanized*, and prepared for human incarnation.

In particular, they are invested with the irresistible powers of the gods, to do good or evil, their knowledge and cunning, and with their everywhere present influence over mind, instinct and passion. They are taught how to inflict diseases and to heal them, to discover things which are concealed from those who are merely human, to manufacture implements of war, and infuse into them the missive power, the *tonwan* of the divinities, and to perform all sorts of wonders. This process of inspiration is termed, *Tahkoo wahkan chahmnahe*, dreaming of the gods.

Thus qualified for his mission, this germ of the future medicine-man is again committed to the direction of the winds of heaven, and rides forth on their wings in silent majesty. From this favored position, he surveys the condition of men, and deliberately selecting a place in which to exhibit himself to mortals, humbly enters the body of an unborn infant, and in due time, thus concealed, effects his entrance into this world, to serve the mysterious purposes for which the demons have designed him.

It may not be out of place, here, to remark, that when one of these *wahkan* men dies, he returns to the abode of his god, and receives a new inspiration. He is thus qualified for a second incarnation, and to serve another generation of men, in some other part of our world. In this manner they pass through four incarnations, and then retire to their primitive nothingness.*

Now, as we proceed we shall see what use these characters make of their assumed superhuman powers, and what their people think of them. It has been well said that it is with the human mind and heart, as with plants which draw from the surrounding soil, only that which is congenial to their nature, and essential to their growth. This assertion appears to be very truthful. The pure mind and clean heart, even in the midst of heathenism, will draw an abundance of support and nutriment, and grow up more and more into the love and likeness of the intelligent and holy divinity, while in the same surroundings, the savage mind and heart will become more and more savage, until it will ripen into a horrid demon. Blind credulity, and disgusting superstition, are twin daughters of ignorance, and no absurdity is too great, or too clearly foolish to be heartily received by an ignorant savage, when cunningly presented to his mind and heart. These medicine-men are such, generally, as are born with an uncommon share of shrewdness and impudence, and they combine whatever of talent they possess, for the benefit of the craft. While this is the case, the blind savage generally *feels* that he is in a world of mysteries, whether he has *thoughts* or not, and is *oppressed* with a consciousness that while all around him is beyond his control, and he comprehends nothing, he is constantly exposed to all evil. The very earth on which he treads teems with life incomprehensible. It is *wahkan*, and excites, by turns, all his superstitious hopes and fears, thrilling him with such joy as a savage can feel, or chilling him with tormenting anxiety and dread. The vegetable covering of the earth, the forests, the streams, the lakes, the springs, the hills, the vales, are to him all full of awful mystery. He looks up to the sun, the moon and the stars, and *sees* so many gods and

* These characters are believed, also, to appear often in the form of beasts, such as the wolf, the bear, buffalo, &c

goddesses gazing down upon him in silent dreadfulness. A thousand queries concerning these matters arise in his mind, but he hears no response except that a dreadful thrill runs through him, and with his hand on his mouth, he involuntarily exclaims, *Wahkan! ahtay onshemahdah!* He extends his propitiatory pipe in every direction, and lifting up his voice, weeps—*chaykeyahs*. When he enters upon the chase, to which stern necessity drives him for subsistence, the beast which he pursues to-day, shuns his approach, perhaps, apparently with the ability of an intelligent being, the art of a god, and to-morrow, seems to be completely destitute of even brutal instinct, and has no ability to escape. Again he lays his hand upon his mouth, and wonders, while all the sentiments of his soul respond, *Wahkan do!* and he promptly pays his religious devotions to the spirit of the beast whose body lies dead at his feet, on which himself and family will feast at night. He sees at one time, a strong and active hunter and warrior, instantly seized with pain, and in a few hours expire in awful agony, and at another time, another waste away almost imperceptibly, without pain, through long years, and then die in utter stupidity, and again, amazed, he wails out the deep sentiments of his soul, and echo rolls back in wild notes on the night breeze, "*Wahkan do!*" and in sullen silence, he resolves to offer the costly sacrifice of the *medicine dance* to the *Oanktayhe*, and to the souls of the dead. He still again sees one prostrated with racking pain in an instant, who suffers without mitigation for a time, and then almost as suddenly, eased and restored to his former health and vigor, while another drops, unnotified into the arms of death, and there is no *apparent* cause. Pains, often excruciating, on one part of his own body, at the next moment with the rapidity of thought, leap to another part, and then, perhaps, as suddenly vanish altogether, and his superstitious feelings vent themselves in a wild chant to the gods, and in the vapor-bath, it may be, he presents his body a living sacrifice to the *Tahkoo shkan-shkan*, or hangs himself sacredly to the elevated pole, in honor of the *Wahkenyan*, god of thunder, or of the sun, as the medicine man may direct.

We may sneer at such silliness, and say that it is all pretence, but all these and ten thousand other occurrences like

them, are to the savage practical realities, and in the midst of them—under them—he is born and reared, and his character is formed. As, therefore, the tinder is susceptible of ignition, so the savage mind is ready for deception, and hails with joy one who claims to comprehend and control these mysteries, explain these occurrences, and successfully contend with all these intolerable evils; it waits for the *wahkan* man just as a suffering, dying son of misery, waits for relief.

To establish their claims to inspiration, these men and women artfully lay hold of all that is strange and mysterious, and, if possible, turn it to their advantage. To do this is the one object and effort of their lives. It is their study, day and night, in all circumstances, at all times, and on all occasions. They *follow* it as Death follows his victim, never turning or slackening their pace. For this they use all means which are at their command, in season and out of season, like an earnest and unprincipled aspirant for political office. *They live and die for this.* All are not, of course, equally successful; but all *try*, and do what they can to accomplish their object.

They assume familiarity with whatever astonishes other people, with a degree of self-complacency, and an air of impudence and assurance, which, at the beginning, strike their people with amazement. They foretell future events with a degree of accuracy, or of ambiguity, sufficient for their purpose; those at one village affect to be familiar with what is transpiring at another village leagues distant; persons who are almost reduced to skeletons by wasting disease, are sometimes, in a day or two, restored to ease and health, *apparently* by their supernatural agency, and without the use of *any* natural means. When game is scarce, and the chase is unfruitful, when famine pinches the helpless infant, and its disconsolate mother, and even the proud hunter sits over his lodge fire, in silent gloom, relief often comes suddenly, in an unlooked-for, and even improbable manner, apparently through the influence of these demi-gods; or if their efforts to obtain relief are not successful, and the suffering is protracted, their want of success is attributed to the unexpiated sins of the *people*. By the mental illumination of the *wahkan fires*, obtained by the almost superhuman watchings, fastings, self-tortures, and efforts of these men, the posi-

tion and movements of an enemy are discovered, which is triumphantly proved when the little band of murderers return to the village bearing the bloody scalp, torn by them from a surprised and fallen foe. When occasion requires, they appear to calm the tempest, or to raise the storm, to converse with the thunder and the lightning as with a familiar friend and equal; and if one of them is killed by the electric fluid, as sometimes happens, it only proves to the living the truth of all he taught them concerning the gods of thunder, and that they killed him for his sin against themselves.

These men are not only in intimate and constant communion with the superior gods who are *out* of them, but they also have inferior gods dwelling *in* them, to satisfy whose cravings they frequently, with great parade, and in the most public manner, tear off with their teeth, and eat the raw, quivering, and bleeding flesh of newly-slaughtered animals, like starving beasts or birds of prey, thus devouring parts of dogs and fish entire, not excepting bones and scales; and we have been told that with apparent zest, they quaff human blood, which we believe to be true. They can eat raw, the heart of a murdered foe.

By the performance of thousands and tens of thousands of wonders, like those we have specified, these pretenders triumphantly substantiate their claims to divine inspiration, and they are fully believed to be *the great power of the gods*. If some are thought to be mere pretenders, this fact only turns to the advantage of those who, being more shrewd and wary, are successful.

We have never known an individual among the savages with whom we were acquainted, who did not yield full credence to some of these *god-men* and *god-women*, except when their confidence in them had been destroyed by the introduction of the doctrines of the Christian religion among them. Such exceptions, at the present time, are numerous.

These wahkan qualities fit those who possess them, to act in any capacity, and in any emergency.

THE PRIEST.

As a *priest*, with all the assurance of an eye-witness, of an equal, of long and intimate communion with them, he bears tes-

timony for the divinities. He gives a minute and full description of their physical appearance, their dwelling-place, and their attendants. He reveals their abilities, their dispositions, and their employments, as one who has been there and lived with them on terms of equality. He dictates prayers and chants, institutes dances, fasts, feasts, and sacrifices; defines sin and its opposite, and their consequences, and imposes upon the people a system of demonism and superstition, to suit their depraved tastes, and vile passions, and caprices, and circumstances, and interests, as savages, with an air of authority and subtle cunning, which does seem to be almost super-human—a system so artful, so well adapted to their character, condition, and *felt* wants; so congenial to them, that it weaves into them, enters the body, soul, and spirit, and becomes a part of them, insuring their most obsequious submission to its demands. Sin consists in a want of conformity to, or transgression of, the arbitrary rules of the priest—the *wahkan* man—or a want of respect for his person and occupation; and the rewards and punishments are of such a nature that there is no danger that they will not be understood and appreciated. In the capacity of a priest, the influence of these characters is so complete and universal, that scarce an individual among their people can be found, who is not a servile religionist. *All are trained to it with all diligence from their infancy.* Much as the savage loves ease and self-indulgence, we have known numerous instances where they cheerfully submitted themselves to almost any privation, discomfort, and toil, for days and weeks, and even months together, in order to obtain the necessary provisions for a sacrifice, which the priest assured them the gods demanded; and if they failed, they fully believed that the penalty would be the infliction of any one or of all the evils to which an Indian is subject. We will specify one instance. A man made a trip on foot, from the "Little Rapids," on the Minnesota river, to Big Stone Lake, and brought on his back a pack of jerked buffalo meat, weighing probably sixty or seventy pounds, a distance of about two hundred miles, to be used in the Medicine dance, a sacrifice to the *Oanktayhe*, and to the souls of the dead. We travelled in company with him a part of the way, and knew that, weary and hungry as he was, his only

resting-place was the bare earth, and his only food was that which he picked up along the wilderness way, or begged of such travellers as he chanced to meet with; yet he plodded on, taciturn and patient as a mule, for the priest had told him that it was the will of the *Tahkoo wahkan*. They will do and suffer anything that they can do and suffer, right or wrong, to comply with the arbitrary and capricious requisitions of the priest.

THE WAR PROPHET.

But the medicine-man, as a war leader, is not less necessary than as a priest. Every Dahkotchah man, sixteen years old and upwards, is a soldier, and is formally enlisted into his service. From him he receives the spear and tomahawk, carefully constructed after a model furnished from the armory of the gods, painted after divine prescriptions, and charged with the spirit and power—*tonwan*—of the divinities. From him, also, he receives those paints which serve as an armature for the body. To obtain these necessary articles from the *Mday tah-hoon-kah*,—for that is what the war leader is called—the proud applicant is required to abase himself, and for a time become his servant, while he goes through with a tedious series of painful and exhausting performances, which are necessary on his part, to prepare him for so important a service. These performances consist chiefly of vapour baths, fastings, chants, prayers, and nightly watchings. The spear and tomahawk being prepared, and thus duly consecrated and rendered wahkan, the person who is to receive them, with a most piteous wail, reverently approaches the *Mday-tah-hoon-kah*, and imploringly presents to him the pipe of prayer, as to a god. This done, he lays his trembling hand upon the sacred head of his master, and sobs out his desires, in substance as follows:—"Pity thou one who is poor and helpless, a woman, and confer on me the ability to perform manly deeds." The prophet then, with the bearing of a god, presents to him the weapons desired, saying:—"Go thou, and test the swing of this tomahawk, and the thrust of this spear; but when in triumph thou shalt return a man, forget not thy vows to the *Tahkoo-wahkan*." In this manner every young man is enlisted into the service of the medicine-man, as a war prophet, and enlisted for life. The weapons in

question are preserved by the Dahkotal warrior as sacredly as was the holy ark of the covenant by the religious Hebrew of ancient times. They are carefully wrapped in cloth, together with sacred plumes and pigments, and are laid outside of the lodge, in fair weather, every day, and may never be touched by an adult female.

Every warrior feels that his success, both on the battle-field and in the chase, depends entirely, upon the strictness, promptness, and constancy with which he adheres to the rules which are imposed upon him by this *walkan* warrior. The armour feast is of almost daily occurrence, when the fruits of the chase are sufficient to support it; on which occasion these implements of savage murder are reverently unwrapped and exhibited, and perfumed with the smoke of burning incense around the smoking sacrifice.

Thus the influence of the medicine-man as a *murderer*, permeates the whole community, and it is hardly possible to over-estimate it. Those who are led by him will be murderers; and those who are thus bound to him *will be led by him, unless they renounce their religion*. Retaining their religion, they must of necessity be a nation of murderers. The Indian, if he can, will kill his hereditary foe, as long as he is a pagan. The favour of the gods, and even his very manhood, depends upon it. They are not *men* till they have killed a foe. Till they do this, they may be insulted and abused in the most outrageous manner. I have known young men to be forced to put on the female dress, and thus exhibit themselves in the public dance as *women*, because they had not killed a foe. This is why the Indian will murder those of another tribe, if he can.

THE DOCTOR.

In the capacity of a doctor, *Wahpeyah*, the influence of these characters has scarcely any limits. He is as much revered, perhaps, as the superior gods themselves. The subordinate gods dwell in them, and confer on them the power to *suck out* disease from the human body, and to charm or drive away the gods who inflict diseases, by the music, or by the horrid ugliness of their chants. If these persons are long without practice, it is said that they suffer much inconvenience from the

restlessness of the gods within them. This is the reason why they sometimes drink human blood, as has been already mentioned.

When one of these *Wahpeyah* has been respectfully called to minister to the relief of a poor sufferer, he has the patient laid on a blanket, on the ground, in a lodge vacated for the purpose, with the body chiefly naked. He also lays off his own clothes, except the middle cloth. After chants and prayers, the rattling of the sacred shell, and numerous other ceremonies, and uttering a variety of unearthly sounds, with an air and attitude of self-conceit and impudence which only a devil could inspire, he mutters out the following, or something like it:—"The gods told me, that having this, I might approach the bones of a dead man even, and that they should live." *Tahkoo hooahyah wankah ashtah, day yooah ane day chenhan, nahzheen yahkeyay ktah chay, Tahkoo wahkan amak keyah chay.* He then drops upon his knees by the side of the patient, and applying his mouth to the part of the body immediately over the seat of the disease, he sucks with the energy of a demon, at the same time rattling the shell with the utmost violence. In this manner, the god which is in the doctor, draws the disease from the poor sufferer. After thus applying himself for a considerable time, like a beast in a rage, he suddenly starts to his feet in apparent agony. He utters dreadful sounds and groans, which can be distinctly heard for a mile or more, violently strikes his side with his hand, and the earth with his feet, twisting the whole body into the most hideous contortions. A stranger might be excused, even if he were to mistake him for an incarnate devil, just let loose from the infernal pit, in hot pursuit of some devoted victim, instead of a tender and skilful physician, ministering to the necessities of a poor, weak, suffering mortal. We have sometimes thought that the ancient prophet of God was inspired with a sight of one of these jugglers, ministering to the sick, when he penned that significant passage, "*The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*" But we are digressing. When the disease is thus violently extracted from the patient, placing his mouth in a dish of water, which the doctor has now grasped with his left hand, he proceeds, with a most disgusting sing-song bubbling, to de-

posit the disease in the dish, keeping time with his sacred rattle, which he still shakes violently. This operation is continued, with brief intervals for smoking, for hours, and sometimes day after day, and night after night, if the occasion requires it. By such means the sick one is always relieved of several dishfuls of disease, to the astonishment and gratification of all who are interested in the recovery of the sufferer. But besides the temporary relief thus imparted, the *sín* is discovered which is the cause of all the difficulty, and also the particular god who has been offended. An image of the god is then made by the practitioner, which is hung upon a pole, and shot by two, three, or four persons in quick succession, and falls to the ground. Now the demon which is in the doctor leaps out at his mouth, falls on the *spirit* of the image, and kills it, and the sick person begins rapidly to amend, or at least, he will try hard to recover. Sometimes the operator finds, after repeated trials, that he is unable to cope with the *wahkan* who inflicts the disease: and unless some other *wahpeyah* can be found of greater powers, the patient is left to die. These men and women are *wahkan* to a degree corresponding to the strength of the gods by whom they are respectively inspired. It is believed that there are those who can vanquish any foe to health till the superior gods order otherwise, but it is difficult to obtain their aid. For if they are not duly respected at all times, and on all occasions, and in all their relations, and well remunerated for their services *in advance*, they may let the sufferers die without exerting their powers, or perform their work deceitfully. This is a necessary provision of their system, as it affords ample room to account satisfactorily for all failures.

It is believed, not only that the persons in question can cure diseases, but that they can also inflict them at their pleasure, on any person who may dare to offend them. It only requires a *purpose* on their part. The disease of the lungs, from which these people suffer much, and which often terminates fatally, it is believed, is inflicted by the *wahkan* men. They are feared, if possible, more than the gods themselves, for they are *present in the camp, and in the lodge*. If one is sick, he will give all that he possesses, and all that he can obtain on credit, to secure

the services of one of these doctors, and will promptly give a horse, in advance, for a single performance, such as has been described. The instances which have come under our own observation, where families have sacrificed, on these pretenders, all that they had, when one of their number was sick, may be counted by hundreds; and to be abandoned by them, is felt to be a most dire calamity. Parents are as careful to train their children to respect and revere these wahkan characters, as was an early Puritan to inspire his children with reverence for the divine institutions of Christianity. They are respected. They sit in the highest seats, and have the best of every thing. If there are impostors among them, this fact only enhances the importance of such as are believed to be true.

When the Dahkotchah pagans occupied the sites where now stand the towns of Winona, Red Wing, St. Paul, Shakopee, Louisville, and St. Peter's, bands which contained from two to six hundred souls each, there were from five to twenty-five of these wahkan men and women in each of the little bands, who, as doctors, had a fair reputation, and considerable professional practice. Twenty-six years ago, we do not believe that an individual Dahkotchah could have been found among them who did not believe *with his heart*, that these jugglers, sorcerers, these human demons, *could* heal diseases, if they *would*, without the help of either vegetable or mineral medicines—heal them by means of their wahkan performances; and they were patronized in the families of some Europeans who were dwelling among the Indians for purposes of commerce.

These medicine-men and women exerted, and still exert, and as long as they exist, will exert an influence, in their various official capacities, which is absolute, and which pervades Dahkotchah society—an influence which controls all their affairs, so far as it is possible for it to be carried, and which bears with all its force on every individual among them, to crush him down still deeper and deeper in ignorance, superstition, degradation, and misery, of body, soul, and spirit, and force him into unreserved submission to their mandates, except as individuals have been wrenched from the grasp of this hateful despotism by the light and power of gospel truth, which has been published among them, in spite of the medicine-men, who have un-

flinchingly opposed every inch of the way. To accomplish their object, and hold on to their victims, these wahkan pretenders—these Dahkotah Brahmins—have not hesitated, and do not now hesitate, and they never will hesitate, to make use of the most unmitigated falsehood, and the foulest slander, to spoil the reputation and influence of those who would instruct the people, and to render them odious in their eyes. They often go as far to injure them, both in person and property, as they can or dare go.

To oppose and prevent the acquisition of knowledge, by those of their people who evince a desire to learn, they exercise the most constant and despotic vigilance over them, to keep them away from their teachers, by both day and night. They will cause the moccasins of little boys to be hid, so that if they *will* go to school, they shall go barefoot, which we have known them to do in the cold of the Minnesota winter; they will heap upon them threats and abuse of all kinds, without measure. If some will still learn, they take particular pains to improve every opportunity, and even to create opportunities to traduce, and insult, and injure them; they will hold them up to scorn and derision before the public, whenever it can be done; they will thrust them out of society; they will sneer at, slander, and taunt them, without scruple and without stint; they encourage others to insult them, and to trample on their rights, and honour those most who most abuse them, so that they are like helpless lambs among a pack of hungry dogs, or wolves. They often exclude them from participating, to the extent of their rights, in the distribution of such annuity goods and provisions as are furnished them by our government, and which belong to one as much as to another, and the oppressed have none who can effectually help them. We have known an instance where these men, or their tools, entered the room where children were collected by their missionary for religious instruction, and have driven them out, when the terrified children would scatter and flee like a brood of chickens when a hungry hawk pounces on them. We knew one female—a mother—who was beaten by her husband, at one time with a club, and at another time with a hatchet, till she was unable to walk for several days, because she would observe the Christian Sabbath,

and would meet on that day with those who worshipped the God of the Bible. He finally left her, slandered and traduced her, inhumanly disowning his own son, to injure her character. That mother is now, we trust, in heaven, and her orphan son is living in a Christian family in our own parish, and is one of the most intelligent of the children of our Sabbath-school; but his father now owns him, and has for years been making every effort to carry him back into his own family, because, *chiefly, if he had him, he could draw on his account from their annuity fund ten dollars a year!* We knew a young man in Bloomington township, who had a charge of shot fired into his body, because he would learn to read, in spite of less violent opposition. We are now well acquainted with several young men, who could once read well in the New Testament Scriptures in their own tongue, and who have long since abandoned their books altogether, and probably nearly or quite forgotten how to read, because, they said, they could not bear the abuse, and insults, and sneers, and jibes, and scorn, which they were obliged to receive, at all times, in all places, and on all occasions.

If any have learned to revere the day of the Christian Sabbath, as many have done, these men and women are very particular to discommode and vex them, to insult and insnare them; to oblige them, if possible, to violate the principles of their new religion, and the dictates of their enlightened and emancipated consciences; and for this they have peculiar facilities, on account of their community of interests, and gregarious habits, of which there is not time to speak particularly. If one of the followers of the religion of Jesus Christ is afflicted, either in his person or in his relations, or if one dies, all means are used that can be invented by their enemies, and these enemies of all righteousness, to make the impression on the community, and especially on the young, that the gods directly, or by the agency of these wahkan men, have afflicted or killed them; and that none of them can change their religion, except at the peril of comfort and of life.

These are some of the ways which these leaders of paganism adopt to keep the people in ignorance; and the things specified will give some idea, faint though it be, of the spiritual

condition of pagans. The craft is in danger, and these servants of the devil are determined to save it. To carry out their determination, is the best service that they can render to demons and to demonism; and the best service that the friends of Christ can render him, is to oppose them.

But these characters are not contented to use such means and influences as they have within themselves; they drag into their service whatever they can lay hold of out of themselves. It would astonish the Christian world if they could see to what an extent commercial interests have, in years past, been yoked into the service of these crafty despots of darkness, and by their management made to rivet the chains of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition. Even the mighty influence of the United States government has often been made to tell on these infernal interests to such a degree as to make the heart of a Christian philanthropist bleed. We will give but a single instance.

At their instigation, and after years of cunning and toil, one chief, or head man of one of the bands, a chief of long standing, and of more than ordinary ability, for no other crime than that of committing himself openly in favour of education, and of the introduction of Christian doctrines among his people, was shamefully deposed from office; and another, of much less than common abilities, was exalted to his place, for very little, if any other reason, than because he was an open and determined enemy of education, and of the Christian religion, and was warmly devoted to the service of the medicine men. It is not probable that the honourable agents of our government meant so; but they did it, and thus gave their *official* influence to promote the triumph of these servants of darkness over the introduction of light among their deluded followers. It was so understood by the Indians. The priesthood felt that they had obtained a victory, and that the strong arm of the President of the United States was with them.

Now, if the inspired writings did not positively assert that pagan priests are priests for devils, as it is asserted of those who were ordained priests by Jeroboam; if they did not assert that what pagans sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and *not to God*, and that they know not God, still facts which have been

gathered in relation to other pagan nations, by travellers, by seamen, by military and civil officers, by men of commercial enterprise, by philosophers, by missionaries from all Christian nations, and from almost every Christian denomination—facts gathered from every other country, and from the islands of the sea, show conclusively that the description which has been given of the Dahkotahs, so far as it goes, is substantially true of them all. These facts are familiar to all who interest themselves in such matters, and there is no occasion to detail them here.

The hundreds of millions of India, of Burmah, of China, of Japan, of the numerous tribes of Africa, and of the islands scattered through oceans and seas, are bound hand and foot by the *wahkan* men of these nations, and are ruled by them as with a rod of iron. So far as it can be done by them, these priests of demons have shut against these millions of our fellow-men every door of hope to escape from their bondage. They have not only bound them with chains, but they have wound their chains around them—around each individual of their victims—chains of ignorance, and superstition, and fear, and lies, and sin, from head to foot, and riveted them at every turn. They have not simply shut against them every door of hope, but they have bolted and barred the doors, and then put out the eyes of their prisoners, as the Philistines did those of Samson, and stationed sentinels to watch them—sentinels who never sleep, and who are never careless—and there they grind in the great prison of paganism. Witness the scenes enacted in Madagascar, in India, and in Syria. Witness the Brahmin and his Veda. Witness the offer of a pecuniary reward for the detection of a Christian in Japan, of two hundred years' standing, and the one hundred families of watchers in the city of Yeddo, who are supported for this particular purpose at the public expense. Witness the *wahkan* man of the Dahkotah.

The darkness of death has settled down upon the nations. "Darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people." The whole creation groans under the despotic rule of the ministers, of the innumerable millions, of the hideous and horrid monsters, which are the creation of the inflamed and bedevilled imaginations of these *wahkan* men—monsters "which are called

gods, and worshipped." The heart sickens at the sight. Are these wretched nations well enough without the gospel; and will zealous devotion to these systems of falsehood and superstition raise men to purity, to heaven, and to God? Not while it stands written that God is holy. Not while the truth remains that God has purposed to make a distinction, and an eternal separation between truth and lies—between good and evil. Not while it remains true that "dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie," shall not enter in through the gates into the city. Not while it stands written in the sacred Book, "The heathen shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." The nations are lost. They are dead. There are no remains of life in them. Let not that man flatter himself that he is like Christ, who can look upon them with indifference, and "*pass by on the other side.*"

Is there no hope? Must the Church of Jesus Christ give up in despair, and cease her efforts to strike off their hellish chains, and emancipate the dying millions, and redeem them to God? Can the Christian world do no more than to sit down in sadness, like the Jews by the rivers of Babylon, and weep? Even this would be something. Oh, that the Christian world *could once* weep!—that Christians could weep tears of pity, and tenderness, and love, over these lost souls, in sympathy with their Master, who wept over the wretched citizens of ancient Jerusalem! Merciful Jesus! forgive our stupidity, our ingratitude, our unbelief! Pour down from heaven, upon all thy people, thy *softening* influence, and baptize them with thy Spirit! Breathe into them the breath of benevolent life, that they may enter into sympathy with thee, and with that cause for which thou didst pray, and suffer, and bleed!

What was it that rose to heaven, touched the pity of God, and brought Jesus down to the earth, and to the cross? Was it the *hopeful* condition, and *upward* tendency of man? No. It was the wretchedness, and spiritual slavery, and helpless, hopeless misery, of a world lying in *wickedness*, and *led captive by the devil at his will*.

He determined to save. Did he over-estimate his ability? Was he rash in his purpose, and did he plan to be disappointed?

He came to destroy the *works of the devil*, and he will do it, and deliver the prey from between the teeth of the spoiler. He will fully accomplish his purpose, and do it by human agency, and by means of the gospel. There *is* power in the gospel. "It is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." Jesus will breathe into his people his own sentiments, just as God at first breathed into man the breath of life, and they will become *living Christians*. Christ will live in them, as he did in Paul, and they will preach deliverance to the captives, to the ends of the earth. The gospel will certainly accomplish that whereunto it is sent, and demons will fall down before it, and be broken as Dagon's head was broken off when he fell down before the ark of the God of Israel. Jesus shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied. This is as certain as it is that Jesus lived and died in Judea. Men, constrained by his love, and moved with compassion for the stripped and wounded, will pick them up, and carry them to the inn, and take care of them, even at a sacrifice of ease, and honour, and wealth. They will go *every where*, and tell sinners that *Jesus died for them*—tell them with tenderness, with humility, with tears, with longing desire, and with godly sincerity, that He is able and ready to save the chief of them; and sinners will listen, and look to Jesus, for God will open and turn their hearts, as he did the heart of the seller of purple, in the city of Thyatira.

We infer from what God has done, what he will do. The gospel provisions have been made, and they are adequate to meet the necessities of man. The energy of God is in them. The gospel had power to save the very betrayers and murderers of Jesus, three thousand at a time. It had power with Saul of Tarsus. It had power to save the fornicators, the idolaters, the adulterers, the effeminate, the abusers of themselves with mankind, the thieves, the covetous, the drunkards, the revilers, the extortioners, of the dissolute city of Corinth. It had power with the proud Pantheists of Athens and of Rome. It had power to save the savage hordes of Northern Europe, and even the Druids of ancient Britain. Witness the power of the gospel among *us*, in England and Germany, in France, in Sweden,

in Ireland and Scotland, in the Sandwich Islands, in Madagascar, in Ceylon, in India, among the Indian tribes of our own country—the Senecas, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and even the Dahkotahs. God will not stop at half-way. He will end triumphantly and gloriously, what he has so graciously begun to do. It is not like God to begin to build, and not be able to finish. He will *finish* his work, and finish it quicker, perhaps, than we anticipate. A short work will the Lord make in the earth. He has *promised* to do this work, by the agency of his people, and he will be with them till the end, and give them success. He will cast down the devil suddenly, as the lightning falls from heaven, and break his kingdom to shivers. He has promised to do it; and what he has promised, he is able also to perform. He has *commanded* it, and his command will be obeyed, for his word is with power. The disciples of Jesus will go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. The power of the gospel will “*lift* the world.” It will lift the nations of pagans up from the deep darkness, from the grinding despotism, from the loathsome pollution of devils, and of demon worship into the light, and liberty, and purity of the Christian religion.

What has been said concerning the character of Paganism, impresses upon us the thought, that the work which Jesus has given his people to do is a *great* work. We are not called to patch the old garment with new cloth—to reform and correct the institutions of demonism—to lop off some of its branches and graft in their place scions from the tree of life. This process has been already sufficiently tested. We are to *destroy* the old garment of filthy rags, of folly and hatred, and spiritual insanity, and clothe the naked with the garments of wisdom, and love, and of a sound mind—garments new and white—to overturn, and dash in pieces, and utterly destroy, all these pagan institutions, which are strong by the growth of thousands of years in a rich soil, and which have taken fast hold of six hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, and woven themselves into their very texture, and to establish Christian institutions in their place—to tear up, root and branch, this tree, the fruit of which has filled the world with pollution, confusion, and

death, generation after generation, and age after age, from one end of the earth to the other, and plant in its room the tree of life; the fruit of which, whosoever eats, shall live for ever. We are called to attack, seize, and subvert the kingdom of Polytheism, and Pantheism, and Demonism, and Wakanism, and to establish all over the world and in the islands of the sea, the kingdom of Jesus—the kingdom of a God of light, and purity, and wisdom, and love, and power, and eternity. The struggle is, and will be deadly. There will be no bending, no submission, but a dashing to pieces “like a potter’s vessel.” It will be victory or extermination. Paganism will hold its sway over its victims with a terrible firmness of purpose, till it is actually trampled in the dust; and will die clutching them with the grip of despair and death. The strife between Jesus and that old serpent, which is called the devil, is *real and determined* on one hand, and *malignant and desperate* on the other. It involves the eternal well-being, or the eternal ill-being of unnumbered millions of immortal souls. All that can be done, will be done to oppose the spread of the religion of Jesus in its purity everywhere, and the great Apollyon, the angel of the bottomless pit, will bring into requisition all his resources. He will meet the soldiers of Jesus in ten thousand varied forms, with craftiness and energy of purpose, which nothing less than the skill and power of the mighty Captain of our host can effectually oppose. He will array against them not only flesh and blood—mortals like themselves—but principalities and powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places. This strife will shake terribly the nations, and test the nerves—try the souls of men. It is already begun, and is every day waxing hotter. The soldiers of Jesus have need to gird on the whole armor of God, and to *stand fast*. Who does not see, who does not *feel*, that this is a *great* work, and the work that God has given us to do?

Another thought moves our souls, and we exclaim with Paul: “Who is sufficient for these things?” *Who is sufficient?* Who is quite ready to enlist, and struggle on until he is released by victory or by death? He who has faith in God like Noah, who could toil a hundred and twenty-five years to build a ship on dry land; or, like Abraham, who could go, and go anywhere,

not knowing whither he went. He who can toil on heartily amidst opposition, and sneers, and jibes, and abuse, even though he is not permitted to see the results which he desires to see, simply *because it is God's will that he should toil*. He who has faith in God's word, and is confident that it is mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, and to cause even devils to tremble—who can discard all other means of aggression or of defence, as David did the armor and sword of Saul, and in the simplicity of his piety, preferred the five smooth stones from the brook. He whose *heart* is humble, who feels his own spiritual poverty, and is full of simplicity and of godly sincerity, and whose conscience is clear. He whose whole soul is thrown into the service of Jesus, and whose tenacity of purpose will cling to that service, in all circumstances, as unyielding as eternal truth itself. He who is conscious that he is in Christ, and Christ in him, and in whose heart *dwells* the tenderness which can bear to be imposed upon, insulted, slandered, detested, and be tender still; and who, like Jesus, can pray with all the earnestness of his soul, for those whom he *knows* to be his bitter and determined enemies, and to deny himself ease, to work for their good; who can be stoned and whipped like Paul, or spit upon and murdered like Jesus, and be tender still. He whose spirit burns and heaves with love to Jesus, his word, his institutions, his people, and trembles with true compassion for sinners—love which can suffer long and be kind—love like that described by Paul, and exemplified by the life of the hated Galilean. *He is sufficient for these things*. He may venture to be a missionary, and go like Jonathan into the camp of the enemy, and nothing shall by any means hurt him. *Jesus is in him*. One such will chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. His person and weapons may appear as contemptible as David and his sling did in the eyes of Goliath of Gath, or as the barley cake in the dream of the Midianite, but God is with him, and he need not fear. May God call such men into his church, and send them into all the world, and *on the kingdom of Jesus will triumph!*

ARTICLE II.

LAURENTIUS VALLA.

Laurentii Vallæ Opera. Basileæ apud Henrichum Petrum. Mense Augusto. Anno M. D. XLIII.

Plurum itaque studiosi debebunt Laurentio. Such is the language in which, on behalf of scholars, Erasmus acknowledges their debt to a man whose talents, taste, learning and character—save that Valla had nothing of the timidity of his eulogist—were not dissimilar to his own. The critical judgments of posterity must not only endorse the obligation, but enlarge its measure. Not only the scholar, but the whole after-world, owes a large debt of gratitude to that man, the influence of whose life and writings has now for centuries been felt in that new life of the nations, which dates from the great Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Among the causes which prepared the way for the work which Luther achieved, not the least important was that revival of learning which took place during the period that preceded his appearance upon the stage of action. The revived memories of Roman greatness which inspired Rienzi in his futile attempt to restore the Republic; the impulse to the more general study of the ancient classics derived from the enthusiasm and the writings of Petrarch; the recovered treasures of ancient literature discovered in the monasteries, or derived from the scholars of Constantinople who fled from the invasions of the Turk; the liberal encouragement which the Medici at Florence extended to the cause of learning—all contributed to that awakening of intellect, that freedom of thought and investigation which are ever the hopeful signs of intellectual and spiritual progress. The fifteenth century in Italy, at least, saw new fields of encouragement and honor opened to the ambition of the scholar. The name of Petrarch had a European celebrity. Kings and princes felt themselves honored by his friendship, and in dis-

charging his duties as their ambassador, he seemed to be regarded as the representative of the interests of Christendom—cosmopolitan in his views and sympathies. From his time learning enjoyed a new respect, as if it had possessed a nobility of its own. The Medici prided themselves less on their power and wealth than on their patronage of learned men. The discovery of a lost manuscript of some distinguished Latin author was accounted a title to fame and honor scarce inferior to the acquisition of a principality or a kingdom. Even in the time of the Council of Constance, Poggio had shown himself an enthusiast in the work, and his success had created him a reputation that crossed the British Channel and secured him the patronage of one of the foremost bishops of the English Church. His friend and brother in the cause of learning, preceded him at Florence in the honored post of Chancellor of the Republic. The names of Emmanuel Chrysoloras, Politiano, Argyropylus, Beccatelli, Pontano, Francesco Filelfo, Niccolo Niccoli, Merula, and others who held together with them the rank of distinguished scholars, needed no title to render them illustrious. Some of them were Secretaries of the Pontiff; some occupied the most important political posts—the counsellors and ambassadors of kings and princes. Distinguished scholarship secured the highest honors.

But throughout Europe the general impulse—here so conspicuous—was strongly felt. Not only at Florence and in other parts of Italy, but beyond the Alps the cause of learning found new encouragement. It needs but a glance at the several dates of many of the most important universities of Europe to see how they group themselves about the commencement and middle of the fifteenth century. Almost within the first quarter of it, we find the establishment or enlargement of eleven, some of them of the highest reputation; and among them St. Andrew's, in Scotland; Caen, in Normandy; Coimbra, in Portugal; Cracow, in Poland; Leipsic, in Saxony; Louvain, in Flanders; Wurtzburg, in Franconia; and Rostock, in Mecklenberg. The significance of these facts cannot be mistaken. No other quarter century in the history of learning can boast a similar distinction with this, which covers the period of the childhood and youth of Laurentius Valla. The fall of Constantinople and the dispersion of its treasured learning over Western Europe,

were contemporaneous with his manhood. The condition of Italy with all its scenes of anarchy, intrigues, ambitions, and conflicts, was not unfavorable to that intellectual energy which stagnates under the immobility of despotism. With these circumstances, the successful efforts of his predecessors in the cause of learning conspired, tending to direct and develop his energies in these fields of effort to which he was attracted by his own tastes.

Laurentius Valla was born somewhere about A. D. 1407.* According to his own account he was twenty-four years of age previous to the death of Martin V., in 1431. For some years antecedent to this event, he had resided at Rome, where his uncle, Melchio Scribanis, was one of the Papal Secretaries. Here he enjoyed the society of learned men; and from his work *De Voluptate*, we may presume, highly appreciated the privilege of being present at regular meetings where they assembled for the purpose of discussing questions of literature and philosophy. In these he took himself an active part.† Notwithstanding his youth, he ventured to dispute even with Poggio himself.‡ Such association with the already veteran scholar could scarcely have failed to kindle his enthusiasm and excite emulation in the ardor of literary pursuits. From Poggio as well as others, he must have received the vivid accounts of eye-witnesses in regard to the proceedings of the Council of Constance, and the burning of Huss and Jerome, which took place when he was a boy of eight or nine years. With the scandals of the great schism which continued up to that time, he would of course be familiar, while his nearness to the seat of Roman sanctity made him familiar with the secrets of corruption hid to the eyes of those who were more distant. It was not long before, in the bold freedom with which he expressed himself—a freedom natural to an ardent mind trained and educated amid such scenes—he gave mortal offence to the pride of Poggio, who brooked no rival claimant to the honors which he himself enjoyed. The occasion was here given for sowing the seeds of acrimonious controversy which a few years

* Schröckh gives the date 1408. His epitaph is 1415, an evident mistake.

† Vallæ Opera, 353. ‡ Tecum millies locutus fueram, tecum etiam altercatus.

later ripened to their harvest, and disgraced the cause of literature by the ferocious mutual invectives of its champions. The immediate result of this rupture was undoubtedly favourable to the ultimate fame of Valla. On the death of his uncle, he sought to obtain for himself the vacant secretaryship. In this effort he was defeated by the arts of Poggio. Some critical remarks of Valla on an elegy composed by one of the papal secretaries were reported to the pope, and by this means his mind was poisoned against the youthful aspirant. With nothing further to hope for at Rome, Valla, by the direction of his mother, went to Placentia to settle up the estate of his uncle, stopping on his way for a while at Venice. Meanwhile Pope Martin died, and Eugenius was elected to the vacant pontificate. Rome became a scene of anarchy and bloodshed, and Valla, declining to reside there for the present, went to Pavia. Here he commenced his public career as a teacher of Rhetoric. It was not long, however, before—probably at the Duke's invitation—he went to Milan, where he discharged a similar office.

Meanwhile the throne of Naples was a prize grasped at by rival claimants. The Queen Joanna, who presumed to dispose of it as an inheritance, and, according to her caprice, sometimes inclined to favour the cause of the Duke of Anjou, and at others manifested a favourable disposition toward Alfonso of Aragon. Each of these princes appealed to arms. Alfonso was defeated by the Genoese navy, and delivered a prisoner into the hands of their ally, the Duke of Milan. Here undoubtedly he became acquainted with Valla, and learned to respect the learning and talents which had already rendered him distinguished. The captivity of Alfonso was but of short duration. The Duke of Milan treated him with noble generosity, and was won over by his arguments to adopt a policy favourable to his claims. Valla either accompanied, or soon followed him to Naples, where he enjoyed a large share of the royal favour. The king was himself a scholar. It was his pride to grace his court with men of literary and philosophic culture, whose familiar conversation afforded him the most delightful recreation. Resolute and energetic in the execution of his designs, chivalrous and humane,

even to the sacrifice of his own interests,* superior to the bigotry and superstition of his age, sometimes defying papal excommunication, and forbidding his subjects all intercourse with Rome, he encouraged around him a freedom of thought and utterance most congenial to the tastes, the fearless investigations and mental activity of men like Valla. His interference was in fact sometimes necessary to rescue the offender from the grasp of the Inquisition. Many were the occasions on which Valla was moved by the reckless assertions of the priests and monks to an indignant protest against their falsehood. The Bishop of Urgel was once engaged in consecrating the royal standard. To some of his remarks Valla took exception.† The Bishop adduced in favour of his positions the supposed letter of Christ to King Abgarus. Valla ridiculed his ignorance. "Are you not aware," he asked, "that the letter is apocryphal, and is to be ranked as such among the things false and fictitious in the Decretals?" The dispute grew warm. The Bishop became enraged at what he regarded as the presumption and wrong-headedness of Valla. But the people favoured the scholar rather than the bishop. Some years passed, but the old grudge was not forgotten. At length an occasion offered itself for gratifying a malice, which, according to Valla, had so long maligned and slandered him. A certain preacher of the order of minor friars,‡ "eminent at vociferation, save that he almost always makes himself hoarse," was preaching during Lent. He had ranged the youth before him, and was teaching them the Creed, with his own comments, when Valla chanced to enter the church. Here he heard it gravely taught that each of the Apostles had taken a part in the composition of the Creed—Peter saying, "I believe in one God the Father Almighty"—Andrew adding, "the maker of the heavens and the earth," and so each inditing a clause until the whole was complete. Valla patiently listened till the exercises were concluded. Turning then to Angelilus Campanus, one of the royal secretaries, "a grave and learned man," who stood by his side, he asked him if he had ever read of any

* His humanity lost him the battle of Gaeta when he was taken captive.

† Valla's Oper. 356. ‡ Valla gives his name as Antonius Betontinus.

such construction of the Creed? "Never," was the reply, "nor did I ever hear it said, except by this man, that Jerome was a Roman." The two friends determined to visit the monk, and demand his authority for the statements he had made. To successive questions, his uniform reply was, "the doctors of the Church." But what doctors? they perseveringly demanded. The discussion became at length more general. The monk was almost beside himself with rage. It was of no further use to reason with him. Incensed at his conduct, Valla could not restrain himself from saying, as he took his departure, "You appear to me to act, in private as in public, like a madman." But the noise of the dispute had brought together several of the friars. At their suggestion, the aggrieved brother went to consult Valla's old enemy, the Bishop. The sermon of the next day was a public denunciation of Valla, save that his name was not mentioned. But he was identified as the author of several objectionable positions which he had taken in his *Dialectics*, in defiance of the authority of Aristotle. All understood at whom the blow was aimed. Day after day the charge was repeated. At length the King enjoined silence upon the monk, but not before Valla, who felt himself challenged to a public disputation, had nailed his theses to the doors of the principal church of the city, offering to maintain them against all whomsoever. The largest hall which could be secured was made ready as the place for the discussion. Valla invited many of the nobility, among whom the royal Prince Ferdinand appeared. The immense hall was crowded with citizens anxious to listen to the discussion. But Valla's enemies shrunk from a public encounter with him. They so wrought upon the mind of the King, who was confined by sickness to his bed, suggesting the danger of a tumult, as to secure an adjournment of the disputation. Valla, to show himself still prepared for it, nailed over his theses the sentence, "The King of peace, pitying those ranks that would have been struck down in battle, has restrained the eager sword of the conqueror."* The step was at least imprudent. Its boastful

* *Rex pacis miserans sternendas Marte phalanges victoris cupidum continuit gladium.*

tone irritated anew minds already sufficiently provoked. His enemies plotted against him. A caucus was held among them to determine on what grounds he should be proceeded against. But the more intelligent of his enemies could not assent to some of the charges which their brethren wished to make. An important point turned on the question, whether *secundum*, found in the Decretal in connection with *symbolum*, should be regarded as an adjective or an adverb—whether indeed it should not have been written *secundo*. Valla maintained that it should be, and a discovery of a passage in Isadore confirmed the impression which before had been made by probable evidence from history and the laws of the language. He at once wrote to the college of Neapolitan doctors of law, urging them to correct the passage as found in the Decretals, and earn the merit of emendating a false text—stating that it was his purpose to write on the subject to the several colleges of doctors in Italy. This was a bold step. To charge the Decretals with falsehood or incorrectness, was to strike a fatal blow at the several claims which they sustained. The result was a citation from the Vicar of the Archbishop, requiring Valla to appear before him on the following day. Without informing his more influential ecclesiastical friends, or taking any advocates with him, Valla only replied to those who asked him whither he was going—“To the Vicar, to dispute with my enemies.” Eager to listen to the discussion, a multitude speedily collected and followed him. But Valla’s confidence was misplaced. He had given his enemies credit for a disposition to condemn him on grounds that would bear investigation. Such, however, was not their intention. One of the bishops, who occupied a prominent part in the proceedings, Valla speaks of as *Caiaphas*. The others he denominates chief priests and Pharisees. A monk, who was said to be the Inquisitor, asked him what he thought of the Creed—was it composed by the Apostles? Valla replied that it was made by the Council of Nice. He was told that this was an heretical assertion. “I am prepared to prove it by many reasons,” said Valla. “This is no place to dispute, but to disavow,” said the Inquisitor, and here he produced Valla’s letter. “We shall condemn you as a heretic,” said he, “if you persist in these opinions.” Valla was overawed

by the terrible threat. "I believe," said he, sheltering himself under the stereotyped formula of orthodoxy, "I believe in this matter just as mother Church believes." But this was altogether too general to satisfy the Inquisitor. "Revoke," said he, "what you have written on the subject, and what you have said." "Why do you not rather instruct me in the matter of revocation?" asked Valla. "What," retorted the Inquisitor, "do you still persist in your first opinion?" "Would you then," said Valla, "have my lips rather than my mind set right, for how am I corrected unless I think in my mind that which I confess with my mouth? or is it your object to have me speak passionately and imprudently according to my own sense, and so again relapse into error?" "Yes," replied the Bishop whom Valla called Caiaphas, "this very thing we wish, that you would relapse, for we shall take note of your contumacy." "Not on a fair field," said Valla, "did you dare to contend with me. You have, therefore, reduced me to these straits, but my time will come yet." He was right; it did come. His withering exposure of the false donation of Constantine was payment in full for the insults of this Caiaphas.

But his language irritated the Bishop. Seizing Valla by the breast,—“This pride of yours,” he exclaimed, “must be humbled.” But such violence met with general, though silent, disapproval. “How is it,” again interposed the Inquisitor, “do you revoke what you have written and said?” “In regard to all these matters,” said Valla, “I think with mother Church, as I told you before.” This was all that could be extorted, and the prosecutors did not dare to proceed further. “Caiaphas,” however, was not content with this. He proceeded to question Valla in regard to Aristotle. “What do you think,” he asked, “in respect to the ten categories?” “Do the ten categories,” retorted Valla, “pertain to the faith like the ten commandments of the law?” The Bishop had committed a blunder. Murmurs were heard. “It is disgraceful to question him on the dogmas of Dialectics as if they were articles of faith,” so he was told. The Bishop attempted to show that Valla’s positions did pertain to the faith. Some assented to his views, others opposed them. The irrepressible sarcasm of Valla at once burst out. “Come now,” said he, “although mother

Church knows nothing about these things, yet in regard to them I believe as mother Church believes." The Bishop was even yet unwilling to desist. But he was overborne by the voices of others. At this stage of the proceedings, a message came from the King, brought to the assembly by several of the nobles who came to protect the accused, requiring the Bishop to absolve Valla, *more confessorum*, as if he had confessed, and the assembly dispersed. A crowd gathered around Valla as he withdrew. He addressed them in language anything but complimentary to the persecuting bishops. Nor was this all. Confident of the King's favour, he went to him to make his complaint, although the news had already reached the King through other channels. Alfonso was indignant. He summoned the Bishop to appear before him without delay. Sharply did he reprove the indiscretion and madness of the man, and "almost was ready," says Valla, "to have driven him from his face."

The temper of Valla's mind was such that the injustice of his treatment would not easily be forgotten. The sting was more than skin deep. It had pierced the living flesh, and the venom rankled in the wound. The stupid ignorance of the monks and the bigotry of the Inquisitors were more odious to him than ever. His subsequent writings show that this attempt to silence him only augmented that debt of just retribution which he was resolved to pay back to its guilty authors to the very last farthing.

Valla's position, in the Court of Alfonso, secured him from further molestation. He was in an eminent degree honoured by the respect and attachment of the King. Their mutual relations of teacher and pupil brought them together daily in circumstances of the greatest familiarity. The King wrote down from Valla's dictation the signification of such words as seemed worthy of special note in the study of the Latin language. The two men were worthy of each other. A singular freedom of opinion for that age characterized both. Each felt a similar contempt for the presumptuous ignorance of the priests and monks. A mutual friendship based on common sympathies and kindred tastes was strengthened by intimate and prolonged acquaintance. The malice of his enemies could not deprive Valla of the respect and attachment of the King.

"Caiaphas," so Valla triumphantly assures us, "did not leave his house for two months after receiving the royal rebuke." We do not wonder at it. The rebuke was in fact a most stinging reproach. "Who," asked the King, "ever before was robbed of the privilege of making his own defence? Even God, to set us an example of careful investigation in proceeding against another, said, 'let us go down and see' the truth of what is reported of the iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah. And Jonah was sent to the Ninevites to preach to them that they might be converted. But you, without any orderly proceeding or lawful method, have attempted to wrong an innocent man." Valla was not ungrateful for the protection thus accorded him. In the campaign of Alfonso against Florence, he was accompanied by Valla, and what leisure could be snatched from the duties of the field were devoted by the royal pupil to classical study and philosophical pursuits. But Valla found that scenes of conflict were no congenial place for the quiet pursuits of a scholar, and with Alfonso's permission, returned to Naples. An incident on his journey illustrates the insecurity of person and property from the ravages of the banditti—that chronic curse of Italy. A band of nearly two hundred brigands attacked the little company with whom Valla travelled, and only a part of them, of whom Valla was one, made good their escape.

For nearly eight years he enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Alfonso—returning to Rome in 1443, when the shifting politics of Italy had made Alfonso and Pope Eugenius friends. During this period he had completed some of the most important of his works. The most voluminous of these is his *Elegantiae Latinae Linguae*, in six books, occupying more than two hundred folio pages of his works. It is indeed a most wonderful monument of classical research and grammatical learning, and on every page betrays the literary skill and taste of the author as an eminent reviver of ancient learning. It was the first work of the kind produced in modern times, and was the basis on which Erasmus pursued his further investigations. The German scholar acknowledges his indebtedness to his Italian predecessor. In his preface to this work, Valla speaks of the lost supremacy of Rome in arms, but boasts of

her still more extended supremacy in letters. The Latin tongue had spread over the whole world, and made conquests more extensive and glorious than those of Roman armies. "*Magnum ergo Latini sermonis sacramentum est; magnum profecto numen quod apud peregrinos, apud barbaros, apud hostes, sancte et religiose per tot secula custoditur.*" Such is his reverence for the language in which Roman learning and eloquence had been bequeathed to the later ages. "We have lost Rome," he says, "we have lost the kingdom, we have lost the dominion, not so much by our fault as that of the times, but we still rule by a more splendid supremacy over a great part of the world. Italy is ours, Gaul, Spain, Germany, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and many other nations, are ours. The Roman Empire still subsists wherever the Roman tongue prevails."

To confirm this supremacy, to promote the purity of the Latin language among those who still employed it, was, in Valla's esteem, to be a second Camillus.

Valla then proceeded to note the elegances of expression, and the various uses and significations of words employed in the Latin classics, with which he shows an extensive and familiar acquaintance. So thorough and satisfactory did the work appear to Erasmus, that he declared that Valla had restored in Italy the ancient splendor of learning, and had constrained even educated men to be more careful in their use of language than they were wont to be. That Valla does not come up to his own standard, in his other writings, must certainly be admitted. The critical skill of his rivals could still detect barbarism in his language, but it is doubtful whether any of them was qualified to cast the first stone.

If Valla's work on the "Elegances" gave him reputation as a scholar, his three books on Dialectics, (*Dialecticorum Disputationum tres Libri*;) give him claims to a place in the history of philosophical speculations. It is in these that his daring freedom of thought, and independence of those who had been recognised hitherto as the highest authority, manifest themselves. In his preface he gives promise of the treatment which Aristotle would receive at his hands. He boldly questions the claims of the Stagyrte to the position that hitherto had been conceded to him as if by general consent. "He was not to be

allowed that supremacy of rank, which were yielded to Achilles and Hercules among heroes." "He wrote, indeed, more largely than others, but was it better done? Why, for laying down the principles of art, should he take precedence of Hippocrates and Euclid? He *composed* more than others, but he *compiled* more. His unfairness is seen in not referring to those from whom he has drawn. He claims the merit of all as his own. He composed more than others, but is all better than others? Is it so that others can say nothing? Is he to be esteemed as a God? I am ashamed to say it, that with some it is the practice in initiating their scholars, to oblige them under oath not to find fault with Aristotle. With scorn for such, I will endeavor, as I am able, to say what can be said, better than it is said in Aristotle, not that I may do injustice to a man, but that I may honor truth."

Valla then proceeds to the task, and does what he can to fulfil his promise. He goes over the usual range of topics that belonged to his subject, diverging from them in the main only to refute what he deemed the falsehoods and crudities of the Aristotelian Philosophy. On some points—as, that the world had a beginning—that the soul of man survives the body—there is a freshness and vigor of thought which show how little modern science has really added to the weight of probable evidence in their favor. In discussing these points, Valla remarks that "while Aristotle confutes the opinions of others as senseless, (*ineptas*) he has thought, perhaps, the most absurdly himself," (pene ineptissime omnium.) From page to page Valla notes the intricacies or absurdities of language and thought, (*verborum sensuumque ambages . . . stultissime sentire*) of the great Stagyrte. "He wraps everything up in imposing words." "When he would be thought discriminating, he is rather to be discriminately judged." (*Cum vult videri acutus, mihi videtur potius arguendus.*)

Aristotle had laid down ten categories. Valla rejected these, or rather reduced all to three. Here was the crime which the inquisitors had seen fit to represent in the light of a heresy. But Valla refused to bend his neck to what he deemed a usurped authority. To the last he seems to have manifested the same resentment against the assumptions of philosophical and eccle-

siastical bigotry, resolved ever to think for himself. His second and third books on Dialectics treat mainly of terms, signs, arguments, methods of reasoning, and figures of speech. It is in his first book that his writings assume a controversial aspect. In dealing with elementary principles, he boldly challenges Aristotle as his antagonist.

If Valla had made himself enemies by his attack on Aristotle, he increased their number by his treatises on Happiness and Free Will. In the first of these (*De Voluptate*) he maintains, in the style of the Platonic dialogues, that Happiness is the true good, (*verum bonum*.) Doubtless, the perusal of it might satisfy some advocates of the New Haven Theology that the main principle of the system of their Nestor was not original with himself alone. Valla introduces some six or eight speakers, among whom were the Aretins, his uncle Melchio Scribanis, and his after antagonist, Poggio. The speakers, however, are mainly three. The first maintains the principles of Epicurus in their broadest extent. The second leans strongly to the views of the Stoics. The third refutes several of the positions of both, and gives his suffrage in favor of that as "the true good," which satisfies the legitimate cravings and longings of man's nature—a happiness not merely of earth, but complete in heaven. To these views the other persons^o of the dialogue give their cheerful assent, thus indicating plainly what were the views of Valla himself.

Valla's treatise on Free Will (*De Libero Arbitrio*) is introduced by a paragraph which, but for the antique style of the volume which contains it, might be accounted of a date modern enough to have proceeded from the pen of the author of "The World-Problem." He condemns theologians for leaning too much to philosophical speculations. "They make philosophy the peer and sister, not to say patron of theology. But they appear to me to think ill of our religion, who imagine that it needs philosophy for its defence. Most heresies have sprung from the fountains of philosophical dogmas, so philosophy, instead of being an advantage, has been an injury to our most holy religion."

The aim of the treatise is to refute the views of Boethius, who, in the fifth book of his work, *De Consolatione*, had treated

on Free Will. The reputation of Boethius had been such for centuries, that it required something of a chivalrous boldness to question his authority. The thesis of Valla, however, as opposed to him, is, that the foreknowledge of God does not interfere with the freedom of human action. Although the argument is conducted with a considerable degree of ingenuity, and with a vigorous common sense that scatters scholastic subtleties like chaff, it is mainly remarkable as showing the respect of Valla for the more than human authority of the Scriptures, basing his reproofs of his opponent on the language employed in the Pauline Epistles.

But Valla made himself still more enemies by his literary and grammatical criticisms. The scholars whom Alfonso had gathered around his court were jealous of their several claims, and not unfrequently from intimate friends became jealous rivals. It was the custom of the King to have some ancient author read by one or another of the literati about his court during his public dinners. He then gave his own opinion of the author read, and invited others also to express their views. As the discussion on any particular point pleased him, he divided the sweetmeats among the competitors, and poured out a glass of wine to the reader. These disputations led to an alienation of feeling between Antonius Panormita and Valla, who from friends became inveterate enemies—Panormita afterward siding with Poggio in his virulent invective against Valla. The criticisms of the latter upon a work of Barthol Facius, whom the King had appointed his historiographer, led to a prolonged and bitter controversy. The treatise of Valla against Facius occupies one hundred folio pages of his collected works. It abounds in invectives and recriminations, and goes far to justify that prejudice which was long entertained against Valla as a virulent controversialist, but from which Erasmus, who could sympathize with learning when assaulted by captious ignorance, defends him. In his last book of this treatise, Valla has inserted his corrections and notes on the first six books of Livy, which he had heard Panormita read before Alfonso, and which his enemies had charged him with saying he could correct better than Aretin, Guarini, or even Petrarch himself. The consciousness of his learning and abilities which Valla justly felt,

sometimes betrays him into a self-sufficient tone, scarcely becoming in a man possessed of his real merit, and often affording provocation to his enemies.

But by far the most vigorous, eloquent and noteworthy of Valla's productions, is his treatise upon the supposed Donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester. It is a most triumphant and complete annihilation of the absurd ground on which the Papacy rested its claims to the temporal power. For the circumstances which led to the production of this treatise, we must go back to the period when Valla demanded of the Neapolitan College the correction of that error in the Decretals which he exposed from the writings of Isadore. For this presumptuous questioning of their authority, which led to his citation before the Inquisitor, he had been extensively slandered; and it well suited his cherished purpose of retribution to carry his investigations further, and hold up that portion of the Decretals on which the Popes based their claims to temporal power to the derision and scorn of the world.

The occasion when this might be effectively done was not long wanting. The people of Rome were restive under the tyranny of the Popes. The futile attempt of Rienzi to restore a Roman republic had indeed damped the enthusiasm of the Roman patriots; but the memory of his partial success was cherished by many who groaned under the burdens of pontifical usurpation. In 1433-34, Eugenius had been driven from Rome by the enraged populace, and the vengeance of the Colonnas, whom he had attempted to crush. The assembling of the Council of Ferrara—afterward removed to Florence—a second time withdrew Eugenius from his capital, and the occasion was improved by the Roman people to attempt anew the restoration of the splendid forms of the old republic. Their success was indeed transient, but the sympathies of Valla as a compatriot and countryman, were on their side, and the political measures of Alfonso ranged him among the enemies of Eugenius, and secured the impunity of that attack which Valla's pen might make in conjunction with the royal arms. It was at this period—so from all the evidence we can gather we must believe—that Valla wrote his work, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini Donatione Declamatio*. It is indeed difficult to understand how such a crime

could have been forgiven by the Papacy, and how Valla could still have been received back with respect, and even honored, by succeeding pontiffs; but the problem may perhaps be solved by understanding how the fortunes of Alfonso and of Valla were linked together, and how the former, when a change of policy made him the ally of the Pope, as was the case in 1443, would, in all probability, stipulate among his conditions the impunity of his former friends. One thing at least is certain that while Valla in his *Apology* addressed to Eugenius, defends himself against almost every other charge that had been brought against him, he does not refer in so much as a single line to the assault which he had made against the false Decretals. We are, therefore, reduced to the necessity of believing that Alfonso had secured Valla from all attacks or accusations on this score—which is not unlikely—or that this treatise must bear a date several years later than the one generally allowed. The force and energy of the language, and the enthusiasm which pervades it, seems to indicate its production at a period of life when the powers of Valla were in their early maturity.

Valla commences his treatise by remarking “that he had written many books, and on various topics, in regard to which he had dissented from some great and long-approved authors, and for this he is charged by some who can ill endure it, with recklessness and sacrilege. Such, moreover, was the rage against him, that if the power were not wanting, he would be severely chastised and subjected to the stroke of excommunication, anathema and curse; for he had written not only against the dead but the living; not only against private men, but magistrates—even the Chief Pontiff, who is not only armed like kings and princes, with the temporal sword, but with the ecclesiastical also, which could reach and smite beneath the very shield of the temporal power.”

“Is it said,” he asks, “from prudential motives, Do not write against him who can proscribe you? How much more might this be said in regard to Him who would leave no room for proscription, and might pursue me with the invisible darts of His power! . . . But there is no reason for my being affrighted with this double terror; for against right and justice, it is not permissible for the Chief Pontiff to bind and loose, while to pour

out one's life in defence of truth and justice is of the loftiest virtue, merit and reward. Many have run the hazard of death for an earthly country. Shall this affright me from striving for an heavenly, such as belongs to those that fear God more than men? Away with trembling fears and apprehensions! With dauntless spirit, with large faith, with cheerful hope, the cause of truth, the cause of justice, the cause of God is to be defended. Nor is he to be held a true orator who knows to speak but does not dare. Let us accuse whomsoever that has done what merits accusation, and whoso sins against all, let him be rebuked by one in the name of all. If he publicly sins, let him be publicly arraigned. Paul rebuked Peter, but I am a Paul when I imitate Paul. Let no man's dignities be his shield any more than Peter's were. . . . I pursue this course not for the purpose of inveighing against any man, or of writing *Philippics* against him; but to root out error from men's minds, and by admonition and reproof, hold them back from vices and crimes."

Proceeding then to the subject in hand, Valla declares, "that the Pontiffs, now for some centuries, have not understood that the 'Donation of Constantine' was false and counterfeit, or else they had feigned the fiction true, or those of later times, walking in the deceits of their predecessors, had defended as true what they knew to be false, disgracing the majesty of the Pontificate, disgracing the memory of the early Pontiffs, disgracing the Christian religion, and mingling all with slaughters, threats, and crimes. They say that Rome is their city, that Sicily and Naples are their kingdom; that Italy, France, Spain, Germany, Britain, and, in fine, the whole west, are theirs; that all these are contained on the page of the 'Donation.' Are all these thine, then, Chief Pontiff? Are you disposed to recover them all? Will you deprive the kings and princes of the best of their cities, or sentence them to pay an annual tribute? But for my part, I think it would be a more righteous thing for them to strip you of your domain. For, as I shall show, that donation on which the Pontifical claim is founded was alike unknown to Sylvester and Constantine."

Valla then proceeds to show that Sylvester and Constantine were men of such character, and so circumstanced that the

donation is in the highest degree improbable. But passing this by, the powers and privileges said to be donated, always remained with the Emperor. Moreover, nothing was ever given to the Popes by Constantine, except some gifts of small importance to a predecessor of Sylvester in order to his maintenance, and these were bestowed prior to Constantine's baptism. As to the statement that a copy of the donation is to be found in the Decrees, it is false, and equally so, that it is derived from the history of Pope Sylvester. Valla then proposes to show, that if the Pontiffs have lost the powers and privileges falsely said to be donated, they cannot be recovered or reclaimed by any right, human or divine. No lapse of time can confer upon the Pontiff the right of prescription.

To say that these several points are ably and eloquently handled, would be but doing feeble justice to the force and vigour of this remarkable treatise.

As to the first point, Valla asks, "Is it reasonable to suppose that Constantine would have made such a donation? I appeal to you, kings and princes, would any one of you, if he had been in his place, have done it? Would he have given away the city of Rome, his country, the capital of the world, the most powerful, noble, populous, queen of cities, triumphant over the nations, sacred in its very aspect, for the sake of showing liberality toward another, and then have betaken himself to a humble city, afterward Byzantium? Would he give away not only Rome but Italy, not a province but the mistress of provinces, the three Gauls, the two Spains, Germany, Britain, and the whole West, and thus rob himself of one of the eyes of his empire? I believe that no man of sane mind could be brought to believe it." Such an act Valla shows to be utterly discordant to the ambition natural to princes even intent on extending their conquests and enlarging their dominion.

"Is it said that Constantine was swayed by religious motives? Is it then more consonant to religion to lay down the sceptre than to wield it for the defence of religion? The duty of a prince is to use his power to defend those who cannot protect themselves. No heathen king of old was required of God to lay down his royalty. Shall a Christian emperor be less accounted of?" The explanation of the act by the

story of Constantine's leprosy, Valla treats as a plagiarism from the account of Naaman. "It is an impudent fable which he is ashamed to treat as undoubted history." In another part of his treatise, Valla proves that the story finds its refutation in the account given of the consulships of Constantine and his colleague. But would the sons of Constantine, he asks, have allowed such a division of the Empire? What would they have thought of a religion which dictated or sanctioned such an act depriving them of their heritage? The representations which they might be supposed to make on the subject are forcibly presented.

Nor are the natural consequences of such a measure to be overlooked. They were such as would have led the Emperor to respect the integrity of his empire. Anarchy and ruin would follow such a severance of it. His subjects would revolt against such a partition. The wrong would be another violated Lucretia. Another Brutus would rise up against another Tarquin. Could Constantine have remained unmoved by such considerations as these?

But grant it, would Pope Sylvester have accepted such a gift? How would it accord with his office? Did Elisha receive what Naaman offered him? He would rather have kings as his beneficiaries than himself become theirs. It is more blessed, says Christ, to give than to receive. Freely ye have received, freely give, was his command. The proper language of Sylvester would have been, "As a Christian man, a priest of God, Roman Pontiff, Vicar of Christ, shall I be an example and cause of offence? How would priestly innocence be safe amid wealth, magistrates, and the administration of secular affairs? Shall we renounce earthly things in order to pursue them more largely? Shall we give up our private possessions to lay hands on those of others, or of the public? . . . Our portion is not an earthly but a heavenly one. The Levites had no inheritance of their own, but shared with their brethren." Sylvester then is represented as citing Scripture on the subject of the danger of riches, and in the most edifying language in the mouth of a Pope, Valla stings his degenerate successors with the most cutting sarcasm. "The Apostles," Sylvester says, "were not to leave the word of God to serve tables.

The work of the Pontiff—is it not great and arduous enough when at his hands the blood of lost sheep will be required? Christ's command, thrice repeated to Peter, was, Feed my sheep, and dost thou, O Cæsar, command me to feed the goats and the swine, when they cannot be herded by the same shepherd?"

In a similar strain, Sylvester proceeds, presenting reasons that cut like a two-edged sword, the claims of the pontiffs to temporal power on the one side, or their vice, and corruption, and degeneracy, on the other. Christ is represented as declaring that his kingdom is not of this world. He not only did not seek temporal power, but refused it when offered. "But," says Sylvester, "if I should receive the gift, how could I defend it, but by violence, and how then could I be the Vicar of Christ? Should I hear him thundering out against me, 'My house was called a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves?' Peter was commanded to put up his sword into its sheath. Do you bid us use it for the sake of our possessions? Our possession is the power of the keys. The devil offered Christ more. Do not, O Emperor, become my devil to tempt me. I would rather shun than possess the kingdoms. My word is the word of God. I would not use another to make men blaspheme his name. Learn of me, says the Saviour, for I am meek and lowly of heart." *

It might be said, that as the Donation was found on the page of privilege, there was a presumption in its favour? Rather, says Valla, the presumption is against it if its acceptance is not recorded.

But grant that Sylvester's assent were on record, where is the evidence that he ever came into possession of the gift? What triumphant marches or processions, what measures taken by Constantine to put Sylvester in possession, does history speak of? What new governors did the Pope appoint, what wars wage, what nations constrain to his control? But grant that the Pope were once in possession, who cast him down from it? Assuredly his successors down to Gregory the Great were not in possession. He that is out of possession, and cannot

* Vallæ Oper. 770.

prove that he was cast out, is badly off in regard to his claims. Who cast down the Pope? Tell us, if you would not show yourself insane in regard to the matter? Was it Constantine, or his sons, or Julian, or some other Emperor? Give us the name of him who did it. Give us the date. Tell us how it took place—by sedition or slaughter? Did the nations conspire against him? Did he lose all at once, or gradually? Wonderful! The Roman Empire gained and lost to Christian priests, and no blood shed, no war waged, no complaint uttered! How is it that nothing is known of all this? Did Sylvester reign amid the solitudes of the forest, or among men? We know all about the numbers of the Athenian, Theban, and Lacedemonian generals. The kings of the Persians, Medes, and Chaldeans are not strange to us. We know how they gained or lost their kingdoms, but as to Sylvester, our ignorance is entire. Let all the Greek and Latin histories be turned over; let other authors be cited who have made mention of those times. But all these are agreed in regard to the actual possession of the Emperors. On this subject, Valla presents an overwhelming mass of evidence from ancient authors.*

Gratian, or he who presumed to be Gratian, by a fictitious addition to his work, is passed in review. Valla denies that the *pagina privilegii* is to be found in the most ancient codices of the Decretals. It must have been added at a later date. There are, moreover, 2000 passages in them inconsistent with it. As to the *Gesta Sylvestri*, Valla regarded it as a "poetic and most impudent fable." The life of Sylvester makes no mention of the donation. Besides, in a matter of this importance, reliable authority is all essential. If the claim concerned you, you would demand the author's name, whether Greek, Hebrew, or Barbarian. You would ask for the codex. You would have it explained by a faithful interpreter. Now we speak of what pertains to your own language, and of a well known codex, and yet in a matter most incredible, you make no investigation. Though you cannot find it recorded, you are credulous enough to account it written and true. Content

* Vallæ Oper. 772.

with such evidence, ye mix earth and sea, and as though not a doubt remained, ye prosecute those who do not believe with you with threats and warlike terrors. Good Jesus! How great is the power, how great is the divinity of truth, that of itself, and without strenuous efforts, can defend itself from all fraud and deceit!

Great events have been thought worthy of signal memorials. Moses had the laws upon stone. The Roman tables were of stone. Should this donation have no record but on parchment?

Valla then enters into a critical examination of the language and phraseology of the decree, and his learning and sagacity at once discover the internal evidence of fraud. He notices the repeated and frequent barbarisms, or terms that imply a more recent date of the decree. "It is evident," says Valla, "that he who composed the decree lived long after Constantine. In his blunders, he should have remembered the old proverb, that liars ought to have good memories. Such phrases as Satraps, Optimates, Vicars of Peter, occur in the decree. Byzantium is made a province instead of a town. Thrace is spoken of as located toward the east instead of toward the north. There is a treacherous accuracy of statement in regard to Constantine's city, of which he at the time spoken of knew neither the place, latitude, nor bounds.

The decree bestows the revenues of sundry regions to supply the light of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. Were such churches at the time consecrated at Rome to need such revenues? Who built them? The decree speaks of Peter and Paul as *beatos*, but of Sylvester as *beatissimum*. It clothes with sanctity the command of him who a little before was a heathen!

The decree recites with a distinctness and particularity fatal to the claims of its authority and genuineness, the privileges and honours bestowed upon the Pope and his attendants, the insignia and pomp with which they should be clothed. Upon this the indignation of Valla bursts forth, "O Holy Jesus, to him who thus rolls out his sentences in senseless words, wilt thou not answer out of the whirlwind? Wilt thou not thunder—wilt thou not hurl thy vindictive lightnings against such

blasphemy? Wilt thou sustain such a wretch in thy household? Wilt thou who hearest, connive at things like these?"

The opportunity which was thus afforded Valla for contrasting the pomp and splendour conceded by the decree, with the simplicity of Christ and his Apostles, could not be neglected. After having drawn the contrast, he asks, whether Sylvester was a man of the stamp to be eager for such privileges?

Not only the barbarisms of the decree are exposed, but its absurd use of language, its blunders in regard to provinces and cities, its aping of the language of the Apocalypse, in regard to its own binding force and perpetual obligation, a plagiarism put evidently by some foolish clerk into Constantine's mouth, and such as he would never have uttered. The pretence that the original document of the donation was deposited for safe keeping in some tomb with Peter's body, is treated by Valla with scornful ridicule. The intention of the fiction is then laid bare. The date of it gives ground for suspicion. It is sustained, moreover, by the testimony of those who profit by it. The decree sustains the pretensions of the Pontiffs. They are therefore disposed to defend it. That such frauds might be perpetrated is evidenced from a fact within his own observation. A codex of the Bible at Rome was said to be in Jerome's handwriting. Valla, however, detected and exposed the forgery. He found it to have been written by one of the Emperor's amanuenses. Similar frauds Valla speaks of as occurring by the thousand. In the fabulous story of Sylvester an account had been inserted which he traces to the Apocryphal account of Bel and the Dragon.

"Let that Christian man," says Valla, "who calls himself a child of truth and light, blush to defend what not only is not true, but not even probable. And ye most impudent, not to say rascally, men, who out of your fables weave such a veil to hide the truth, keep silence. Christian sincerity needs not the protection of a falsity. Enough of itself, and more than enough, is it defended by its own light and truth, apart from those devised and imposing fables, slanderous toward all that is holy."*

As to the feigned miracles so paraded in evidence, Valla

* Vallæ Oper. 787.

fears their effect. "Crafty men palm them off as genuine. Base coin we sift out and reject. Is the purity of doctrine of less account?"

Valla refers to the fact that the Emperor Sigismond was forced by Eugenius to ratify the donation of Constantine before he would crown him. Why ratify it? Did the donation *need* this confession of weakness and insecurity? Was it invalid before?

But as to the right of prescription by which the Papacy would presume to confirm its title, what is gained by war and again lost cannot be reclaimed. Former owners may recover again, if they can, that of which they have been spoiled. If men with arms in their hands vindicate their freedom, you are not to reduce them by force as if they were flocks of animals. No crime can be so great in a people as to deserve perpetual servitude. If it was right for the nations which Constantine subjected, to revolt from *him*, they may from his successor. Cæsar had his Brutus, why not Constantine? What by arms is acquired, by arms is lost. Who would confirm the acquisitions of the Goths?

"If the Pope has right by prescription, why so careful to have the donation confirmed? A true title cannot become null by the lapse of years. If barbarians should capture me, and I should return after a century's absence, might I not reclaim my heritage? Or will you transfer the idea of prescription which belongs to things, to men, when the longer such servitude lasts the more detestable it becomes?"*

Having thus completed his main argument, Valla gives the subject a direct and practical application. The recent history of the Papacy is passed in review, and the citizens of Rome are justified in demanding their rights of the Pope. His policy is then exposed. "The Pope, as may be seen, studiously plots against the liberty of the people. Therefore they in turn, as is the case now at Bologna, revolt as opportunity is offered. If, as is sometimes the case, when danger presses from abroad, they consent to the Papal sway, it is not to be understood as if they consented to be made such slaves that they may never withdraw their necks from the yoke, or that those who are af-

terwards born may not exercise the freedom of their will. Such a thing would be the height of iniquity. We come of our own accord to you, Chief Pontiff, that you may govern us. Of our own accord we withdraw, that you may govern us no longer. If we are in debt to you, let the account of debtor and creditor be made up. But you would govern us against our will, as if we were under pupilage, when we might more wisely govern you. Add to this the acts of injustice so often committed by you, *or* by your magistrates, toward this city. We call God to witness that our wrongs have forced us to rebel, as Israel did from Rehoboam of old. But what so great wrong—how large a part of our calamity was it to pay heavier tribute? For what if you had exhausted the republic? You have exhausted it! What if you spoil our temples? You have spoiled them! What if you expose virgins and mothers of families to harlotry? You have done it! What if you drench the city in the blood of its citizens? You have drenched it! Are these things for us to endure? Or rather, when you have ceased to be our father, shall we also forget that we are sons? As their father, or lord, if the term pleases you better, this people, High Pontiff, called you—not to become their enemy or executioner, you prefer not the former, but the latter office. Your cruelty and impiety, although by reason of the provocation we *might*, yet, because we are Christians, we *will not* imitate. Neither will we draw the sword of vengeance against your head. But upon your abdication or removal, we will choose another father or lord. Children may at least flee from bad parents of whom they were born. Is it not lawful for us to flee one who is not our true, but our adopted father, and who treats us ill? Attend yourself to the things that pertain to the work of the priesthood, nor exalt your throne in the north, and thence hurl your thunderbolts against this people and others. But what need of further delay in a matter so evident? I contend not only that Constantine needs no such donation, I not only deny the right of prescription, but granting the Popes, possessors, their right has been extinguished by their crimes. Here is the fountain from which the slaughter of Italy, as well as other provinces, and their desolation also, have flowed. If the fountain is bitter, so is the stream. If the root is impure, so are the branches.

And the converse likewise is true. Wherefore I say and declare it—for, putting my trust in God, I will not fear men—that there has been no one in the Pontificate in my time, who has acted as a faithful and prudent steward; much more, that has fed the household of God with the food of bread. The Pope himself urges on wars with peaceful peoples, and fosters discord between States and princes. He thirsts for and absorbs the wealth of others. He makes gain of the republic as Verres, Catiline, or any other peculator would not dare; and not of this only, but of ecclesiastical matters, and of the Holy Ghost, in a manner which Simon Magus himself might detest. And when complaint is made, and he is admonished of these things by good men, he justifies himself in his extortion by “the donation of Constantine.” . . . “There is no longer,” says Valla in conclusion, “any religion, sanctity, or fear of God; and impious men—I shudder to say it—obtain from the Pope indulgence for all their crimes. In him and in his associates is the example of all wickedness, and we may say of him, in the language of Paul, *through you the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles*. You who teach others, do not instruct yourselves. Ye who preach against robbery, plunder. Ye who abominate idols, commit sacrilege. Ye who make your boast of the law and of the Pontificate, by a falsifying of the law, do dishonour to God, the Great High Priest.”

Finally, Valla declares that, if this admonition does not prove effectual, he shall proceed to a more merciless (*truculentior*) attack. “Oh! would to God that I might see it, and above all, effected by my counsel, that the Pope should be Christ’s Vicar, and not Cæsar’s also. That horrid cry would no more be heard—‘the allies against the Church’—‘the Church against the Bolognese.’ It is not the Church, but the Pope that fights against Christians. She fights with principalities and powers of darkness. But then should the Pope be called, and should be, holy Father, Father of all, Father of the Church, and instead of exciting wars among Christians, he would quiet by apostolical censure and Papal majesty such as might be excited by others.”*

* Vallæ Oper. 795.

This argument of Valla was too conclusive to admit a refutation. Although multitudes felt convinced of the falsehood and groundlessness of the Papal claims based on the "Donation of Constantine," none have ever before so thoroughly demonstrated their nullity. Henceforth the question was set at rest. Papal historians and doctors have rarely ventured to do more than dispute some of the side issues of Valla's argument. Its straightforward directness, its vigorous thought and energy of expression, its manly common sense and noble enthusiasm, render it a model in its kind.

We find, moreover, the same critical acumen and scholarly sagacity in Valla's "Annotations on the New Testament." Erasmus bestows upon them a high meed of praise. Valla collected the several Greek codices which he could procure, and comparing these together, corrected from the various readings, the books of the New Testament. His work is the first of the class in modern times, and the one which Erasmus adopted as a basis for his investigations. The notes are brief but pertinent, mainly devoted to the phraseology and grammatical construction. In executing this work, he came into frequent collision with the Vulgate, and added to his enemies by the freedom of his critical remarks upon Jerome. The censures of his antagonists were of little avail until the Council of Trent took Jerome's version under its special protection. After this, Valla's Annotations took an honoured place on the list of the *Index Expurgatorius* of Paul IV.

The political revolutions of Italy had at length changed Pope Eugenius and King Alfonso from enemies to allies. The attempted Revolution at Rome had proved a failure, and Valla saw no better plan to adopt than to seek to regain the good esteem of Eugenius. In his "Apology" against his calumniators, addressed to the Pontiff, he goes to the very verge of flattery, though he manfully maintains the justice of his own cause against the inquisitors, and declares, that severe as his language had been against the monks, it had not done justice to the subject. Not a word, however, does he have to say in regard to his declarations on the subject of the "false donation," unless we except a line in which he confesses, that during the time of the Council of Florence, he said some

things against the Church out of a desire to aid his countrymen.

Until the death of Eugenius, however, Valla seems rarely to have remained long at any time in his native city. Poggio, as Papal Secretary, undoubtedly had pre-occupied the ear of the Pope with stories and suggestions to the prejudice of one who was generally accounted his successful rival. But on the accession of Nicholas V. to the Papal throne, (1447,) Valla received an invitation to reside at the Papal court and engage in its service. Here he was occupied largely in the translation of the classic Greek authors, for which the Pope liberally rewarded him. The latter showed himself the generous friend of learning and learned men. Born in an humble station, his merit had raised him to the highest rank in the Church, but he had not forgotten the sympathies of his earlier years. Almost at the same time that Valla returned to Rome, Poggio left it to enter upon his duties as chancellor of Florence. To this honourable position he had been elected on the decease of his predecessor and friend, Leonard Aretin. The favour shown to Valla by the Pope may have disturbed the equanimity of his old antagonist and rival. But the occasion on which his vindictiveness burst forth was the discovery of annotations made in criticism of his language on the margin of his book, "Letters of learned Men." These annotations, made by one of Valla's scholars, were ascribed by Poggio to the pen of the master. The offence was a mortal one. The hero of a hundred (wordy) battles prepared himself anew for the conflict. Nor was this a mere by-play. All the virulence which human language can express, every form of ridicule, sarcasm, sneer, reproach and invective, seem exhausted in these duels of scurrility, which are the disgrace of the literary history of the fifteenth century. It matters little what may be the subject of dispute, scholars as distinguished as Politiano, Niccolo Niccoli, George of Trebizond, Francesco Filelpo, and Poggio, descend without scruple to the grossest personalities. The *odium theologicum* has passed into a proverb, but the *odium literarium* may well dispute with it the palm of precedence. The aim of each of the disputants seemed to be not so much to elicit truth as to damage the other. Their conflict is like

that of two armed vessels, each seeking to sink its antagonist by its broadsides. The quarrel of Poggio and Valla is scarcely an exception to the general rule. Each deals largely in invective, gathering up the spent darts of old slanders, and dipping them in the venom of fresh malice to be hurled anew. In the present case, however, Poggio was the antagonist. Valla was not the criminal, but yet was made the object of a virulent assault. Perhaps he welcomed it. It gave him at least the opportunity of paying back with interest an old grudge. There were attacks and replies and counter replies. Each of the antagonists showed his ability, but each was vanquished. The private life of both—of Poggio especially—was vulnerable. Poggio was the more thorough master of Billingsgate; Valla the more expert in sarcasm and scornful invective confined within more decent limits. The estimate of Erasmus is doubtless somewhat exaggerated, through his prejudice in Valla's favour. He thinks indeed that the latter threw down his challenge in too confident and defiant a spirit, yet he says, "Poggio was so unlearned that, if it were not for his obscenity, he would not be worth reading, and so obscene that, if he had been most learned, good men should cast him aside. Valla, who is not obscene, and is a hundred-fold more learned, labours under the odium of mendacity, and is regarded as contentious by those who have never read his writings. This is the only thing urged against him, and in this they who attack imitate him, or rather they exceed him, for *they* bite him who is to them unknown. Why should not his many virtues be allowed to cover over a trivial fault?"

The language in which Valla speaks of Poggio is mildness and purity itself by the side of that "filth" with which he was pelted back, and which he threatened to make his antagonist swallow. He speaks of him as "a bad man," "not only lustful, but rather a professor of lust"—"an adulterer, a wine-bibber, and a sot"—as "avaricious, sacrilegious, perjured, a corrupter, a wretch, a slanderer." Valla bids Poggio "pile up the mountains of his curses and reproaches to cast him down from his heaven." "But I," says Valla, "will pierce you through along with your mountains wrapped in flames, with my thunder bolts, and bury you in the mass of an *Ætna* where, through its crater, you can scarce breathe the fiery smoke."

The merits of Poggio's work are then discussed, and their faults sharply criticised. He himself is represented as brought before an ideal court, and forced in confusion to acknowledge that his attack was base and unjust, and could not be sustained. Still again—as the discussion is continued in the form of dialogue—when Poggio is one of the speakers, he is made an object of the most stinging ridicule. Valla then presents copies of the letters which the learned men of his time had written to himself or others, in praise either of him or his works—a step for which he excuses himself by the necessity of repelling the slanders of Poggio. The obscenity which characterizes the *Facetiæ* of the latter, does not escape the caustic abuse of Valla's pen.

We look with a sad curiosity over these monuments of the *odium literarium*, covered over as they are with the marks of genius and its virulent antipathies. They are the cast-off armor of intellectual giants, scarred with the blows of an ignoble conflict. They can, however, add nothing to the fame of a man like Valla. His writings abound with evidence of that singular sagacity and grasp of mind, which sometimes seems to place him, at a bound, centuries ahead of his age. No man was less overawed and cramped than he, by the authority of rusty precedents. Justinian with his Pandects,* Jerome with his Latin Vulgate, Aristotle with his Categories, and the Papacy with its Decretals—each takes its turn in receiving the visitations of his critic lash. With falsehood, with everything that wore a mask, or wrapped itself about with impudent presumption, he waged a life-long war. Without that devotion to a principle which makes the martyr, he had that self-respect, that indignation at wrong, that instinctive sympathy with whatever was exposed to outrage, that made him chivalrous and daring, and confidently defiant, to the very verge of a worldly prudence. Circumstanced as he was, it was almost a matter of necessity with him that he should be a literary gladiator. His natural endowments and thorough scholarship gave him eminence. His success and honors made him a mark for envy. His criticisms—sometimes indiscreetly uttered—offered the necessary

* Vallæ Oper. 633.

provocation, and Valla's fiery nature would not brook an insult unavenged. Yet more than most, he restrained himself in his controversies within decent limits, nor does he seem to have shown, as many did, a gratuitous disposition to quarrel. Such, at least, is the view of Erasmus, who says: "If that candor which we demand of others, had been shown to him, the name of Valla, with all who love a pure literature, instead of invidious, would have been accounted grateful, and worthy to be venerated. He endured much to restore it. Harsh measures were perhaps necessary. He should be gratefully regarded by all, nor does it prove a man pugnacious that he dissents from others."

Valla's private life, as we have already hinted, was not free from reproach. Yet Poggio's representations of it are doubtless exaggerated. Valla had once entertained thoughts of a clerical life, and instead of forming any matrimonial engagement, copied the too frequent lessons of clerical example, in which the age abounded. He afterwards became a canon of St. John Lateran, and Secretary and Apostolic writer to the Pope Nicholas V. He died in 1457, aged fifty years.

ARTICLE III.

THE INWARD LIGHT.

It is said that the Society of Friends is numerically on the decline. So far as Great Britain is concerned, the assertion rests upon statistical data, which reveal a diminution that has run, with increasing ratio, along the present century. None are so well aware of this state of things, as the parties most concerned. In evidence, we adduce the fact that, a few years since, "a gentleman who laments that, notwithstanding the population of the United Kingdom has more than doubled itself, in the last fifty years, the Society of Friends is less in number than at the beginning of the century," advertised in "The Friend," published in London, a prize of one hundred guineas for the best essay which should afford "light respecting the causes of this change."

We have not seen statistics bearing on the state of the case, in our own country; but we suppose it to be a granted fact, that the membership of the Society is on the decrease. More particularly is this true if, in our estimate, we detach from the account those branches or "Meetings," which have manifestly departed from the theology of the founders of the Society, on the points which are most essential to the recovery of a lost race. Fox, Penn, Barclay, and other of the early Quaker writers, kept a truly Divine Redeemer, and a real atoning sacrifice, ever before the sinner; and they discovered the necessity for such a sacrifice, with such a victim, in the hopeless corruption which the fall brought upon the whole human race. If to adopt, with any tolerable approximation, the system which those men earnestly preached, is to be a Quaker, then we cannot take into the account men, or "Meetings," which ignore their doctrines respecting human depravity, and the person and work of Christ, as proper representatives of Quakerism. Dropping the Socinian element from the estimate, the reduction of membership would probably be quite as observable in this country as in Great Britain—perhaps more so.

But, granting the fact of this decline, it does not follow that Quakerism has been a failure; neither does it, of itself, involve any reproach, either to its principles, or to the faithfulness with which they have been carried out. On the contrary, this declension may stand in such relation to its history, its mission in the world, and the actual fruits of that mission, as to become a high proof of its divine origin, and a strong testimonial of its fidelity to its trust.

Quakerism, through the most active and efficient period of its career, prophesied ever in sackcloth. It bore the very brunt of bigotry; and among all Christian peoples, it was the last to feel the genial incoming of the reign of toleration. In Protestant countries, it gave the last victims to martyrdom. Even to this hour, the majority of Christians, perhaps the majority of Christian divines, have never learned a word of its theology or morals, its testimonies, acts, or sufferings, except through the medium of pens and voices purely antagonistical, always bringing the infirmities of the system into the boldest relief, and often distorting its virtues into odious shapes. It is time that the history of this

Society should challenge the calmer and juster notice of the Christian world. It is time the family of Christian denominations, who hold the two essentials of the Head and the Spirit, should inquire whether the services of a people who have so eminently exalted the last of these marks of the true church, have been appreciated; whether we give them, on earth, the record which they have on high.

The question whether, at the time of the rise of Quakerism, there was a call for a separate people, devoted to the propagation of their peculiar principles, should be viewed in the light of the internal condition of the Protestant church, under the Carolian and Cromwellian administrations. It was an age, over which our wonder never tires. We mean, in this remark, to cover the whole period, from the so-called Reformation in England, to the Revolution which dethroned the last James. Under the state ascendancy of King, Parliament, Lord Protector, or again King; and under the ecclesiastical ascendancy of Churchmen, or Dissenters, no regnant party yielded, for an instant, the doctrine that religious faith and rites should be enforced by the civil government. Sufferers who had pleaded most loudly for toleration, no sooner came into power, than they explained it as meaning freedom to follow the *right* religion, and that is *ours*.

We do not mean that it was an age devoid of holy men, great religious achievements, and far-reaching influences. We expect that the labors of the English Reformers, over the great doctrines of the covenants, fall, and restoration, will be felt for good, even amid those clearer and purer conceptions of the riches of the cross, which await the Church in her coming time of higher spiritual experiences. We look for editions of the "Living Temple," "Saint's Everlasting Rest," and "Pilgrim's Progress," to run through the press of the Millennium. It was the age of Owen, Stillingsfleet, Fuller, Howe, Baxter, and many others who will be held in everlasting remembrance. Such an age is not to be set down as only a blot on the religious history of the world.

The wonder is, that, amid all this breaking forth of clear-headed Divinity, on the right hand and the left; amid all that gracious enlightening that guided to the adoption of confes-

sions and constitutions which, under God, have regulated the Church in her noblest achievements, from that hour to the present, there should have remained such an obtuseness of perception respecting these primary elements of the Reformation, spiritual liberty and spiritual life. The more we study the history of the times, the greater our astonishment becomes, that men who had suffered so much, should have learned so little; or rather, that the lessons which they failed to learn, should have been those which, above all others, were suggested by the wrongs and sufferings they had endured.

It is true, a rapid enlargement of spirituality could not have been so reasonably expected from what was called the Established Church. That was the church of the king; and, working only under the royal will—a will which was seldom disciplined by grace, and never patient of dissent—it is not strange that a century elapsed before that Church fairly put on the distinguishing characteristics of the Reformation. But the Puritans had resisted spiritual intolerance so nobly, had passed through such fiery ordeals in defence of the rights of conscience, and had uttered such loud protests against the smothering of the spirit and the life under the load of rubrics, rituals, and altars, that the highest hopes for the “spirit and truth,” naturally arose from their political ascendancy.

Alas for our poor humanity! the carnal portion of the lessons of adversity had been learned only too well, while its spiritual teachings were still deep in the shade. In the matter of toleration, it was little more than a turning of the tables; in church administration, a scramble for the livings, patronages, and seats of power, from which churchmen had been ejected; and in ecclesiastical legislation, a strife for the excision or retention of certain phrases, ceremonies, and formulas. The great want of the age remained. The Church, still in anguish, throed vainly for the birth of the Spirit and the Life. Here and there were those whose spiritual perceptions and longings were in advance of the masses; who wondered that, in any age in which religion was the point of every controversy, and the animus of every stir—an age that was *all religion*—there should be so few to go behind the external, and inquire what makes religion; and who, in their sphere, labored to exalt the hearts of the people into immediate communion with God.

But these influences were too sparse for strength; and deeply mingled, as they were, in existing organizations, they were not sufficiently distinct for a protest. The loud call of the age was for a people, an outwardly distinct body of Christians, who should make the very principles at which the existing Christian people stumbled, their substratum and their salient point; a people, set apart to the mission of nourishing those principles into growth and power to assume their hold upon the whole of evangelical Christendom. Spiritual intolerance had already been rebuked by enough of fighting testimony; that testimony had been written—whether with, or without the divine sanction, is not now the question—in as red rivers as ever flowed along the battle-fields of England; and yet men had come from those fields, no wiser in the laws of Christian liberty, and none the more ready to allow people to worship, either in Jerusalem, or Mount Gerizim, no matter which, so that they worship in spirit and truth. A people was wanted, whose patient and suffering testimony should stand forth in the contrast, and put carnality to the blush; should be a noiseless and gradual working, by winsome measures and tender example, until the whole Church became insensibly permeated with the leaven, and fell in with the more excellent way, which leaves every person's responsibility for his religion to be settled with God. Above all, a people was wanted, whose influence should prevail to eliminate from religion, not its forms, as we shall hereafter see, but its formalism; not its rituals, but its ritualism; a people who should give a fresh start to the great fact which was so slow to emerge from the long spiritual night, that the only living element in worship, is the soul's communion with God.

If the rise, experience, labors, and sufferings of "the people called Quakers," have, in any fair measure, wrought this result in the Church, as a whole, then Quakerism has been a success. No matter what outward conditions yet await the Society—whether a revival from its present declension, still further to play its separate part in spiritual progressions; or whether the finger of Providence shall, at no distant day, write for it that its peculiar mission is fulfilled: if God has, to any great extent, employed its instrumentality to purge our worship and Christian enterprises of carnality, and to work in spirituality in its stead,

then, indeed, Quakerism has run a noble race, and proved a glorious success. Its corporeality may perish to-morrow; and those who never understood its true aims, or learned, in the light of heaven, what makes a people great, may think of it as a mere Bethlehem-Ephratah among the tribes of Israel; still, on the eternal record, it will stand far up among the achievements of the Reformation.

Nor do we falsify this conclusion, when we insist that the system of the Friends is burdened with serious errors. Those errors are generally extremes, the opposite of those they were meant to combat. That good men should pass from one extreme to another, is no matter of surprise. It is human nature, and every-day experience. Galileo is said to have taken the idea of the pendulum from the swinging of a lamp, suspended from the ceiling of the cathedral in Pisa. The wonder is, that it was left to the accidental movement of an object in nature, in the sixteenth century, to reveal a simple law of motion which had been illustrated by the oscillations of the human mind, some fifty-five hundred years.

Who knows how powerfully those errors, being counter extremes, may have wrought in the final elucidation of truth? There is a Providence in all things: God knew the human mind, and understood the power of startling propositions, to excite a reluctant attention. If George Fox had written a strong and good thesis, on the necessity of a truly divine moving, to render preaching, prayer, or singing of praises, acceptable to God, or on the impiety of assuming the Christian ministry without consciousness of being inwardly called of God to it, or to prove that the outward sacraments, without the inward grace, are only a solemn mockery, it would have left scarcely a mark in the world. Men would have looked at the title, and said: "This is all true enough: nobody doubts it." And nobody did doubt it. But, as Coleridge somewhere says, some things are *so* true that they cease to be regarded as truths; and such this truth had become with vast numbers of Christian preachers and worshippers in the days of Fox. Some explosive proposition was wanted, something that should burst with detonizing effect; something which should excite to a combat where the resistant, finding his own position treacherous, would be compelled to change his ground as the price of victory.

The Quakers had their Jupiter Tonans for the times. He proclaimed the use of external acts of worship, at set periods in a meeting, and after a digested programme, to be an impious attempt to control the motions of the Spirit, and a convenience for hypocrisy. To make of the ministry a profession and a post of authority in the Church, or to accept any stipulated emolument from it, was to play the part of a Simon Magus. Water baptism and the eucharistical supper were a Judaic inheritance; or worse, an out-and-out Popery. This was concussive; the storm came of course. And though sufficient could be said against the extreme positions of the Quakers, they always held in their hands enough of the argument to strip formalism of its plumes, and leave deep impressions of the worthlessness of a ministry, ordinances, and worship, where the inward moving of the Holy Spirit is not the inspiring element.

We believe it can be shown—whether with the approbation of the Friends, or not, we are in doubt—that these and other extreme positions which are the supposed peculiarities or marks of Quakerism, are not, after all, elementary to the system. They are rather its accidents; supposed inferentials from the central doctrine of Quakerism; adherings which might be disengaged from it, without at all disturbing its vital part. We believe further—and we shall refer to it in a more suitable connection—that all these adherings cling to one certain phase of that central doctrine; a phase which is not an inhering, but a construction which might be dropped without enfeebling its power, or compromising its divinity. Then, turning to the constituents of the system; to what ought to be seized on as its vitalities; we behold only the common faith of the evangelical Church. For those vitalities, as written articles, we admit no obligation to the Society of Friends, for they are in the oldest creeds and confessions extant. But, for the restoration of a living and working faith in them, we believe that Society to have been one of the divinely appointed agencies, the true value of whose services are beyond computation.

We have spoken of the central point of Quakerism: we mean the doctrine of the INWARD LIGHT. We give it the name by which it is generally known in the discourse of Friends. It is sometimes called the “Seed of God;” sometimes, also, “the

Life," or "the Word," the sense of the Johannean *ὁ λόγος*, being intended. The writer who probably excels, among the early Friends, in a clear conception of his own meaning, occasionally employs the significant term, *Vehiculum Dei*. As, however, none of these terms define themselves, when restricted to the peculiar sense in which the Friends employ them, we shall first inquire what is really meant by this Inward Light. This inquiry will embrace its parallelisms with some theological points, familiar to our Church, and its divergence from others. Its relation to rituals, outward ordinances, and official administrations in the Church, will afterward be noticed.

We now meet our first subject of inquiry—THE SUBSTANCE OF THE INWARD LIGHT.

We believe the term "authorized standards," is repudiated by the Friends, as involving the odious result of a creed. But they often exist, in effect, where they are disallowed by name. Indeed, without something of the kind, organic union is but a rope of sand.

We have before us the theological writings of several Friends, which, we suppose, come as near as any to the character of authorities in the case before us. It is the most simple course to select one good one, provided he covers the ground, and accords with the general tone of the whole. Such a one we have in Robert Barclay, the well-known author of "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers." Doubtless George Fox is personally of higher consideration. He was the founder of the Society, having, as he tells us, and as his co-religionists truly believed, received its leading principle "in the openings from the Lord." But his literature was too far short of his spiritual experiences, to allow him to spread out the system in a compact, arranged, and readable form. Barclay was a scholar, a reader, and a thinker. His style is choice, terse, and clear; his temper is devotional; and every sentence lets us deeper into the vitalities of the system. We commend Barclay's Apology to those who inquire for the Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light.

The first fourteen verses of the first chapter of the Gospel of John are the starting point. The *Life* that was in Christ, or

ὁ λόγος, is the *Light* of men. It can exist, as a real thing, in the minds of those who are unconscious of the visitation. "The Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not." It is a universal Light. It "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Not that every man becomes truly enlightened by it, for the darkness comprehendeth it not; but it comes to every man as a means of recovery and salvation; not merely to every race or nation, but to every individual, "that all men, through him, might believe."

This Light, or grace,—for these are ever used as convertible terms,—is to all men a saving Light, *i. e.*, a *sufficient* means of salvation; not excluding the *profit* of outward means, but still, in their unavoidable absence, sufficient of itself—"to every man a measure of saving, sufficient, and supernatural Light and grace."* John came to bear witness of the Light, "that all men, through it, [not *him*, as in the common translation,] might believe." Barclay defends this rendering of δι' αὐτοῦ, by insisting that it "doth very well agree with ἐφ' ὅς, as being the nearest antecedent," and also that it gives us a sense which falls in with the drift of the discourse, which he thinks cannot be said of the other. It explains the reason why the λόγος lighteth every man that cometh into the world, to wit, that all men, through it, might believe, or that it might become to all a possible means of saving faith, which certainly was not true of the personal preaching of John the Baptist.

The terms *saving* and *sufficient* are carefully explained as being used in the conditional, and not the absolute sense, simply placing the whole race of men in a salvable state; or, as it is expressed in Barclay's fifth proposition, "this Light enlighteneth the hearts of all for a time, in order to salvation; and this is it which reproves the sin of all individuals, and would work out the salvation of all, if not resisted." This author, who delights in syllogisms, regards himself as clinching the argument on the sufficiency of this Light for salvation, by the following premises and conclusion:—

"That which is given, 'that all men through it may believe, must needs be saving and sufficient: that, by walking in which,

* Barclay's Apology, Prop. V. and VI., § 21.

fellowship with the saints and the blood of Christ, 'which cleanseth from all sin,' is possessed, must be sufficient:—

"But such is the Light,—therefore, &c."

The last clause in the major proposition had been previously argued from 1 John 1: 7: "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another; and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin," to which Barclay gives this new reading, without at all conducting us through the process by which it is attained—fellowship with one another, and *fellowship with the blood of Jesus Christ which cleanseth, &c.*

A second syllogism is added, which has the merit of avoiding questionable renderings:—

'That which we are commanded to believe in, 'that we may become the children of the Light,' must be a supernatural, sufficient, and saving principle:

"But we are commanded [for this end,] to believe in this Light,—therefore, &c."

It is but just to remark, in this place, that while the arguments for the Inward Light cluster around the first fourteen verses of the Gospel of John, other parts of Scripture are brought so freely into the same service, as fairly to relieve the Friends from the odium of a hobby passage.

The question already arises, and it will meet us all along, whether we have, in all this, some influence or substance set forth, which is essentially a novelty, or whether the Quakers, in their own peculiar modes of speech, only express our common doctrine of the Holy Spirit, bearing abroad divine influences from the cross, as explained under the hypothesis of a general atonement: in other words, whether the Quakerism lies in the doctrine, or in the phraseology?

The Johannean WORD has never been a very palpable subject for human inquiry. It is much easier to tell what it is not than what it is. On the one hand, it is not God, in the sense in which nothing *proceeding from* him can be him; on the other hand, it is too low a view to speak of it as an *effluence* of his being, because the Word *was* God. Whatever God is, that is. We often identify it in the Rabbinical Shekinah,

or Messiah, but these terms were deeply mysterious, and consequently of little service in popular explanation. Whatever the *Thing* is—and we use this word in its intensest sense, as *res*, entity, in distinction from an influence or emanation;—yea more, the τὸ εἶν of the old philosophers which excludes the idea of “becoming,” (John 1: 1,)—we say, whatever it is, it certainly made the person of Christ such as it was, God manifest in the flesh, not as the soul to the body, but as truly God as man.

Perhaps the *ministrations* of the divine Word and Light of the Quakers, amount to just what we should call the *working energy* of the Holy Spirit. The striving power of that Spirit—we now use familiar language—is doubtless co-extensive with the atonement. We suppose that, in its sufficiency for the remission of sins, to have been universal. *General* is the word commonly used, but that word, as contradistinguished from limited, means universal. So also we find the Holy Spirit convincing *the world* of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment. We have our difficulties respecting the mode in which this sufficiency of the cross affects certain classes, such as the heathen; but these difficulties are immeasurably less than those which grow out of any other view. Barclay pushes the Quaker scheme to a point where he supposes these difficulties to vanish; but of that in its place. When we reach the higher operations of the Spirit in regeneration, and in its abiding influence in the believer's soul, we shall find more of what we suppose the Friends mean by the Light within—Christ dwelling *in* the believer, and Christ *formed* in him the hope of glory.

Another question arises, Do not the Quakers merge in this *gracious* Light, the natural conscience, a constituent faculty of the mind, which abides in it when that Light is quenched, and every influence from the cross is withdrawn? Barclay, in arguing the universality of this Light, cites the fact that “there was never yet a man found, in any place of the earth, however barbarous and wild, but hath acknowledged that, at some time, less or more, he hath found somewhat in his heart, reproving him for some things evil which he hath done, threatening a certain horror if he continued in them, as also promising and

communicating a certain peace and sweetness, as he has given way to it, and not resisted it.”*

If this be not the proper office of conscience, it would be difficult to assign a field to that faculty. Still Barclay insists that the Inward Light is an entirely distinct thing from the natural conscience, because the latter is susceptible of corruption and defilement, while the former can never be brought to consent to wickedness. We have doubts, however, whether conscience ever yields an active consent to sin. We know it may be lulled, seared, and so stupefied as not to resist sin; but we believe that whenever it awakes, it speaks for the right. So far as we can see, while the Friends recognise the existence of a natural conscience, they put the doctrine of the Inward Light into a shape which overlaps it. And we just add here that the same appears to be the case with the relation of the Inward Light to that instinctive or rational religious sense in man, which we call natural religion. This we shall directly see.

The doctrine of the Inward Light assumes that of the Fall. Concerning the latter, nothing can be more explicit than the following language: “All Adam’s posterity, or mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, as to the first Adam, or earthly man, is fallen, degenerated, and dead; deprived of the sensation or feeling of this inward testimony or seed of God; and is subject unto the power, nature, and seed of the serpent, which he soweth in men’s hearts while they abide in this natural and corrupted state: from whence it comes that, not only their words and deeds, but all their imaginations are evil perpetually in the sight of God, as proceeding from this depraved and wicked seed. Man, therefore, as he is in this state, can know nothing aright; yea, his thoughts and conceptions concerning God and things spiritual, until he be disjoined from this evil seed, and united to the Divine Light, are unprofitable both to himself and others.”†

In the argument on this proposition, the author discriminates between the corruption propagated from Adam, and the imputation of Adam’s sin to his posterity. He disclaims the inference, which he thinks Augustinian, and which he very kindly

* Apology, Prop. V. and VI., § 11.

† Barclay’s Apology, Prop. IV.

excuses in Augustine, from the fact that it came out in his declining age, and under the acerbities of the Pelagian controversy, that man, "in his very mother's womb, and before he commits any actual transgression, is contaminate with a real guilt, whereby he deserves eternal death . . . that many poor infants are eternally damned," &c., &c. And he just as distinctly repudiates the Pelagian and Socinian doctrine which "exalts the light of nature, or the faculty of the natural man, as capable of himself, by virtue of the inward will, faculty, light, and power that pertains to his nature, to follow that which is good, and make real progress toward heaven." Affirming that Adam did not retain in his nature, "any will or light capable to give him knowledge in spiritual things," he infers that his posterity cannot do it, "for whatsoever real good any man doeth, it proceedeth not from his nature, as he is man, or the son of Adam, but from the seed of God in him, as a new visitation of life, in order to bring him out of this natural condition."

To a world thus apostate, and disabled from the power to know or do good, he presents this Light, this life of men, seed of God, grace, this *vehiculum Dei*, which comes to all, and becomes the saving principle in all who do not resist the gracious visitation. The first of these influences—its coming to all—is thus described in Proposition VII., under the head of justification:—"For as much as all men who have come to man's estate have sinned, therefore all have need of this Saviour, to remove the wrath of God from them, due to their offences: in this respect he is truly said to have borne the iniquities of us all, in his body on the tree, and therefore is the only Mediator, having qualified the wrath of God toward us; so that our former sins stand not in our way, being, by virtue of his most satisfactory sacrifice, removed and pardoned."

The higher manifestation of this Light is more especially to be noticed, because it involves the Quaker view of the regeneration of the heart.

"We consider then our redemption in a two-fold respect. The first is the redemption performed and accomplished by Christ for us in his crucified body without us: the other is the redemption wrought by Christ in us. The first is that whereby

man, as he stands in the fall, is put into a capacity of salvation. . . . The second is that whereby we witness and know this pure and perfect redemption in ourselves, purifying, cleansing, and redeeming us from the power of corruption, and bringing us into unity, favour, and friendship with God. By the first, we, that were lost in Adam, plunged into the bitter and corrupt seed . . . are, notwithstanding all this, so far reconciled to God, by the death of his Son, while enemies, that we are put into a capacity of salvation, having the glad tidings of the gospel of peace offered unto us, and God reconciled unto us in Christ, calls and invites us to himself. By the second, we witness this capacity brought into act, whereby receiving and not resisting the purchase of his death, to wit, the light, spirit, and grace of Christ revealed in us, we witness and possess a real, true, and inward redemption from the power and prevalency of sin, and so come to be truly and really redeemed, justified, and made righteous, and to a sensible union and friendship with God."

And again afterwards: "This inward birth, this Jesus brought forth in the heart, who is the well-beloved whom the Father cannot but accept, and all those who thus are sprinkled with the blood of Jesus, and washed with it: by this also comes the communication of the goods of Christ unto us, by which we come to be partakers of the divine nature, and are made one with him, as the branches with the vine, and have a title and right to what he hath done and suffered for us, so that his obedience becomes ours, his righteousness ours, his death and sufferings ours." *

We have referred to the stress which the Friends lay upon the point, that this visitation of grace extends to all mankind, and that it is to all a saving light, i. e., placing all in a capacity for salvation; and that this is as truly the case with those who have no instruction from the written revelation from God, as with the most enlightened sinner in gospel lands.

We have confessed to the perplexities which surround this subject—we mean the last clause above. It is an abstract point; and yet, upon second thought, not quite so abstract, for

* Apology, Prop. VII., § 3.

it does personally concern millions of people, and it also deeply affects our own cordiality toward the government of God. We are of one mind respecting the future state of deceased infants, and idiots who have no personal moral responsibility. For these stories about orthodox divines preaching that infants go to hell, is—if a vulgar word will not offend—*all humbug*. We know that bad things were said when polemics raged until men were mad, but, outside of the Romish Church, we know not where to look for a professedly Christian teacher, who preaches eternal damnation for any who are not, of themselves, moral agents. Our usual method of disposing of the subject is to say that, through some mode of the Spirit's operation, unrevealed to us, the blood of Christ avails to wash away their original corruption, and that is all we know about it.

Our difficulties are greater in relation to the heathen, who are moral agents. We can see cause enough for their condemnation, in their sin under such means of knowledge as they have—the lights of nature, reason, and conscience. But why, after the Divine munificence, in an atonement, co-extensive in its provisions with the wants of the world, an only means of enjoying that munificence, should be denied to the largest number in this world, is a question which tries all our faith, and before which we stand dumb. In fact, evangelical Christians are not unanimous on the point; and the inquiry is often earnestly made, whether God may not, through the atonement, save a heathen who is contrite, and who seeks reconciliation with God by all means in his power.

Barelay finds no trouble in the case. But his solution of the question, though it does not impair the *authority* of the Holy Scriptures as a true and divine revelation, does detract seriously from their importance as a means of salvation. They are *a* medium through which the Light shines, and, as such, admitted to be of superior value to any other outward means of grace, so that it is blessed to live in a Christian land where they are read, and awful to be a heathen without them. But they are not the indispensable vehicle of the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. The point is pressed—*every man* is lighted by it; and, for the mode, a resort is had to the doctrine of *Immediate Revelation*.

THE LIGHT is the same Spirit which strove with the old world, the same which taught salvation in Christ to the patriarchs who testified their faith by bloody sacrifices, the same through which the pious Jew believed unto salvation, and which can still take its own mode to reach any heart, independent of outward knowledge and means. All the attainments of the heathen philosophers, such as Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, are ascribed to it, thus, as before stated, covering the ground of natural religion, and no doubt is expressed that many heathen have, through it, believed and attained salvation.

Among other passages which he cites in support of this view, is one which has tried the skill of commentators, but which he thinks happily explained on his hypothesis. It is Colossians, 1: 23, where Paul speaks of the gospel which his brethren had heard, as that "which was preached to every creature which is under heaven,"—ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει, &c. Preached *in* every creature, is Barclay's rendering, giving to the proposition the same reading which our translators give it, in the parallel passage, verse 6, ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, *in* all the world. Adopting this reading, he makes the *gospel* of which the apostle spoke, not the written or spoken narration or message which was preached *to* or *at* men, but a metonymy for the power behind the "good tidings," the Light, Grace, Spirit, which was everywhere preached *in* them, and so—the doctrine of immediate revelation coming into account—"preached in every creature which is under heaven."

It cannot, however, escape the notice of the logical reader, that to make a proposition the basis of a peculiar interpretation, and then to turn that interpretation about as an argument for the proposition, is reasoning in a circle. Besides, Paul's modes of thought and speech were Hebrew, and it accords precisely with those modes, to speak of the future as contained in the great commission to preach the gospel to every creature. Then granting, as we safely may, that our common rendering of verses 6 and 23 are each allowable, an obvious reason exists why ἐν should, in the first case, read *in*, and in the last, *to*. In the first, it is not the persons to whom the gospel is preached that are spoken of, but the place where they are found,—the world. In the last, it is not the place, but the persons. The

whole reading is natural—in the world, and to the creatures. At the same time it is but fair to say that the Quaker rendering is perfectly grammatical, and that, if the doctrine which identifies the gospel with the Inward Light, and makes it a gracious visitation to our whole race, irrespective of the written revelation, would be properly established, the peculiar reading in question would not be without its beauty.*

The most serious error in the Inward Light doctrine, is found in its immediate revelation phase. It is true the Friends provide cautiously against any collision between immediate revelations and the Holy Scriptures, by referring both to the same divine source and Spirit of truth which cannot contradict itself. No people have more unequivocally expressed their faith in the Holy Scriptures, as a true revelation from God, ever as such to be obeyed, both in doctrines and rules of conduct. Fox, Penn, Barclay, Scott, and others, have so repeatedly asserted or assumed this, as to place their views beyond question. They do, indeed, object to applying to the Bible, the phrase “word of God,” because of the peculiar use for which their system requires them to reserve the term WORD, but they freely allow the plural, words of God.

Still a result follows, which no care of theirs can avoid,—a lowering of the position which the Scriptures should hold as the supreme revealed rule of faith and morals. They are only of parallel authority with those “revelations of God, by the Spirit, by outward views and appearances, dreams, or inward objective manifestations in the heart, which were of old the formal object of faith, and remain yet so to be.” True, this qualification follows: “These divine inward revelations neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the Scriptures.” But again: “From hence it will not follow that these [inward]

* The rendering of our version is, however, by no means without authority in the apostle's writings. Thus, 1 Cor. 2: 6. *Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τέλεις*, “We speak wisdom among them that are perfect.” 1 Cor. 14: 11. *Καὶ ὁ λαλῶν, ἐν ἑμοὶ βάρβαρος*, “He that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto (*apud, coram*) me.” 1 Cor. 6: 2, *εἰ ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος*, “If the world shall be judged by (*coram*) you.”

So in the Orators, *ἐν ὑμῖν, apud vos, judices*. So, *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τιν.* before one's eyes (*ante oculos*.) See Winer, vol. ii, p. 403.—EDITORS.

revelations are to be subjected to the test of the outward testimony of the Scriptures as to a more noble or certain rule and touchstone; for this divine revelation and inward illumination is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto."*

We have no difficulty with the doctrine of a special illumination—an immediate revelation, if the Friends please—supernatural and divine, outside of, but not without the written words; and, equally with them, we regard those written words, in the absence of this revealing Spirit, powerless for spiritual enlightening and salvation. We look to this revealing Spirit to open our eyes, that we may behold wondrous things in the law of God. We recognise it as the promised Comforter, to teach us all things, and bring to our remembrance all things which Christ has said unto us. We turn to it as that which gives life, while the letter alone would kill. We gain no profit, no comfort, no heavenly illumination, and we expect no final good from the purest and clearest instructions of the Holy Scriptures, without an immediate inward revelation of both their sense and spirit. As said by Luther,—quoted with approbation by Barclay—"No man can make himself a teacher of the Holy Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit alone. No man can rightly know God, or understand the Word of God, unless he immediately receive it from the Holy Spirit, except he find it by experience in himself; and in this experience the Holy Ghost teacheth."

The whole subject is much relieved by a happy inconsistency, a slip in the logic of Barclay. It occurs in the very connection where we should most fear the influence of his system. It will be recollected that he says these Divine revelations are not to be "subject to the test of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, as to a more noble or certain rule and touchstone," but that the inward illumination is "*evident and clear of itself*, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent, irresistibly moving the same thereunto." This language is strong, expressive, and

* Barclay's Apology, Prop. II., on Immediate Revelation.

we should say, clear. The revelation which each person receives is *self-evident*; it is to be known by its own teaching, as a true divine revelation, and nothing from the Scriptures is to be brought into conflict with its verity.

In juxtaposition with the above, we now place a few sentences from section 6, under Proposition iii. "Of the Scriptures." Like those just given, they are emphatic, but all to this point, that in every person's judgment of the spiritual exercises of all the rest of the world, and in the submission of his own doctrines and conduct to the judgment of others, the Holy Scriptures are, after all, the decisive test. "Moreover, because they [the Scriptures] are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit . . . we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatever doctrine is contrary to their testimony, may, therefore, justly be rejected as false. And for our parts, we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them; which we never refused, nor ever shall, in all our controversies with our adversaries, as the judge and test. *We shall also be willing to admit it as a positive certain maxim, that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil.*"

On the assumption that personal inward revelations are never to be subjected to the outward testimony of the Scriptures, as to a more noble or certain rule, what security has the world against the fanaticisms and extravagancies of self-deceived men,—to say nothing of wicked imposters,—who mistake mere passing impressions for a divine moving or illumination? However absurd the imaginary revelation may be, or however offensive the conduct which it promotes, the subject of it must never yield the question of its verity to his fellow-men, for it "forces" his assent "by its own evidence;" that is, it is self-evident, an evidence which admits of no ratiocination. He must never submit it to the outward testimony of the Scriptures, for after teaching him to rank it as a higher revelation within, we cannot ask him to accept those Scriptures as a competent test.

Happily, Barclay seems himself to have anticipated probabilities of this kind, and to have forestalled them with his testi-

mony, that any pretence to a spiritual illumination which is contrary to the Scriptures, shall be reckoned a delusion of the devil. This falls in so perfectly with our views of the rule to apply to every supposed divine revelation, light, or afflatus of any kind, that we cheerfully drop the question of its coherence with the preceding quotations.

And we are the more happy to find him thus righting himself, because this doctrine of the Inward Light, as a whole, contains so much of our common faith, so much that is more than valuable, that is vital to godliness, so much which, at the time it was first preached, was too strange a thing to the Church. Rome had buried it deep in the labyrinths of sacraments, breviaries, "ruffles and ribbons." Protesters against Rome were astonishingly slow in exhuming it. After a hundred years of "reformation," the question seemed still to lie in the future, whether the outward Church, and the outer things of the Church, should become the glorious habitation, or the sarcophagus of piety. With all the excesses of the people in question, they certainly taught the most effectual lessons of the day respecting religion, as, back of all its surroundings, a supernatural and spiritual entity; as, distinguished from all its incitements, accidents and out-actings, an **INNER LIFE**.

We turn to our next subject of inquiry—**THE RELATION OF THE INWARD LIGHT TO RITUALS, OUTWARD ORDINANCES, AND OFFICIAL ADMINISTRATIONS IN THE CHURCH.**

Outward services are the sensual element in religion. We mean that the demand for them is found in the sensual part of our human composition; in the relation of the eye, the ear, and the touch, to the spiritual nature, and in the place which, for the present, the former occupy as *media* to the latter. It follows that when the strength of the spirit for immediate communion with God, is feeble, and its means for such immediate communion are few, the necessity for an extensive system of religious externals, is great, and they occupy an exceedingly high place in the religious economy. But their importance diminishes in exact ratio with the means which exist for enlightening the spiritual nature, and lifting it up into more immediate communion with heaven; and whenever the time is reached that immediate divine intuitions are unclouded, and this com-

munion is without sensual hinderance, or, in other words, when the spirit,

“Unfettered to the flesh, unchained to earth,”

is dissevered from its partnership with the outward nature, the whole occasion for ceremonials, with their official administrations, will cease.

This we suppose to be the outline of the philosophy of ordinances; and it is certainly—as truth almost always, in the end, turns out to be—very simple. We have stated it, not because we would cast any divinely instituted ordinance upon the poor chances of philosophy for support, or because we would accept the imposition of any ordinance, simply on the demand of philosophy; but because it falls in so well with the shape which we suppose Christ and his apostles gave to this matter, under the new dispensation. It also gives to the error of the Friends, on the point, the most beautiful shade which an error can take—the giving to earth more than its possible amount of heavenliness. They are doubtless correct in easing off the spiritual nature from its dependence on externals, under the more immediate “openings,” as Fox would call them, which belong to the dispensation of an indwelling Paraclete, (“He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you;”) and, outside of the Scriptures, their argument would be irresistible, would they but show that, under the present conditions of humanity, it is possible for the spirit to obtain the entire non-sympathy with the outward senses which exists in heaven.

But just here is the missing link in their chain of argument. They mistake an increase for a fulness; a wondrous advance, for a consummation; a pentecostal effusion for “seeing as we are seen, and knowing as we are known.” We should be sorry to crowd them with the question:—Is this placing too high an estimate on pre-heavenly attainments, or does it involve too low a view of those which are really celestial?

In that peculiar effusion of Christian days, which is best known by the phrase, pouring out of the Spirit, there was nothing *essentially* new, and nothing which evinced completeness. Neither of these positions needs to be argued in this connection. The first is pre-eminently Quaker ground, as could

be shown by referring back to the Inward Light doctrine. The last is involved in their urging the perpetual necessity for a mental introversion, in order to secure the effusion in question, even in measure. This introversion of the mind is never perfect in this world; for when does a Friend ever go so far out of the body, that not a muscle stirs at the wild cry of *fire*?

We repeat that, in the effusion in question, there was nothing essentially new, and nothing complete. It was a wonderful breaking forth of the same light, life, and grace, by which God had of old converted sinners, and Christ had dwelt in the saints. Now, indeed, this going forth was in freshened power, and greater directness, and was attended by new phenomena. Still, as an illumination, it was only in *part* (Rom. 13: 9, 10,) awaiting a future *perfect* when that which is in part shall be done away.

This view of the case meets the argument which first admits the necessity for external rites in worship, under the old law, but insists that the purer illuminations of the Christian dispensation have terminated all occasion for them. The Friends grant us, nay they teach us, that the old Church enjoyed the same light and grace with ourselves, feebler in its manifestations it is true, but perfect in identity; and they further allow their ceremonials to have been of divine appointment. This then settles the question, that the enjoyment of this inward light, or the coming into spiritual communion with God, does not of necessity forbid the aid of sensual *media* in promoting such communion; and hence it is not a logical consequence of the Quaker theology, that worship should be divested of its corporeal element.

But it involves, as a necessary consequence, the very economy which we suppose Christ and his apostles instituted in the case. They seem to have assumed that, just in proportion as the darkness is passed, and the light shines clearer, forms and ceremonies become perilous to spirituality; that, in fact, all regard for them beyond what our state and condition require, is at the expense of the "Spirit and truth" in worship. So much is shadowed forth in our Lord's discourse to the woman of Samaria, and is plainly taught in several of the epistles, especially those to the Galatians and Hebrews. Hence the sacrifices,

ceremonial cleansings, and priesthood, were superseded by those realities which fulfilled their signification, while the few and simple externals of the Christian law were ordained to meet the remaining sensuous requirements of our natures.

Thus provision was made to bring the outward senses into the service of the soul, in acts of worship—particularly public worship. We insist, equally with the Friends, that the vital element in worship, is a yielding to the drawing of the Spirit, and that the outward act, which we hold to be no more than an incitement and witness, is worse than worthless, is hypocrisy, when it is set up as a constituent of worship. We do not deny that this point was poorly understood, and worse carried out, at the time the Friends first felt their call to testify against formalism, for we recognise only too much truth in some of Barclay's pungent satires upon the modes of public service then prevalent.

But we take the case as it now stands. We know of no Christian who has reached the first milestone in the outward road from Judaism, who does not confess to the deadness and abomination of any outward act of worship, except as it is prompted by a direct operation of the Spirit moving thereunto. We do not deny that there are exceptions to this in the so called Christian Church. We have people who came into the world about twenty centuries too late, and who are ever talking about sacramental virtue, and fidgeting, with ante-Messianic nervousness, over the surroundings and appointments of holy altars, as if every stitch of embroidery, every fold in a napkin, were represented in their efficacy. But these Sinaitic fossils are now too few to affect the general state of the case.

Returning to the general feeling of the evangelical Church, we find the Friends agreeing with us respecting the divine authority for these visible accessories of public worship, a gathering of the people, vocal exhortations, instructions, prayers, and songs of praise. The first of these the Friends, like others of us, place under the law of prescription. The time and place are designated, and the duty of attendance is upon all, without regard to special spiritual movings. The others they place under the law of immediate revelation. Those parts of worship are performed by any one who finds himself or herself stirred

thereunto, but if no one feels the call, the meeting passes as it began, with silent waiting upon God. This silent waiting consists in that introversion of mind, before spoken of, which is supposed to open the way for the divine incoming. We do not find, from any descriptions we have read, that it is a reaching forth after them, but it seems to be a passive preparation for their entrance.

Indeed we have noticed with surprise, how largely passivity enters into the Quaker system of religious experiences, including even that of regeneration itself, all of which seem to be the fruit of the non-resistance of gracious visitations.*

In support of this practice of silent waiting for a divine exercise, Barclay, at the commencement of the section just referred to, quotes no less than twenty-six passages of Scripture. He has not here done justice to his usual skill in the selection of proof-texts. Not one of them implies *silent* waiting, and most of them involve an active out-reaching effort. In almost all from the New Testament, the word is *watch*, as e. g. 1 Cor. xvi. 13, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith," &c. Those from the Old Testament belong to the time when the old law was in force, when public worship was regulated by a divine programme, and of course they cannot mean the silent waiting of an assembly for worship.†

While, for reasons already given, we are not surprised that the early Friends carried their abhorrence of mere formalism to a revolt from everything formal, we still suggest that they rather straiten than unbind the Spirit. They make his power of utterance through the preaching of the word, and his power of intercession in prayer, eccentric, occasional, and uncertain, and not a sure influence in all who gird themselves for appointed public duties, in reliance on his aid.

We find the great commission to preach the gospel accompanied with the promise, "Lo, I am with you;" not in occasional

* See near close of § 10 of Prop. xi. of Barclay's Apology.

† Some reader may wish to examine the texts. They are found as follows: Ps. xxv. 3; xxvii. 14; xxxvii. 7, 9, 34; lxix. 6; Prov. xx. 22; Isa. xxx. 18; xl. 31; xlii. 23; Lam. iii. 25, 26; Hos. xii. 6; Zeph. iii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 42; xxv. 13; xxvi. 41; Mark, xiii. 33, 35, 37; Luke, xxi. 36; Acts, i. 4; xxii. 31; 1 Cor. xvi. 13; Col. iv. 2; 1 Thess. v. 6; 2 Tim. iv. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

movings to preach and pray, or in spasmodic effusions, but "*always*." We find no such condition as silent waiting annexed to any command to preach, or pray, or sing psalms of praise; but we do find the apostles preaching whenever assemblies were called to hear them, and we find people convened for the special purpose of prayer, and there prayer was sure to be offered. We find no Scriptural record of an assembly, convened for worship, which sat in silence, and separated without a word being spoken. So we take up the command to preach the word, and pray, expecting the Spirit to be our mouth and wisdom, and to make intercession for us according to the will of God. If we fail of this unction, we do not attribute the failure to any want of fulness in the promise, but the sin lies at our own door.

So also we accept the command, in the same commission, to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Friends mistake us when they suppose that we regard the official application of water to the person as *the* Christian baptism. This is the rite, and rites are but visibilities and incitements, like outward acts of prayer and praise. The actuality is the baptism of the Holy Ghost; and without this purely spiritual influence, the rite passes for nothing.

But we avoid the error before referred to—the confounding of rituals with ritualism. We see no force in the conclusion that, because the virtue does not inhere to the rite, therefore the rite ceases to be of any spiritual value. As in *Æsthetics*, we find that some of the finest mental experiences come in through sensuous media, so we admire the wisdom of our Lord, in still claiming the service of the outward senses as an accessory to the most refined tone of spirituality. Going to the Holy Scriptures, we find the command to baptize co-extensive with the command to preach the gospel—a part of the same commission, under the same promise of a spiritual effusion to the end of the world. It would not have meant the baptism of the Holy Ghost, to the exclusion of water baptism, since the former is not committed to human hands. Besides, the apostles doubtless practised it as it was meant; and in all the history of baptisms, under the apostolic administration, every case where the narrative affords the least clue to the question,

whether water was or was not used, there was manifestly a baptism with water. Neither is there any intimation of the thing which Barclay assumes, that water baptism was a condescension to the times, a gentle letting down from Judaism, used less and less, and to be dismissed entirely as soon as the transition was complete. To the last hour of New Testament history, where any information respecting the mode of initiation exists, not an instance occurs of the reception of a person, unbaptized with water, into the company of believers.

We take the same exception to Barclay's view of the apostolical practice, respecting the outward ordinance of the Lord's Supper. He admits that it was practised for a season, insists that this was done in condescension to Jewish prejudices, and then, arguing that the practice should have ceased when these prejudices died away, *assumes* the ground that it did thus cease. The conclusion is drawn wholly from a false view, which makes no account of the intent of the ordinance.

The Inward Light doctrine, divested of its excrescences, might be made to bear an interesting and intense relation to the true sacramental communion. It goes far towards solving those mysteries, which, under such names as transubstantiation, consubstantiation, mystical presence, &c., have puzzled plain believers. It literalizes the partaking of Christ, feeding on him, &c., without involving the absurdity that this is done in the outward act of eating and drinking.

In defence of the proposition, (XIII.,) that the communion of the body and blood of Christ is an inward and spiritual participation of his flesh and blood, nourishing the inward man, Barclay quotes largely and pertinently from John vi., giving to the terms, "that bread of life," "the living bread which came down from heaven," the bread "that a man may eat thereof and not die," and "my flesh [which] is meat indeed, and my blood [which] is drink indeed," the same exquisitely Johannean sense which he ascribes to the "Word," "Light," and "Life" in the first chapter.

We have been told of a dry sarcastic Calvinist, who was annoyed by the pertinacity of a Methodist brother in seeking a theological controversy, and who, when the question was asked in a tone which seemed to say, "There you are nailed"—

"Did not Judas fall from grace?" curtly replied, "Yes, Judas was a Methodist." We presume our brethren of the Society of Friends would more cordially accept the proposal to give them John as a Quaker. This, however, would require some expurgations, both from his evangel and epistles, as, for example, his testimony, (1 John v. 8,) that the Spirit, the water, and the blood are the record of Christ on earth; the divine effusion as the vital element, and its open confession in the baptismal water and memorial cup. Still we have real pleasure in congratulating the Friends that their most essential principle draws them so naturally to the sacred writer, who is pre-eminently rich in his description of the innermost vitalities of religion, always taking the reader behind the veil of the seen and sensible, and face to face with the indwelling Light and Love.

The most of Barclay's argument against the outward celebration of the body and blood of Christ, lies chiefly against the absurdities which, in his day, adhered so stubbornly to the theory of the sacrament—a theory just exhuming itself from the Romish mass, and slower in purifying itself than almost any other doctrine of the Reformation. Place the ceremony upon its proper basis; relieve it of all mystical meanings; simplify its purport until it is reduced to just what Christ made of it—"This do *in remembrance of me*;" just what it stands for in the Pauline warrant for its continued observance—"As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, *ye do show the Lord's death till he come*;" and then, for aught we see, the Quaker objections against it are reduced to this, that it is a "visibility," a use of the senses in the service of the Spirit.

Of course, with our views of what humanity is, and must be until it is etherealized by a removal to the spiritual world, this objection is with us a merit. While we disclaim all confidence in the intrinsic efficacy of any external, we expect often to have our best feelings quickened by what we see, hear and do. We regard both the office and profit of the ordinance as well expressed in one of our sacramental hymns:

"Jesus is gone above these skies,
Where our weak senses reach him not;
And carnal objects court our eyes
To thrust our Saviour from our thought.

He knows what wandering hearts we have,
Apt to forget his lovely face,
And, to refresh our minds, he gave
These kind memorials of his grace."

In like manner, the burden of the argument, from the Inward Light, against a professional ministry, lies chiefly against the abuse of the office. It does not reach such a ministry as our standards call for, and such as we believe now exists in larger proportion than at any former period within the last sixteen hundred years. We certainly hold with Barclay, (Prop. X.,) that, "as by this gift, or Light of God, [the Inward Light,] all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed, so by the same, as it is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, every true minister of the gospel is ordained, prepared, and supplied in the work of the ministry; and by the leading, moving, and drawing hereof, ought every evangelist and Christian pastor to be led and ordered in his labor and work of the gospel, both as to the place where, as to the persons to whom, and as to the times when he is to minister."

It is true we dissent from the Quaker meaning in the last clause—a meaning which forbids coming forward, with intent to preach at times appointed for the purpose, and which requires a special leading for each particular occasion. We have already said that we take larger views of the promise, "Lo, I am with you *always*." We believe the Christian minister should ever go before the world, as Paul wrote to Rome he was sure he should go thither, "in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ." What we should say on this point has been in the main said, while speaking of the relation of the Inward Light to public worship.

But while we regard the true call to the ministry as consisting in the "necessity," inwrought by the Spirit, we see no occasion for the inference, that one who feels this divine urgency should not submit to such precautionary rules as are required to guard the flock of Christ against intentional deceivers, or good but self-mistaken persons, who run before they are sent. Neither do we see that it involves the people in any obligation to accept the ministry of any one who comes to them

claiming this divine commission. Some provision must exist somewhere on earth, for trying the spirits, and judging of the claims of men to sacred callings, or there is an end to all spiritual order in the house of God.

Even the Friends practically acknowledge this. Among them, the term, "an approved minister of the Society of Friends," is of common occurrence. We suppose this means that his or her claim to a divine call to the ministry has been submitted to the judgment of some proper persons, or some meeting, and by them approved; and we further suppose this provision exonerates their people from the obligation to accept the ministrations of any one who has not been approved.

Such a divinely appointed medium or authority for the ratification of the inward call, as is prescribed in the pastoral epistles, in the hands of pious and conscientious administrations, forms at once the sought safeguard. It gives security to the Church; and to the minister free access to fields of labor. In the Holy Scriptures, the source of authority to administer the gospel, word, and ordinances, is always represented as being in God. The true ordaining grace and power is his. Yet in every instance where the particulars of a person's assumption of the ministry are given, there was an earthly induction to the work, and, after the ascension of Christ, it was through the suffrage of men.

The Friends regard us as binding the Spirit, by requiring human qualifications as a requisite to the ministry, particularly human learning, and that natural gift which goes under the name of *aptness*. We suppose that a reproach of our care on this point lies concealed under one line of the last extract from the Apology. It is an old question, and room fails us. It is enough now to say that, while every argument from the state of the world, and the needs of the Church, is loudly on our side, there is much apostolical precedent for us, and none that can be identified against us. The apostles were once illiterate fishermen, but they were not unlearned when they went before the world as ministers of the gospel. They had studied theology with Christ, and were largely taught in human learning by a direct miracle. Others were afterwards called into the ministry. In most cases, no intimation is given respecting

their acquirements in human knowledge. In a few instances, we know those acquirements to have been good, and in none, are we told they were low. *There is no evidence from the New Testament that the ministry was ever committed to an illiterate person.*

The sense of the Christian world, in some cases unwittingly, but always by some indubitable expression, proclaims the high value of human learning, as an auxiliary qualification for imparting spiritual instruction. The Friends themselves are no exception to this fact. In commending their principles to the community at large, they place the highest reliance on such of their writers as excel in scholarship. George Fox is the fountain head of Quakerism. We mean that, speaking after the manner of men, he is such. The doctrine of the Inward Light, in its Quaker phase, sprung to life in his experience, it was first given to the world through his exercisings, and who should then be so competent as himself to teach us its nature and power? He was also a man to leave his mark on his generation—a great man, and, we unhesitatingly add, good.

Yet it is seldom, if ever, that a Friend directs inquirers to the writings of Fox, to learn of Quakerism. Penn, Sewell, Gough, but oftener than all others, Barclay is recommended as a teacher. Why not Fox? He wrote much, wrote in a sincere and spiritual tone, and wrote the fresh springings of his soul. This passing by him is the involuntary homage of Quakerism to the value of learning as a qualification for teaching religion. Fox was illiterate, and his writings are crude. Barclay was a scholar, and with no more, with perhaps less unction than breathes through the rougher compositions of Fox, he enjoys the higher confidence of his people as an instructor of those without.

At the commencement of this Article, we referred to the acknowledged decline of the Society of Friends. In casting about for the causes of this, while so many religious bodies are on the increase, some thoughtful members of the Society have considered the question, whether they have not suffered by this underrating of human acquirements in ministerial qualifications. We expect the inquiry to be more earnestly pursued, whether a higher estimate may not be placed on these auxiliaries, without

any compromise of the vital point, that the true call is the inwrought moving of the Spirit—whether, in fact, this divine exercise is not as highly exalted, and as inexorably required by other Christian peoples who have proved, in their historical experience, the great value of literary attainments in a ministry whose business it is to combat error, and to instruct, convince, and win the world?

We may extend the inquiry. We may ask whether the present condition of this really excellent people does not indicate a serious error in supposing that the Inward Light doctrine requires the ignoring of what we have called the sensuous element in religion? Does not this conclusion imply a forgetfulness of the world we are in, and the natures we now bear—natures in which the most subtle incitements play along the strings which carry the thrills from the outer to the inner part of our being? And is it possible, in such a world, and among such natures, for a religion, which lives only by the introversion of the mind, or its retirement from all “visibilities” into itself, to hold its own from age to age; much less to go forth among the nations with aggressive power, and bear its fair part in the enterprise of the redemption of the world?

This, under God, is the work of the Church. It is one of the objects for which he gives it enlargement and endurance. In the prosecution of this work, it must meet the world as it is, and deal with people as they are. The fact must be recognised, that there is really an outside to our being; and, instead of treating this outside as beyond the pale of sanctification, we should summon it into the service of the Spirit as one medium for the inflow of sacred comforts and incitements, and the outgoing of holy activities. God has pure and noble use for every part of his handiwork, man.

ARTICLE IV.

THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.*

It is surprising, considering the nature of the subject, that we can approximate so nearly to the proof that the Hebrew is the earliest language of the human race. We offer some of the more forcible arguments upon this point.†

1. The names of persons and places in the earliest history of the world are, by the express statements of the sacred writers, taken from the Hebrew. Adam is אָדָם, the earth: so of Eve, Cain, Seth, Peleg, and numerous others. It will not do to say that Moses translated these names into Hebrew. When foreign names are introduced into his writings, they are merely transferred not translated; and besides, in this case, the root as well as the derivative must be considered as transferred. It seems difficult to answer this argument.

2. The names of heathen gods are of Hebrew origin. Saturn, it is thought, comes from כָּתַר, to hide; Jove from יָהוָה; Belus or Baal is the Hebrew בָּעַל, Lord; Ceres appears to be from נֶרֶשׁ, fruit. So with ancient nations. Ashur gave name to the Assyrians, Elam to the Elamites, Lud to the Lydians, Aram to the Arameans, Gomer to the Cimbrians, Madai to the Medes, perhaps Javan to the Ionians. To this may be added, in general, that there are remains of Hebrew in most languages.

* Some of the sources of this Article are:

Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry.

Herder.

Robinson's Researches.

Dr. Hodge, Mss. Lectures.

Carlyle's Heroes.

Coleridge's Statesman's Manual.

Nordheimer's Grammar.

John Mason Good on the Psalms.

Stanley's Palestine.

Herzog's Enc. &c.

† Dr. Hodge, Mss. Lectures.

3. The nature of the language. This argument has two branches. The one is the perfection of the Hebrew. It must either have been of divine origin, or, by all ordinary analogies, have existed centuries before Moses. The other branch of the argument has reference to the simplicity of the language, and its entire freedom from mixture with any other. There are a few Egyptian words, such as measures, and this is all. Even the long sojourn of the Jews in Egypt did not materially influence the structure of the tongue. The conclusion is, that it was long before settled. In the extent of meaning belonging to its roots it is unequalled by any other language.

4. We have, then, an argument of exclusion. What other could have been the most ancient? All probabilities favor the idea that the primitive tongue came down in the line of Shem, the line of the Scriptures, of the chosen people, of the Messiah. According to the opinion of almost all critics there was originally but one language from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. But according to Gesenius, Hebrew has written documents at least a thousand years older than the others. The claims of Sanscrit and Chinese are altogether too indefinite and uncertain as to age to conflict with those of Hebrew. Indefinite imaginings have also been conceived for the Egyptian. Certainty cannot here be reached, but the probability is strong that the antediluvians, and even our first parents in Paradise, spoke a language essentially Hebrew.

Independently of the venerable age of Hebrew, a deep interest attaches to it as the language in which the Almighty delivered his earliest communications to man. If we were not accustomed to it, how solemn would be the impression that we were listening to the very words of the Most High! We gather in crowds to catch every word that falls from the lips of the great masters in eloquence. But in them there is but a single spark from the source of light. "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding." How terrible is the injury we allow to be inflicted upon ourselves when we permit the dull and the doting, by claiming a kind of exclusive property in the Scriptures, to disgust us with them! But a translation, however admirable, and such indeed is our English version, cannot give the exact idea of the original. We hesitate

not to say, that to feel perfectly with Isaiah we must be able to read his words. The soul, deluded by vain mockeries, distressed by man's falsehoods, in a labyrinth of theories, looks anxiously for a rock on which to rest. Who does not desire to come to the clear fountain, that in God's light he may see light? And in this point of view who can overrate the venerable Hebrew?

The remarkable character of the Jewish people is another source of interest in their language. We have substituted too much in our admiration, pagan heroes for the followers of the living God. Let us select a single period of Jewish history as illustrative of the interest that gathers around this wonderful people. We will take the group of which David is the centre. It was the remark of an English lady of genius, that everything which is usually considered necessary to romantic interest, unites in David. Here is the young shepherd, an Arcadian picture, watching his father's flocks amongst the mountains of Judea. There the youthful poet fills his soul with nature. He looks around upon the inexhaustible beauty and fertility of the promised land. His eye rests upon the distant northern mountains, and upon some granted holiday, from the summit of Carmel he looks out upon the broad waves of the Great Sea. While the bright rays of the sun of Palestine are tempered by the flying clouds, and the shade of the sycamore is flecked upon the carpet beneath his feet, where the leaves of autumn begin to rustle beneath the rising breeze, the Hebrew boy tunes that harp which is to soothe the monarch's anguished spirit, and to become immortal, not only in narrow Bethlehem, not only in the Holy City, but throughout the breathing world; not only to swell the emotion of the Jewish choirs, but to live in the heart of the Church universal, and to mingle its immortality with that of the Church triumphant before the throne. It is thus that the materials of his noble lyrics sink into the heart of the poet-musician, while meditating alone amid the sunny hills, or while the moonbeams flood the earth with silver light; and stretched upon the ground, with no sound but the occasional movements of his flock, he looks into the infinity above and wonders whether those shining and solemn lights, always

the same, are the "palace lamps"* of Jehovah's throne, or mighty worlds.

We try here to get an idea from Stanley—the most picturesque writer on the Holy Land—of the very remarkable scenery of Palestine. It is most peculiar, different in many respects from our fancy of it, yet not less wonderful for this very reason:

"From almost every point in the country its whole breadth is visible, from the long wall of the Moab hills on the East, to the Mediterranean Sea on the West.

Two voices are there—one is of the sea,
One of the mountains,—

and the close proximity of each—the deep purple shade of the one, and the glittering waters of the other—makes it always possible for one or other of those two voices to be heard now, as they were by the Psalmist of old. 'The strength of the *mountains* is His also; the *sea* is His, and He made it.'

"I have set Jerusalem in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her.' Palestine was then the vanguard of the eastern, and, therefore, of the civilized world, and stood midway between the two great seats of ancient empire, Babylon and Egypt. It was on the high road from one to the other of these mighty powers, the prize for which they contended, the battle-field on which they fought, the high-bridge† over which they ascended and descended respectively into the deep basins of the Nile and Euphrates. The battle in which the latest hero of the Jewish monarchy perished, was to check the advance of an Egyptian king on his way to contest the empire of the then known world with the King of Assyria, at Carchemish. The whole history of Palestine, between the return from the Captivity and the Christian Era, is a contest between 'the Kings of the North and the Kings of the South'—the descendants of Seleucus, and the descendants of Ptolemy—for the possession of the country. And when at last the West begins to rise as a new power in the horizon, Palestine, as the nearest point of contact between the two worlds, becomes the scene of the chief conflicts of Rome with Asia. There is no other country in the world which could

* Hadad. † See Ritter's Lecture on the Jordan and Dead Sea. Berlin, 1850.

exhibit the same confluence of associations, as that which is awakened by the rocks which overhang the crystal stream of the Dog River,* where it rushes through the ravines of Lebanon into the Mediterranean Sea; where side by side are to be seen the hieroglyphics of the great Rameses, the cuneiform characters of Sennacherib, and the Latin inscriptions of the Emperor Antoninus.

“We have in the sacred history the life of a Bedouin tribe, of an agricultural people, of seafaring cities; the extremes of barbarism and of civilization; the aspects of plain and of mountain; of a tropical, of an eastern, and almost of a northern climate. In Egypt there is a continual contact of desert and cultivated land; in Greece there is a constant intermixture of the views of sea and land; in the ascent and descent of the great mountains of South America, there is an interchange of the torrid and the arctic zones; in England there is an alternation of wild hills and valleys, with rich fields and plains. But in Palestine all these are combined. The patriarchs could here gradually exchange the nomadic life for the pastoral, and then for the agricultural, passing almost insensibly from one to the other, as the desert melts imperceptibly into the hills of Palestine. Ishmael and Esau could again wander back into the sandy waste which lay at their very door. The scape-goat could still be sent from the temple-courts into the uninhabited wilderness. John, and a greater than John, could return in a day’s journey from the busiest haunts of men into the solitude beyond the Jordan. The sacred poetry which was to be the delight and support of the human mind and the human soul in all regions of the world, embraced within its range the natural features of almost every country. The venerable poet of our own mountain regions used to dwell with genuine emotion on the pleasure he felt in the reflection that the psalmists and prophets dwelt in a mountainous country; the devotions of our great maritime empire find a natural expression in the numerous allusions, which no inland situation could have permitted, to the roar of the Mediterranean Sea, breaking over the rocks of Acre and of Tyre. There was the earthquake and, possibly,

* The Nâhr-el-Kelb, just above Beyrout.

the volcano. There was the hurricane with its thick darkness, and the long, continuous roll of the oriental thunder storm. Palestine is not merely a mountainous country, but a mass of mountains.

“The approach to Palestine (from the desert,)—nothing can be more gradual. There is an interest in that solemn and peaceful melting away of one into the other, which I cannot describe. It was like the striking passage in Thalaba describing the descent of the mountains, with the successive beginnings of vegetation and warmth. Most striking any where would have been this protracted approach to land, after that wide desert-sea—these seeds and plants, as it were, drifting to meet us.

“Rounded hills, chiefly of a gray color—gray, partly from the limestone of which they are all formed, partly from the tufts of gray shrub with which their sides are thinly dotted, and from the prevalence of the olive, their sides formed into concentric rings of rock; valleys, or rather the meetings of these gray slopes, with the beds of dry watercourses at their feet—long streets of bare rock laid like flagstones, side by side, along the soil—these are the chief features of the greater part of the scenery of the historical parts of Palestine. In the spring, the hills and valleys are covered with their grass and aromatic shrubs. But they also glow with what is peculiar to Palestine, a profusion of wild flowers, daisies, the white flower called the star of Bethlehem, but especially with a blaze of scarlet flowers of all kinds, chiefly anemones, wild tulips, and poppies. Of all the ordinary aspects of the country, this blaze of scarlet color is perhaps the most peculiar; and to those who first enter the Holy Land, it is no wonder that it has suggested the touching and significant name of ‘the Saviour’s blood-drops.’”

With the tribes, as mankind begins to knit his frame, he goes “from strength to strength” to Jerusalem, and that glorious gathering fills his heart with patriotism and devotion. But with the modesty of true greatness, he seeks no other station than that beside his flock. Roused by an attack upon it, he slays the lion and the bear, single-handed, though, with his habitual piety, he ascribes the strength to God. Visiting his

brethren in the army, he slays the huge giant who defies the armies of the living God, then quietly retires again to his flock, until the Almighty calls the shepherd to the throne. Meanwhile he has obtained as his own, by his prowess, the daughter of the King. In the mountainous tract which, enclosing the Dead Sea on the East, doomed by the curse to barrenness, and recalling in every sulphurous rock, and at every roll of the sluggish waves, the fearful destruction of the cities of the plain, was called the wilderness of Judah, lie the wild caverns of En-gedi, where a beautiful fountain springing from the bosom of desolation, creates a little oasis of fertility and loveliness. There, with a body of men, little better than wild banditti, though brave and full of fondness for adventure, was the young David hunted for years, as he expresses it, like a partridge upon the mountains, by the whole power of the King of Israel. This was another rare formative element in his character. On the throne, what wisdom, policy, valor, genius, piety, repentance for sin! How human, too, in all his greatness! The Psalms, as Carlyle remarks, are the most perfect exposition of a human heart ever laid bare to man. And this under the guidance of unerring truth. It is no wonder they have been the special favorite of all pious hearts, the rudest as well as the most cultivated, for the universal heart is there mirrored. The materials of the reign of Solomon were gathered by David, and this it was which laid the foundation for the acme of Israel's glory. Men have often wondered that David, with all his faults, should be called the "man after God's own heart." There is deep truth and great comfort in it. The model biographies which exhibit men without a fault are not true. He is a small man, who in a world like this has never been guilty of an impropriety. He is more or less than the "man after God's own heart." God loved David because he was magnanimous and great-souled; because he was deeply and unfeignedly pious; made God's glory the great object of his life; would have offered himself at any time a sacrifice for Him, and listened with the humility of a child to His teachings; because he was valiant against evil and for the truth; because he loved all men, and strove amidst great difficulties to do his duty; because when surprised into sin, he repented, in sackcloth and

ashes, his crime especially as committed against God; because, in a word, everything noble in man's original nature, even with the faults of an overflowing humanity,* lived and glowed and loved in the bosom of the monarch, poet, statesman, warrior, father, brother, husband, shepherd, and sweet singer of Israel.

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the central figure. Let us now examine the group. First, see the venerable form of the prophet Samuel, the governor, judge, and historian of Israel in troublous times, he who knew the Lord from a child, when he ministered in his little ephod before old Eli in the temple, the link which connects the fading simplicity of early Israel with her regal magnificence, the wise old republican and theocrat, who most unwillingly, and only under the urgency of divine authority, which had given up Israel to its own folly, made them a king. Next towers the lordly Saul, of grand personal appearance, proud, gloomy, lofty, brave, madly ambitious, and obstinate to his own ruin. Yet in his early modesty, in the power of David's harp to charm from him the evil spirit, in his indomitable courage, in a certain kingly grandeur, in the love of Jonathan for him, how many glimpses do we see of a gentler and more magnanimous spirit. And how shall we speak of Jonathan, the friend of David, whose love exceeded the love of woman! Does all history furnish so noble an example of disinterestedness, born of piety and friendship? He was the heir to the throne of the chosen people, qualified for it by every trait of natural nobleness and fine cultivation. Yet he protected and loved, with all the strength of his princely heart, the man who, by divine appointment, was to deprive him of his crown. In this cause, he braved the dread wrath, and the still more dread fierceness of the reproaches and sarcasm of Saul, his father and his king, because it was right, and because his soul was knit to the noble soul of the son of Jesse. Yet this very man, alone with his armour-bearer, made an attack upon, and drove to ruin a whole army of the enemy.

We are to remember that Jonathan was of the tribe of Ben-

* Menschlichkeit.

jamin, who were proverbial for their fierceness, "mighty men of valour, archers;"* "mighty men, helpers of the war. They were armed with bows, they could use both the right hand and the left in hurling stones and shooting arrows out of a bow, even of Saul's brethren of Benjamin."† These were with David at Engedi. In Asa's time, we read that he had an army of Benjamites "that bore shields and drew bows, two hundred and four-score thousand; all these were mighty men of valour," and were victorious over the Ethiopians. In the darkest event of their history, the same indomitable fierceness appears. "Among all this people there were seven hundred chosen men left-handed; every one could sling stones at a hair breadth and not miss."‡ To be left-handed seems to have been characteristic of this tribe; Ehud, who put to death Eglon, king of Moab, delivering and judging Israel, was left-handed. At the terrible point of their history to which we have referred, instead of giving up the criminals, who were comparatively few, they, though one of the smallest of the tribes, resisted the whole army of Israel. On the first day of the battle they killed of Israel twenty-two thousand men; on the second day, eighteen thousand; and when, abandoned of God, they were defeated, they were all slain except six hundred, who, taking refuge in the wild rock Rimmon, became the germ again of the tribe, which grew subsequently so as to be able to furnish the army of Asa. The blessing of Jacob describes their character: "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." Something of honour in the tribe made Paul boast of his descent from it. It is a curious touch, too, that in his speech at Antioch of Pisidia, in mentioning Saul, he refers to him as of the tribe of Benjamin, though, as far as appears, there is no connection between that fact and his line of argument.

The residence of Benjamin was peculiarly mountainous. Though the country was small, it originally included Jerusalem, and occupied the very peculiar frontier position between the powerful tribes of Judah and Ephraim. It was remarkable for its important passes and commanding heights. The great

* 1 Chron. viii. 40.

† 1 Chron. xii. 1, 2.

‡ 2 Chron. xiv. 8, 9.

events after the taking of Jericho, at Ai, and at the Upper and Nether Bethhoron, where Joshua wrought out the deliverances of the people, were in this wild region. It was in this same mountain-country, the country of his ancestors, where he doubtless felt at home, at Michmash, which seems to be the same as Ai, that Jonathan performed one of the most brilliant exploits in the history of the world. Something of the fierce wildness and love of adventure which was characteristic of the character of Benjamin, ran in his veins; it was the back-ground of a character, than which we know nothing nobler in all the history of mankind.

From the narrative in the Bible, with the help from Stanley which we indicate by quotation marks, we thus make out the scene: "The lowest depression which the Israelite State ever reached, before the captivity, was when the Philistines, after the great victory over the sons of Eli, became virtual masters of the country." Meanwhile, Jonathan was in Gibeah of Benjamin, a strong-hold, with a garrison of a thousand men. It was he who attacked the Philistines first, whether with Saul's consent does not appear. He attacked and slew the garrison of Geba. This was the signal of revolt, for after this, Israel was held in abomination by the Philistines. The latter gathered thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea-shore in multitude. The Israelites took refuge in caves and thickets, and rocks and pits—some even fled over Jordan. Saul was in Gilgal, in the valley of the Jordan, and all the people followed him, trembling. He had but six hundred men with him, and so low had Israel been reduced, that the Philistines did not allow a smith in the land, so that Saul and Jonathan were the only full-armed men. The Philistines formed three plundering parties and ravaged the country. Things were desperate. This is not usually understood. The exploit of Jonathan is sometimes conceived of as merely romantic, if not fool-hardy. It appears too, from the narrative itself, that Jonathan entered upon it with a religious spirit. He felt at once, that the *morale* of Israel must be restored by the sacrifice of some one, and he commended himself to God, to do that which man alone could not do. His armour-bearer was a man of kindred spirit. "From the top of the

conical hill where Saul was intrenched, and which is characteristic of the Benjamite country, to the enemy's camp, was about three miles, and between them lay the deep gorge of the Wady Suweinit, here called "the passage of Michmash," which is described as running between the jagged points, or "teeth of the cliff;" * the one called the "Shining," (Bozez,) probably from some such appearance in the chalky cliff; the other, the "Thorn," (Seneh,) probably from some solitary acacia on its top. Immediately above, the garrison of the Philistines would seem to have been situated. It was up the steep sides of this ravine, that Jonathan and his armour-bearer made their adventurous approach, and, aided by the sudden panic, and by the simultaneous terror of the shock of an earthquake, the two heroes succeeded in dispersing the whole host. From every quarter the Hebrews took advantage of their enemies. From the top of Gibeah, the watchmen saw, and the king and the high priest heard, the signs of the wild confusion. In the camp of the Philistines the Israelite deserters turned against them. From the mountains of Ephraim on the north, the Israelites, who had hid themselves, 'followed hard after them in the battle.' 'So the Lord saved Israel that day, and the battle passed over to Bethaven,' (Bethel.) It passed over to the central ridge of Palestine; it passed through the forest, now destroyed; it passed from the eastern pass of Michmash to the western pass of Aijalon, through which they fled into their plains; 'and the people smote the Philistines.' 'The Philistines went to their own place;' and from that day till the fatal rout of Gilboa, Israel was secure." It may be doubted whether there was an earthquake, as supposed by Stanley. The expression may refer to the agitation and confusion and movements of the immense host.

And how can we restrain our tears of admiration and of sorrow, when we find Jonathan clinging still to his father, though he knew from Heaven itself, that it was a lost cause; yea, clinging ever to the unfortunate Saul, he gave cheerfully his life a sacrifice, and laid his brave and noble head to die, on the bleak summit of Gilboa!

* "The same expression is used for an eagle's eyrie." Job xxxix. 28.

Turning with sad, yet kindled heart, from his remains, with what a singular interest do we look upon Absalom, the Alcibiades of Israel! What beauty in those chiselled features, those long chestnut curls, that attractive grace, those well-knit sinews, that manly vigor! We do not wonder that he "stole away the hearts of the people," nor that David's quivering lips still asked, "Is the young man Absalom safe?" What a Plutarchian character is Joab, David's commander-in-chief, the very model of the unscrupulous soldier, brave, cunning, fierce, courtly, admired by the army,

"Who love a captain to obey,
Boisterous as March yet fresh as May,"

growing at last too powerful even for David. With what interest we follow his career! We smile when the wise woman of Tekoa is asked by the monarch, "Is not the hand of Joab, the son of Zeruiah, with thee in this?" We frown at his treachery to his brother captain; we admire him when he dissuades the king from numbering the people; we watch him with breathless interest, when, like Jehu, he "drives furiously" in the fore part of battle till he annihilates the foe. And then what a group of warriors, each a picture in himself! Abner, the rival of Joab; Asahel, "whose feet were as light as those of a mountain roe;" the faithful and manly Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada; those who broke through to obtain the water for the king from the Well of Bethlehem, which in all the longing of his thirst he poured out before the Lord, "because it was the price of blood;" the thirty and three distinguished in the annals of Judah, and yet the three to whom the rest "could not attain." And what a group of venerable priests and counsellors, Nathan, and Zadok, and Abiathar, and Ahithophel, the Talleyrand of his day, and Hushai the Archite, who brought his counsel to naught. With these we have glimpses of Judea's dark-eyed daughters, seen as through a lattice; and, finally, a view of the brilliant perspective of the reign of Solomon, beginning where those noble scenes close.

Where, in all that is written of Roman, or Greek, or modern history, is there a group superior to this? Surely the language in which they breathed their psalms of devotion, and their words

of love; the language of their fierce battle-cry, their lofty eloquence, and their majestic poetry, cannot but be deeply interesting.

But the language itself fully sustains the expectations that would naturally arise in view of those sources of interest. Let us attempt to convey something of the spirit of the Hebrew.

Almost every form of writing is found in the Old Testament. The largest part of its prose consists of history. This is found in the Pentateuch, the books of Joshua, Judges, those of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther. The characteristics of the Hebrew historical writings are simplicity, with antique pathos and picturesqueness, clearness, great plainness of speech with no regard to men's opinion of them, and especially a constant reference to the government of God amongst nations and individuals.

On this subject we quote the opinion of one of the master-spirits in philosophy—Coleridge—"As the New Testament sets forth the means and condition of spiritual convalescence, with all the laws of conscience relative to our future state and permanent being, so does the *Bible* present to us the elements of *public* prudence, instructing us in the true causes, the surest preventives, and the only cure of public evils. The authorities of Raleigh, Clarendon, and Milton must at least exempt me from the blame of singularity, if undeterred by the contradictory charges of paradoxy from one party, and of adherence to vulgar and old-fashioned prejudices from the other, I persist in avowing my conviction, that the inspired poets, historians, and sententiaries of the Jews, are the clearest teachers of political economy: in short, that their writings are the STATESMAN'S BEST MANUAL, not only as containing the first principles and ultimate grounds of state-policy, whether in prosperous times, or in those of danger and distress, but as supplying likewise the details of their *application*, and as being a full and spacious repository of precedents and facts in proof."

A growing dissatisfaction has been prevailing of late years, that history has been in general so superficially written, that it has confined itself so much to mere war and state-craft, that there has been so little of human nature, so little real light thrown upon the springs of great actions, so little seen of the

influence of the individual mind, so little of the real causes of things in retributive Providence, and inevitable moral tendencies. It will be seen, we think, that in many respects, we must recede towards the ancient models—of which the Bible history is chief.

In biography, in the delineation of human character and passions, in the pathos of domestic narrative and heart-feeling, the Hebrew writings have long been held unrivalled. The instances are so numerous, and so familiar, that we can hardly particularize. We may mention the story of Hagar, the offering up of Isaac, the story of Joseph, the death of the venerable Eli, the restoring to life of the Shunamite's son, as examples.

The characters of Moses and of Joshua are exceedingly noble. Moses is the lawgiver, the statesman, the man of God, the prophet, the poet. Joshua is pre-eminently the Jewish hero. He stops the sun and moon in their course, and turns to flight the army of the aliens. He is valiant for the truth. He is full of faith. His character is nearly stainless. Yet the sacred writers do not conceal the faults of good men. Man is represented precisely as he is—the good no better, the evil no worse.

The delineation of the female character in the Hebrew writings is especially pure and lovely. To appreciate this we must remember what woman was then in other nations. The earlier books of the Old Testament are full of pictures to the imagination. Rebecca, who was beautiful and fair to look upon, drawing water for her father's camels in Mesopotamia; Miriam leading the choir of Jewish maidens in her triumphal song, with the religious dance, after the passage of the Red Sea; the beautiful daughter of Jephthah coming forth with timbrels and with dances to meet her father returning from the victory; the queenly Esther tremblingly approaching the king to ask the life of her people. And here let us advert to one prominent source of their nobleness and purity, as well as of the manly character of the heroes of Israel. They were a free people. Their political institutions in their brighter days were strikingly like ours. For Israel was then a confederated republic, woman was the companion and friend of man, partaker like him of the spirit of freedom, and of a high and

pure faith. And their imagination was nurtured continually under the idea that from one of them should spring the glorious Messiah.*

A part of the Pentateuch consists of the laws of Israel. If we had space, it would gratify us much to present an analysis of that code, admirable for their circumstances, and in its principles, admirable for all time. While foolish theorists are striving to govern men without strong penalties, and to repeal God's solemn statute given to Noah, the second father of the human race, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," it might be profitable to examine that ancient code. How beautiful the precept not to glean the corners of their fields, nor the outermost grapes and olives, but to leave them for the poor; how affecting the reasons for kindness to the fatherless and the stranger—"A Syrian ready to perish was thy father: ye know the heart of the stranger, for ye were strangers in Egypt." We can only mention, in a word, that the polity of the Jews prevented the growing up of large cities, and any great inequality of wealth. They were to be an agricultural people. To accomplish this, the land was divided among the families of Israel, and every fiftieth year, during the year of Jubilee, all alienated land reverted to the family. What a beautiful provision for an affectionate patriotism, based on the principle contained in the reason of the Shunamite woman for refusing court-preferment—"I dwell among mine own people!"

There never has been, in any nation, so wise a provision for their ministry. The Jewish priesthood were the learned class. They were scattered among the people, had villages assigned them, with an ample support, while the requirement to appear before Jehovah three times a year at Jerusalem bound the nation together, and prevented too strong a sectional feeling.

About one-half of the Old Testament is poetry. It is as really poetry as the *Iliad*, *Paradise Lost*, or the *Divina Commedia*. Almost every form of poetry is there, although whenever critics attempt to confine it within the exact limits of

* Salathiel.

rules made for other times, and for other countries, they of course fail. The oriental poetry, and especially the Hebrew, has rules, or rather a nature, of its own. As well might we expect to train one of our American forests to the regularity of a French garden as to confine the Hebrew within rules. No Scripture poem is an exact epic, or drama, or ode, but there are specimens of the noblest epic and dramatic, lyric and elegiac feeling. So far as Greek and English rules spring from the heart of great Nature, so far are they found in Hebrew poetry.

Poetry, in fact, is impassioned prose. But to perfect it, and prevent its untutored wildness, rhythm has been invented, or rather, perhaps, nature, and especially cultivated nature, when impassioned, falls into rhythm, which is afterwards polished and improved. Nothing purely artificial can by any possibility be pleasing. That which is delightful in all art is the eclecticism of nature. There can be no absurdity like that of expecting to excel the Creator by making that beautiful which he has not made so. The man who would construct a fairy home, selects a spot in a fine climate, upon the banks of a lake—but Christopher North shall describe it—"A house on a gentle eminence, commandin' a beautiful bend of the blue braided sky overhead—hills and mountains piling themselves in regular gradations up, up, up, and far, far, far off and awa' till you kenna whilk are their rosy summits, and whilk the rosy clouds, and beyond a foreground of woods, groves, halls, and cottages, exquisitely interspersed wi' fields and meadows, which, in the dimmest days, still seem spots o' sunshine—a loch, or, supposing the scene in England, a lake—a day's journey round about, always blue or bright, or if at any time black, yet then streaked gloriously wi' bars o' sunburst, so that in the midst o' the foamy waves o' Purgatory, are seen serenely rising the Isles o' Paradise."*

Now, it will be observed, that here is simply a combination of the beautiful elements of nature. It is so in poetry. And all that by which it expresses itself, as melodious or sonorous words, rhythm, music, and, as among the Hebrews and Greeks,

* Noctes Ambrosianæ.

the choral dance, must, to delight, be the natural expression of high and refined emotion seized by genius, and its luxuriance only so far pruned, as to prevent wildness and extravagance.

This seems the idea of the Hebrew poetry. Nature, under the inspiration of God, transcends prose, and breaks forth on the right hand and the left into poetry. It has no more rule than has the ocean, which "heaves" indeed "its accurate limit," responsive to the mighty movements of the celestial sphere, but yet pours its waves around the earth, ministered unto by the winds, according to a harmony of its own. Nor are the moonbeams careful to pour themselves alone upon the leaved capital and through the Oriel window, but after they have "steeped a' the heavens with a still serene flood o' lustre, they pour down on the tops o' trees, and ancient ruins and lakes that seem to burn wi' fire, and a' o'er the dreamy slumber of the toil-forgettin' earth."*

Yet the Hebrew poetry is anything but rude. It is bold, sometimes too highly figurative for the occidental taste, and too rough for our ideas of refinement, which are, perhaps, as much a proof of corruption as of purity. But it unconsciously delights myriads, who do not even know that it is poetry, and this is the true test of its excellence.

The cadence and measure of the Hebrew poetry is not perfectly understood, but enough is known to render it certain, that it was deliberately constructed, and that it contained in it elements of fine combination and of a noble harmony.

The poem of Job is amongst the oldest writings in the world. It is a dramatic poem, written, probably about the age of Abraham, four thousand years ago. The great subject is the government of God and the principles of his administration. Job, a good man, a chief of Idumea, is smitten with grievous calamity. His friends come to visit him, three old men with one younger, chiefs of the land. The question is, whether good men can be overwhelmed with affliction in this world. This is very solemnly and nobly discussed, and the Almighty finally, from the whirlwind, speaks to Job, and ends the controversy. It is a noble poem. One might almost test the

* *Noctes Ambrosianæ.*

character of men by their estimate of the book of Job. A grander drama was never written; grand in its design, in its universality, in its style, in its painting, in its imagination. Thus Eliphaz the Temanite:

"In thoughts from the visions of the night,
When deep sleep falleth on men,
Fear came upon me, and trembling,
Which made all my bones to shake.
Then a spirit passed before my face;
The hair of my flesh stood up;
It stood still—
But I could not discern the form thereof.
An image was before mine eyes;
There was silence—
And I heard a voice, saying,
Shall mortal man be more just than God?
Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?"

So Job himself, in regard to the great problem of true wisdom, though a mere extract mars it:

"But where shall wisdom be found?
And where is the place of understanding?
Man knoweth not the price thereof;
Neither is it found in the land of the living.
The depth saith, It is not in me,
And the sea saith, It is not with me.
It cannot be gotten for gold,
Neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof.
It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir,
With the precious onyx, or the sapphire.

Destruction and death say,
We have heard the fame thereof with our ears.

When He made a decree for the rain,
And a way for the lightning of the thunder;
Then did He see it, and declare it,
He prepared it, yea, and searched it out.
And unto man he said, Behold!
The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom;
And to depart from evil is understanding."

And how rich and harmonious are the very words of the following:

"Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades,
Or loose the bands of Orion?
Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?
Or canst thou guide Arcturus and his sons?"

And all this, it is to be remembered, through the imperfect medium of a translation.

The lyric poetry of the Hebrews, we need not say, is of great beauty. Beside the book of Psalms, there are several other odes scattered through the historical books. Such are the song of Miriam, after the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, the dying song of Moses, the triumphal ode of Deborah and Barak after their victory over Sisera; to which we may add the prophetic blessings of Israel upon his sons.

The Jews devoted much attention to the music to which these odes were wedded. David organized a choir of four thousand Levites. These he divided into twenty-four classes, placing them under the instruction of two hundred and eighty-eight masters, at whose head again, as commanders of this musical army, he placed Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. Asaph was the leader of the instruments of percussion; Heman, whose skill is compared to the wisdom of Solomon, at the head of the wind-instruments, and Ethan, or Jeduthun, of the stringed instruments. The three daughters of Heman are mentioned as excelling in music. On the return of the Jews from the captivity, they brought with them a choir of two hundred musicians. What a reproach to us, in view of the miserable state in which we so often leave the music of the sanctuary, in what we call our enlightened and refined days! We must go back three thousand years to receive the right idea in regard to the worship of God, in noble lyrics and the rich harmony of music.

Some of the Psalms, if carefully examined, will show in their structure that they were sung in strophes—as by parts of a choir, then by single voices, then by full choirs. This gives an exceedingly lively and vivid feeling. We may suppose a part of the choir singing,

“Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
And be ye lifted, up ye everlasting doors!
And the King of glory shall come in.”

If we may suppose this to have taken place, for example, when the ark was brought up to Jerusalem, it will seem still more interesting. A single voice, perhaps, chants the inquiry, as standing in the gate to question the right of admission—

“Who is this King of glory?”

The full chorus replies:

“Jehovah, strong and mighty
Jehovah, mighty in battle.”

The choir, perhaps, of Levites, again, as it were, demand admittance:

“Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
Even lift them up, ye everlasting doors!
And the King of glory shall come in.”

The voice again asks—

“Who is this King of glory?”

And the full chorus responds:

“Jehovah of hosts,
He is the King of glory!

And the multitude enter the court of the tabernacle.*

The part of the Hebrew poetry called the Canticles, or Song of Solomon, may be compassed with the Greek and Latin Idyllium. We are bound to say, in regard to this beautiful specimen of the genius of Solomon, what we seldom say concerning any part of our admirable English version of the Scriptures, that parts of the Canticles are badly translated, especially those passages where the splendid oriental dress is mistaken for the parts of the body which it covers. It is known that in oriental countries great stress is laid upon dress. Each nation has its own, and each rank in the nation. They lavish immense sums upon splendid garments, and adapt them with much taste to the human form, and to their soft climate. Our translators, not adverting to this fact in the imperfect state of oriental learning in their day, have given the poem a voluptuousness foreign from the original. We give a free translation of one of the passages which in the English Bible seems objectionable:—

“His hands are encircled with gold,
Set with topazes,

* Good's Hist. Outline of the Psalms, p. 138, Lond.

His girdle is bright ivory
Over which play sapphire gems,
Gracefully rise his limbs enveloped in white garments.
Like columns upon bases of gold (sandals.)
His figure is noble as the cedars of Lebanon,
His address ineffably sweet,
Lovely his whole person!
Such is my beloved,
Oh, ye daughters of Jerusalem!"

The almost constant opinion in the Church has been that this poem, under the figure of the mutual affection of bridegroom and bride, represents the love between the Redeemer and his people. Of elegiac poetry, the two most striking specimens in the Bible are the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the Lament of David over Jonathan and Saul. They breathe the very soul of love and sorrow.

The book of Ruth, although not poetry, except in one or two passages, is a beautiful specimen of the pastoral. It is well known that the pastoral, in Thomson's Seasons, is moulded from it. There is much didactic poetry in the Bible. All the orientals are fond of sententious and compendious proverbs and maxims. The Arabs are remarkable for this, and Solomon, in his Proverbs, has manifested this taste. There is not, in the world, if we except the words of our Saviour, in the same space, so many lessons of practical wisdom in the conduct of life as in the Proverbs. Clear, terse, striking, pungent expression here embalms the wisdom of life, presided over by the unerring Spirit of the Most High.

The book of Ecclesiastes, we call philosophical poetry, because it approaches more nearly to what is now so called, and which is, in some respects, peculiar to our age. Perhaps there is nothing any where so like the Ecclesiastes as the finer poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and some of the more subtle German poetry. Solomon, at the close of life, here hived up the wisdom of past years for our instruction. Nor is it by any means a singular instance of a richer and mellower imagination at the close of life than during its morning or its meridian. This, for example, was remarkably the case with the magnificent Burke. The setting of the sun of the great master of wisdom, whom God himself made chief of learned men,

threatened indeed to be enveloped with dark clouds, but its rays broke nobly forth before it passed below the horizon, and upon those clouds are painted the rich hues of mingled imagination and philosophy. Did ever poet close his strains with more subduing pathos than that in which the author of Ecclesiastes brings us to gaze upon old age and death?—

“The keepers of the house shall tremble,
 And the strong men shall bow themselves,
 And the grinders cease because they are few,
 And those that look out of the windows be darkened.
 And the doors shall be shut in the streets
 When the sound of the grinding is low,
 And he shall rise up at the voice of the bird,
 And the daughters of music shall be brought low.
 They shall be afraid of that which is high,
 And fears shall be in the way,
 And the almond tree shall flourish,
 And the grasshopper shall be a burden,
 And desire shall fail:
 Because man goeth to his long home,
 And the mourners go about the streets:
 Or ever the silver cord be loosed,
 Or the golden bowl be broken,
 Or the pitcher be broken at the fountain,
 Or the wheel broken at the cistern.
 Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was,
 And the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.”

And then is summed up in few words all he had learned or known. All that is earthly is mere vanity and folly. The whole of man is to fear God and keep his commandments.

There remains a single class of poets among the Jews—a class peculiar to that people—the prophets. The most of them delivered their predictions in poetry. It is *sui generis*. It is not precisely poetry, nor is it oratory. It is sublime vision. The event seen passing before the mental eye of the prophet is revealed in lofty rhythm, in glowing imagery. It is eloquent in the highest sense, and stands near the line where oratory and poetry meet. It will be observed that the most impassioned strains of the greatest orators become rhythmical, and have a solemn march which resembles vision. We see it in all their greatest efforts. We see it in Chatham, in Burke, in Patrick Henry, in Webster. It was our good fortune to

hear the close of Mr. Clay's great speech on the Removal of the Deposits, and we shall never forget his tones as they rang out with what seemed for the time, at least, prophecy. But there never was any thing put into human language so grand as the more solemn strains of those prophets of the Lord, Isaiah and Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Nahum. They lose much of their force with us from their familiarity, and from the inevitable inferiority of translation to original. But how grand Habakkuk!

"Before Him went the pestilence,
And burning coals went forth at His feet;
He stood and measured the earth;
He beheld and drove asunder the nations;
The everlasting mountains were scattered;
The perpetual hills did bow;
His ways are everlasting—
The mountains saw Thee and they trembled;
The overflowing of the water passed by;
The deep uttered his voice,
And lifted up his hands on high;
The sun and moon stood still in their habitation.
{ At the light of thine arrows they went,
{ Or, at thine arrows walking in light,
And at the shining of thy glittering spear.

Nahum begins with a slow and solemn movement, increasing in quickness until at length it becomes fearful velocity.

The Lord is slow to anger and great in power;
And will not at all acquit the wicked.
The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and the storm,
And the clouds are the dust of His feet.
Who can stand before his indignation?
And who can abide in the fierceness of his anger?
His fury is poured out like fire,
And the rocks are thrown down by him.
The Lord is good:
A stronghold in the day of trouble.
And he knoweth them that trust in him—
But with an overrunning flood
He will make an utter end of the place thereof,
And darkness shall pursue his enemies.

Ezekiel was fashioned to denounce the vengeance of God. He is almost fierce. He is lifting up the burden of Tyre:

Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God;
Every precious stone was thy covering;

The sardius, topaz, and the diamond,
 The beryl, the onyx and the jasper,
 The sapphire, the emerald, the carbuncle and gold—
 Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth,
 And I have set thee so:
 Thou wast upon the holy mountain of God:
 Thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of
 fire—
 I will cast thee as profane
 Out of the mountain of God;
 I will destroy thee, sinning cherub.
 From the midst of the stones of fire
 Thy heart was lifted up because of thy beauty;
 Thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness.
 I will cast thee to the ground;
 I will lay thee before kings,
 That they may behold thee.
 Thou shalt be a terror—
 And never shalt thou be any more.

But Jeremiah, full of tenderness, did not kindle in ven-
 geance as though his right arm held the sword in the day of
 battle. He held his breath in solemn awe:

I beheld the earth;
 And lo! it was without form, and void;
 And the heavens, and they had no light.
 I beheld the mountains;
 And lo! they trembled,
 And all the hills moved lightly.
 I beheld—and lo! there was no man;
 And all the birds of the heavens were fled.
 I beheld, and lo! the fruitful place was wilderness,
 And all the cities thereof were broken down,
 At the presence of the Lord,
 And by his fierce anger.

His heart breaks because of God's indignation against the
 people, and because he is chosen as the messenger of evil.
 Such hearts have a sad lot in a world like this:

Who shall have pity upon thee, O Jerusalem?
 Or who shall bemoan thee?
 Who is me, my mother,
 That thou hast borne me, a man of strife
 And a man of contention to the whole earth!
 I have neither lent on usury,
 Nor men have lent to me on usury;
 Yet every one of them doth curse me.

I have not hastened from being a pastor to follow thee;
 Neither have I desired the woful day,—
 Thou knowest!
 Be not a terror unto me:
 Thou art my hope in the day of evil.

It was a faith of Lowth that Isaiah, apart from all questions of inspiration, was the greatest of poets, ancient or modern. Almost every excellence of the other Hebrew seers is found in him: we picture him wrapped in his mantle, his right arm extended, his beard large and silvery, his forehead high and massive, his eye bright, yet full of mournfulness—the genius of Hebrew poetry, the true seer.

How vivid his picture of the approach of Sennacherib's army to Jerusalem—a hundred and eighty-five thousand men: the towns mentioned are all in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem; the prophet sees the army approaching in vision:

He is come to Aiath;
 He is passed to Migron.
 At Michmash he hath laid up his carriages;
 They are gone over the passage;
 They have taken up their lodging at Geba;
 Ramah is afraid;
 Gibeah of Saul has fled.
 Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim!
 Cause it to be heard to Laish, O poor Anathoth!
 Madmenah is removed:
 The inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee.
 As yet he shall remain at Nob this day:
 He shall shake his hand
 Against the mount of the daughter of Zion—
 The hill of Jerusalem.
 Behold the Lord, the Lord of hosts,
 Shall lop the bough with terror;
 And the high ones of stature shall be hewn down,
 And the haughty shall be humbled.

His denunciation of vengeance differs from all the rest. Solemn, but serene, as though he were elevated almost above humanity, as the death angel, calmly filled with the glory of Jehovah, exercises his mighty office:

And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,
 The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency,
 Shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah;
 It shall never be inhabited,

Neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation;
 Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
 Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.
 But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there;
 And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures,
 And owls shall dwell there,
 And satyrs shall dance there;
 And the wild beasts of the islands
 Shall cry in their desolate houses,
 And dragons in their pleasant palaces;
 And her time is near to come,
 And her days shall not be prolonged.

The Hebrew is a picture language: it compresses wonderfully, and presents a picture in a word. Thus in Job: the horse's neck is clothed with thunder; he laugheth at the shaking of the spear. In the Psalms: Jehovah made darkness his secret place; He did fly on the wings of the wind. It is this, paradoxical as it may seem, which often causes the Hebrew to appear obscure. That is, the imagination of the reader does not form the picture, and its unformed materials lie in chaos. In the song of Deborah:

"Why abodest thou among the sheep folds
 To hear the bleatings of the flocks?
 For the divisions of Reuben
 There were great searchings of heart.

* * * * *

The mother of Sisera looked out at a window,
 And cried through the lattice,
 Why is his chariot so long in coming?
 Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?
 Her wise ladies answered her;
 Yea, she returned answer to herself—
 Have they not sped?
 Have they not divided the prey?
 To every man a damsel or two—
 To Sisera a prey of divers colors—
 A prey of divers colors of needle-work—
 Of divers colors of needle-work on both sides,
 Meet for the necks of them that take the spoil?
 So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord!
 But let them that love Him
 Be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might."

The Hebrew is a picture-language in another sense. Arrows are the daughters of the quiver, the traveller is the son of the way, Noah is the son of six hundred years, the beams of the sun are the eye-lashes of the morning. Every thing is alive.

The language is essentially dramatic. This appears in its structure; in the condensation of its expressions; in its imagery. In the structure, we may refer to the apparent confusion of tenses in the verbs, of which Nordheimer gives this beautiful explanation. The narrator, in Hebrew, always refers the transaction to the position of some individual. Suppose a man were narrating a battle. He begins with the preparation—that is the past tense; becoming excited, he brings the scene before his audience: you see the warrior—his garments rolled in blood—the noise of the captains and the shouting—here, though there is no change in the Hebrew, the tense having the form of the perfect throughout, the past means the present. In a moment there is a glowing anticipation of the glory of Jehovah appearing to all ages through the deliverance of his people, and the narrator throws himself into the future. All tenses are thus subordinated to the apparent position of the narrator, and this we call dramatic and living structure.

Another example is, the manner in which the pronouns conform to the verb. In modern languages, the pronouns maintain their own sovereignty; but, in Hebrew, the verb breaks them up in every direction into little suffixes. A letter or two of the pronoun is merely added to the inflection of the verb. The narrator's mind is full of the verb—the movement—the situation—in a word, the will or causality, and every thing arranges itself as a mere adjunct around this vitality.

The imagery, as is well known, is no less dramatic. And it is striking to observe how some of the most admired passages of our great poets are essentially Hebrew:

“Deep calleth unto deep,
At the noise of thy water-spouts.
The floods have lifted up, O Lord!
The floods have lifted up their voice—
His lightnings enlightened the world;
The earth saw and trembled.
Let the floods clap their hands;
Let the hills be joyful together
Before the Lord.
The little hills rejoice on every side—
The valleys are covered over with corn;
They shout for joy; they also sing.
He divided a way for the lightning of thunder.

Then compare Byron's grand stanzas:—

“Far along,
From peak to peak, the rattling crags among
Leaps the live thunder! Not from one lone cloud
But every mountain now hath found a tongue,
And Jura answers through her misty shroud
Back to the joyous Alps, who call to her aloud.

How the lit lake shines, a phosphoric sea,
And the big rain comes dancing to the earth!
And now again 'tis black—and now the glee
Of the loud hills shakes with its mountain mirth.

The same great, though, unhappily, immoral poet, was in his genius of that broad and manly character which led him to seek Hebrew materials and modes of thought. Besides numerous allusions, we have whole works founded on Hebrew subjects, such as *Cain*, *Heaven and Earth*, the *Hebrew Melodies*. The genius of Milton was a remarkable mixture of Hebrew and Greek elements. It is, however, where he Hebraizes that he is grandest. His description of the Seraphim may be quoted as an example. That of Satan making his way over the abyss is singularly Hebrew, although it ought to be remarked that the Satan of Milton has a moral grandeur, so to speak, that does not belong to the devil in the Bible. He is always represented there as mean and malignant.

We think the remark may be hazarded, that in proportion as poets are acknowledged to be vast and sublime in their genius, they approach the spirit of Hebrew poetry.

Another characteristic of the Hebrew poetry is simplicity and directness. There is no bombast. A grand subject is treated grandly. But there is no straining after effect, no shrinking from the most familiar allusions, no attempt to be always refined. Thus:—

“The stone shall cry out of the wall,
And the beam out of the timber shall answer it.

I will make thee like the top of a rock.

Canst thou bind the unicorn?
Wilt thou believe him
That he will bring home thy seed
And gather it into thy barn?

He wipeth it like a dish,
He wipeth it and turneth it upside down."

We have been told by a gentleman who made a voyage to Europe, that he read the description in the CVIth Psalm to his fellow passengers, and that all acknowledged that they knew nothing like it for force and correctness. Yet how singularly simple:—

"They mount up to the heaven;
They go down again to the depths;
Their soul is melted because of trouble;
They reel to and fro,
And stagger like a drunken man,
And are at their wit's end.

* * * * *
He maketh the storm a calm,
So that the waves thereof are still.
Then are they glad because they be quiet.
So he bringeth them into their desired haven."

In like manner the Hebrew is sparing of epithets and expressions of admiration. Elijah, at Horeb, is subdued, not by the thunder, or the earthquake, or the fire, but wraps his face in his mantle, when he hears the still small voice. And when that prophet of the Lord is translated to heaven, Elisha only cries,—

"———My father! my father!
The chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof."

So Nathan says to David, "Thou art the man!" and Elisha to Hazael, "The Lord hath shown me that thou shalt be king over Israel." In this respect the Hebrew resembles the Saxon element in English.

A few remarks upon parallelism shall close what we offer on Hebrew poetry:—

Parallelism is a peculiar arrangement of the verses by which the first and second, or sometimes by a more artificial arrangement, the first and third, are related to each other not only in rhythm but in sentiment. Sometimes it is by affirmation; the first line states the proposition; the second, while you are thinking of it, if we may use the expression, clinches it. Thus:

"So shall thy poverty come as one that travelth;
And thy want as an armed man."

"Judgments are prepared for sinners;
And stripes for the back of fools."

"He that is slow to anger
Is better than the mighty;
And he that ruleth his spirit
Than he that taketh a city."

Sometimes it is a contrast:—

"The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion;
But his favour is as the dew upon the grass."

"The spirit of a man will sustain his infirmity;
But a wounded spirit who can bear."

There are other parallelisms, as that by amplification, by repetition, &c., but these may suffice. It runs through a large part of the Hebrew poetry, and is often of great use in ascertaining the meaning of a passage. Bishop Lowth, in his *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry* has illustrated this, as most other of the points involved in this subject, at length. The Church is much indebted to this work, although it is in parts rather prolix and heavy.

In sound the Hebrew is sonorous and lofty. Its characteristic is dignity and grandeur, and it is every way worthy of its high destiny.

We close our Article with a few remarks upon the question, whether Hebrew should be studied as part of the regular course in colleges. In taking the affirmative in this question, we remark:—

1. Christians are the only people on the face of the earth who do not place their sacred books in the fore front of all their learning. The Mohammedan scholars study scarcely anything but the Koran, the Fire Worshipper almost adores Zoroaster, the Brahmin sustains false physics entirely by his sacred books, and the Chinese is learned because he is deeply read in Confucius. It is not a sufficient answer to this, that the Bible is profoundly studied in the theological seminaries, that it meets the youth in the Sabbath school as a continual text-book, that it is venerated by our hearths, that it is read in colleges at morning and evening prayer, and is inculcated to reverent congregations on the Sabbath by the ministers of religion. It is

not a sufficient answer, because it does not meet the objection. That objection is, that learning is unbaptized, and the Sacred Scriptures undervalued as treasures of learning and genius in our halls of science and literature. An ingenuous youth, for whatever profession designed, or if intended to lead a life of learned leisure, should be met at the threshold of the college by this great idea, that all learning is based on the infinite truth of God's Book, and hence his system of literature and philosophy is incomplete until he has diligently drunk truth from the fountain of truth at its untroubled source. A practical tribute, such as this, from learning to religion, would, of itself, do much to prevent infidelity.

2. Scarcely any one will be found to deny that moral training is more important than intellectual. The formidable obstacle in the way of success in colleges has always been the great difficulty of preserving the moral purity of young men when masses are thrown together, removed from the influences of home, and acting often fatally upon each others' character. Amid this great difficulty, every thing ought to be done that can be done so to arrange the system of instruction as to produce the best moral effect. This will not be accomplished by neglecting its intellectual character. We are only influenced by that which we respect. But, by all means, we should present, as far as possible, intellectual and moral greatness, not divorced, but in union. The greatest injury, in our opinion, done to the young by the transcendent genius of Lord Byron, lies in his perverted disposition to represent genius and wickedness as possessing some naturalness of union, and virtue as apt to be conjoined with mental imbecility. The principal excuse which can be offered for this absurdity, dangerous, because embalmed like worthless insects—the figure is not very original—in the amber of genius, is that the wayward poet had been unfortunate in his companions. His associations were of wit and wickedness combined, and the noble intellects who loved virtue and holiness, it is a melancholy thought, he knew not.

We are free to state it as our opinion, that the profound attention which has been given to the study of Hebrew in Germany and America during the present century, has done much to stem the tide of infidelity. It has done this by a double influ-

ence. It has made a deep impression in regard to the value of that which has brought into vigorous exercise the finest learning, genius, and industry of the age. Gesenius and Ewald, Rosenmuller, Stuart, Robinson, Nordheimer, and a multitude of others, have searched all oriental learning, and gone deep into past centuries and remote lands to throw light upon some disputed passage in the Hebrew records. No branch of learning, as distinguished from science, has in any degree kept pace with the oriental learning of the last forty years. No book has had, perhaps, a hundredth part of the illustration thrown upon it in that period, that the Bible has had. The effect has been most salutary. Not only have men been compelled to ask what that is which is thought worthy of so intense a labor, and so profound a research, but the influence has been powerful from another quarter. No false book could have borne so intense a light for an hour. Its evidences would have been seen to be baseless, its claims mere shadow. If its contents had been dull, frivolous, or false, all men would have wearied of it. But it is its great glory, that like the creation of its Author, the more it is examined, the more wonderful does it appear. There is no fear for the moral condition of him, with whose mind and heart the Scriptures are brought into continual and effective contact. The case of the infidel will be remembered, who upon asking a Christian what books he should read to satisfy himself of the truth of the Scriptures, was told to read the Scriptures. The advice was philosophical. They shine by their own light.

We plead, therefore, for the introduction of Hebrew into colleges because of the moral wants of students. They should be taught, not merely by precept, but by example, our opinion of the value of this book, and they should become acquainted with it, just as the Almighty spoke it into being.

3. We contend that no one can be considered as truly and fully learned, who has not acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language. The object of learning is the acquisition of truth; but truth, pure, unmixed, is to be found only in the Scriptures. This, therefore, should be the basis of all other learning, and being of inestimable value, it should be learned in the best manner. It is of value, not merely to the divine, but to all

men; for the settlement of our faith, and practice under it, is the great business of life.

Besides, if we have been successful in the previous part of this Article, we have shown that there are treasures of literature in the Hebrew language. We have given already our opinion in regard to the eloquence of the prophets. The philosophy of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, let us say in a word, is wonderful for wisdom, insight into human nature, and mournful beauty. The Psalms are world-famous for lyric excellence, the history of the chosen people is narrated with an admirable simplicity as in the eye of Heaven, the municipal institutions of Moses mark him as the first of lawgivers, while the moral law lies at the basis of the laws of the universe.

4. The language itself embodies the essence of the modes of thinking of the oriental world. Commencing with it, and extending our researches through Greek and Latin to some of the principal modern tongues, we have before us a picture of the language of the world in its various phases, surcharged with all that is implied in that strange object of study, human nature. A circumstance that gives additional value to the Hebrew is, that the East is unchanging; the customs of four thousand years since are copied by the oriental of to-day. The student is therefore led from the impassioned, yet changeless East, from the cradle of human thought and speech, through the splendid Greek and Roman empires, to the changing, active, and versatile West, and thus the great outlines of this department of study are fixed.

5. It is obvious, too, that upon this scheme, that which we have already stated to be the grand object of classical study, mental discipline, is not forgotten. The terms in which we have commended the study of Hebrew involve this idea.

6. The influence of the Hebrew on other languages, especially in idioms arising from the impressions produced by the sacredness of its revelations, as well as by its inherent force, has been very great. It spreads a richness and splendor, like a stream of sunshine, wherever it is found. Our own language is much indebted to this source for force and elevation. Some of our great orators at times introduce a passage of Scripture

with much power. We have been particularly struck with this in the West, where there is something in their fire and enthusiasm which harmonizes well with the spirit of the old Hebrew seers.

It may be proper also to mention that it would be esteemed by theological professors as of very great advantage, if students of divinity came to their seminaries prepared by an acquaintance with the Hebrew to enter immediately upon the other branches of study there taught, to which Hebrew, though indispensable, is only the vestibule. Their course is much crowded, and the vacancy could very profitably be filled up.

There can be but little question that the mass of the Christian community who, to a considerable extent, intrust college courses to those whom they consider qualified to judge, would be much pleased if there were a general determination to introduce the study of Hebrew, for every thing sacred in their associations would go with it. They could not but feel that their sons were well employed in studying the word of God.

In conclusion, we earnestly recommend this noble language to the attention of our readers. It gives a singularly living power to past ages. We scarcely recall them; they seem to awake around us. The foam of the Red Sea dashes in our face; the rocks of Sinai rise in desolation around us; "Ruth stands amid the golden corn;" the dark-eyed daughters of Israel come forth with timbrels and with dances to celebrate the victories of the chosen people; the tribes go up with gladness and with shouts to the chosen city, and the old men weep in desolation around the ruins of the temple; but over all pours the brilliant light of the evangelic seer, which pictures Israel restored in splendor, amidst the joyous acclamations of a regenerated world!

ARTICLE V.

1. *Wesley and Methodism*, by ISAAC TAYLOR.
2. *Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon*.
3. *Lady Huntingdon and her Friends*, by REV. JOSEPH BELCHER, D. D.
4. *Life of Whitefield*, by J. GILLIES.
5. *Historical Collections*, by J. GILLIES.
6. *Observations on the Life of John Wesley by Robert Southey*, by RICHARD WATSON.
7. *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism*, by ABEL STEVENS, LL. D.
8. *Thoughts on the Revival of Religion*, by JONATHAN EDWARDS.
9. *The Great Awakening*, by JOSEPH TRACY.

They who can regard the great religious and reformatory movements of the world without profound interest, are not to be envied either for their reverence for the principles of the divine government, or their sympathy with their race. Every age has peculiarities of its own, and characters adjusted to it, fitted to work in its spirit and form its temper. History now busies itself much with tracing the causes and occasions of individual prowess, and the influence of such heroes upon their age. For, if it is certain that occasions of time and circumstance give birth to great characters, it is not less certain that persons thus raised above the plane of their age, repay the gift by distinguishing their age from all others. The magnates of the Reformation are spoken of as the creation of their time, but who will deny that they committed the fame of that stirring period to succeeding ages? The Puritan leaders, the Hoopers and Howes, the Charnocks and Baxters, were doubtless called forth by the exigencies of their times. The griping of despotism

and the restraints of tyranny, were too severe to be endured, and these nobles and heroes stepped forward to do battle for the cause of God and humanity; but by the strength of their faith and the fire of their zeal, with the matchless energy and vigour of their intellect, these men made their age famous for all future time. That is called *the Puritan age*, and rightly, since while they were summoned to action by the demand of God's holy providence, they moved with mighty and resistless power, to mould and stamp their impress upon the life of the world.

Who speaks of the reign of religious toleration and true liberty of spirit, before whose eyes the majestic forms of Milton and Owen, of Leighton and Baxter, do not pass in their heroic grandeur? So of the Reformation. We cannot dissociate the names of Wickliffe and Huss, of Melancthon, Luther and Calvin, from our thoughts of the great reawakening of the Church of God, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is not essential that we should attempt to draw the line, and show just how far the exigencies of any given period go towards making character, and how far the leading and controlling minds of such period, influence and fashion the age. This is legitimately within the province of the philosophy of history.

There is another thought, intimately associated with this. As in the workings of our mind, it always influences to a greater or less extent other minds, so one age or period operates to control and modify succeeding ones. This view, though by no means new, is one to which, in our estimate of our own times, we are slow to give its proper weight and force. The pure running stream, starting from its healthful source far up in the wild regions of the mountains, is variously affected as it glides along, by the soil through and over which it passes, and he who sees the vitiated, streaked and speckled stream as it flows at his feet, cannot tell why it is thus impure, until he knows something of the substances through which it has made its way; so he alone can properly estimate the period in which he lives, by a careful study of the various phenomena occurring in the world of principles, of forces and of moral life, of the times which have immediately preceded it.

A careful survey of history shows that there have been but

few leading epochs, few marked and forming periods. In philosophy there have been but two or three leading eras. In the science of government there have been but few commanding theories or schools. So, also, in the spiritual history of our race, there have been but three or four distinct and controlling eras, and around these points may be arranged all theories and creeds. Whoso would read human history correctly, has only to define these leading periods, and fix them clearly in his mind, and from them proceed to the investigation and classification of all that grows out of and relates to them.

And we must remember, too, that the only true history of man is that which gives Christ and the Church their rightful place in it. Von Muller said of Herder's Philosophy of History, "I find everything here but Christ, and what is the history of the world without Jesus Christ?"

It is upon the principles here indicated, that the author of the volume first named at the head of this Article proceeds. There are few writers of the age whose thoughts are so suggestive, and whose analysis is so philosophically just. We have placed the work of Mr. Taylor at the head of our list for another reason. It is because it gives the clue to the most we wish to say. The other works, especially the "Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon," are all valuable as sources of information touching this great religious awakening. But in his "Wesley and Methodism," the object of the writer is to fix the latitude and longitude of that great system of religious policy called *Methodism*, among the spiritual and ecclesiastical movements of the world; to show that, as a grand evangelical movement, it did "immediately or remotely, so give an influence to Christian feeling and profession on all sides, that it has come to present itself as the starting-point of our modern religious history. The field preaching of Wesley and Whitefield in 1739, was the event whence the religious epoch now current, must date its commencement. Back to the events of that time must we look necessarily, as often as we would trace to its source, what is most characteristic of the present times. And this is not all, for the Methodism of the past age points forward to the next coming development of the powers of the gospel." Here we have the keynote of almost all that is important in

reference to Methodism as related to the past, the present and the future, of religious thought, life, and action.

But it must be remarked that this use of the word Methodism is very general and comprehensive. It is used as inclusive of the policy adopted by Wesley, Whitefield, Harris, and their coadjutors. It is singularly unfortunate that the word has been appropriated as simply expressive of the distinguishing features of a single religious sect, and always associated with their history. It belongs, in so far as it has any special signification, to the whole Church of Christ as reawakened and summoned to a new and ever brightening mission, from the slumbers and stupor of two centuries. Mr. Taylor does not regard the system now called Methodism as holding any relation to that of the last century. Indeed, he expressly tells us that "the Methodism of the eighteenth century has ceased to have any extant representative among us. None are there now, who with an entire congeniality of feeling can interpret to us its phases, or can warmly and forcibly speak of it, and plead for it as a reality with which they themselves are conversant." We are somewhat inclined to question whether this vigorous writer has not expressed his opinion too strongly upon this point. To say that Methodism has undergone a very radical change both in its form and spirit, is simply to affirm a self-evident position to any who are at all familiar with its history for the last half century. But we doubt if it be true that it has "ceased to have any extant representative among us."

The record of the great evangelic movement which we have in these several volumes, and others of a kindred character, most clearly mark it as quite out of the ordinary course of things. The true principle on which we are to estimate this great work is thus set forth. "Christianity being true without abatement in its own sense, Methodism as a genuine development of its principal elements, must be religiously regarded as such, while yet it may be open to exceptions on many grounds, as the product of minds more good and fervent than always well ordered."

Methodism in this wide sense, as the veritable exponent of deep and mighty spiritual convictions, is to be regarded as one of the great impulses in divine Providence for the emancipa-

tion of our race from the bondage of corruption, and it holds a most important relation to all men in all time. It was "one of the marked utterances of the gospel. Its relation to the Reformation is very apparent. The first Reformation was more especially of doctrine, while the last was the reawakening of the spiritual life. The Calvinistic Reformation was most prominently a re-proclamation of the great fundamental doctrines and principles of our faith—the resurrection, as from a protracted burial, of the distinguishing truths of the gospel, though not without its immediate practical results; Methodism was the infusion of a new religious life into the very heart of the Church and the world—the trumpet sound of vital piety in the leaden ears of stupor and death. In the order of time, the doctrinal reform is to be reckoned first, but in degree of importance it is difficult to say which is to have precedence; for doctrine without spiritual life and fervent practice is like faith without works; and, on the other hand, a fervid zeal without doctrinal basis could by no possibility be permanent.

The primitive Methodists entertained not the remotest idea of reforming the doctrines of Christendom, nor of making their mark on the creed of the Church future. They dealt with interests far more tangible, and more speedily realized to their hearts—the spiritual renovation and rescue of millions of souls, "dead in Adam" but "alive in Christ," from sin and hell. And from this mighty work, they thought not to come down to break laces with theological combatants, nor spend their strength in metaphysical and scholastic discussions. However much the professed successors of the primitive Methodistic company have set themselves in array against the doctrines of Calvinism, and cried "*bigotry!*" in the ears of the disciples of the champion of Geneva, they will find but poor comfort in a reference to the true history of primitive Wesleyan Methodism. Neither John Wesley nor any of his associates in that great and glorious reign of grace, was capable of reforming the creed of Calvin. Fletcher, of Madely, who is reckoned as the conservator of Methodist theology, was very far below the standard for one who should take upon himself to reform or re-construct a system of doctrines so thoroughly compacted and so impreguably fortified from the word of God. So far as we can see,

not one of all those heroic souls who commenced that wonderful evangelistic movement, was mentally fitted to lay broad and deep a theological and philosophical basis for the future Church. When God wants men for a special exigency or a particular field, he brings them forward, amply qualified for the work committed to their charge. These men, as we have said, were not fitted either by nature or culture, or experience, for doctrinal reformers. And hence we believe that Methodism was never commissioned for this specific work. We must be pardoned for any seeming want of charity, in declaring our belief that it travelled out of its legitimate sphere, when it undertook the work of reforming the creed of Christendom. Vast, far-reaching, and glorious, as have been the results of the Methodist movement, who shall tell us that they would not have been far greater and more glorious, had there been a strict and unwavering adherence to the doctrines so glowingly sounded forth by Whitefield, and others of their most distinguished founders? Methodism, considered as a system of doctrines, has never taken, can never take, high rank. Its genius leads not in that direction; its heavenly mission, though by no means less important, was not distinctively doctrinal. In this opinion, we are conscious of no prejudice, and we cannot but believe that those will agree with us who carefully and impartially study the intellectual and religious character of the early "Methodistic Company." Of this company, Mr. Taylor says: "But with what order of men is it that we have to do? Let it be confessed that this company does not include one mind of that amplitude and grandeur, the contemplation of which, as a natural object—a sample of humanity—excites a pleasurable awe and swells the bosom with a vague ambition, or with a noble emulation. Not one of the founders of Methodism can claim to stand on any such high level; nor was one of them gifted with the philosophical faculty, the abstractive, analytic power. More than one was a shrewd and exact logician, but none a master of the higher reason. Not one was erudite in more than an ordinary degree; not one was an accomplished scholar. Yet while several were fairly learned, few were illiterate, and none showed themselves to be imbued with fanaticism and ignorance."

The prominent actors in this grand religious awakening, were John and Charles Wesley, Whitefield, Fletcher, Coke, and Lady Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. Clustering about the lives of these persons will be found all there is of interest in connection with the greatest religious awakening since the days of Pentecost. We are glad to know that Lady Huntingdon is coming to take, as she has not hitherto done, her true place in history as one of the noble and leading spirits in the founding of Methodism and giving type to modern evangelic Christianity. No one can adequately value the service rendered to religion by this noble lady, who does not thoroughly acquaint himself with the history of her private relations, as given in these noble volumes of her "Life and Times." We know not any volumes of biography so calculated to set the heart all aglow with the fervor of Christian piety and zeal. She was eminently fitted by her superior mental endowments and personal qualities, to exert a controlling influence in whatever direction she should turn her attention, and added to this, she was the centre of a large and powerful circle of English nobility. And when at length, under the preaching of Whitefield, her heart was filled with the divine love, and all her powers were consecrated to the undivided service of her God, she bent herself with an invincible energy of purpose to the evangelical Methodistic movement. It seems clear that this grand, heroic woman was brought forward for the special purpose of becoming a munificent and devoted patron of those holy men, to whom had been committed so sublime and glorious a work. "Much," says Mr. Taylor, "of what has become characteristic of modern evangelical piety had its origin in Lady Huntingdon's drawing-room—that is to say, in the circles of which she was the centre, and her drawing-room the gathering point."

In a perfect daguerreotype of the early Methodists, there are several others which should appear. The first Society was formed in 1738, in a chapel, a plain, but venerable building, in Neville's Court, Fetter Lane, London. Here, in addition to those already named, met from time to time, Ingham, Howell, Harris, Cennick, Hall, Oakley, Hutchins, Sir John Phillips, and Sir John Thorold, all of whom contributed very largely to the strengthening and perfecting the Methodist interests. And

here we are not to forget the important part acted by the mother of John Wesley. We cannot doubt that the system of lay preaching, which formed so distinct and characteristic an element in the great religious undertaking of that day, in its origin was attributable, in no inconsiderable a degree, to her influence, through her illustrious son. When Mr. Maxfield, the first regular lay preacher, commenced his career, many of the leaders thought he had usurped the sacred office. On Mr. Wesley's return to London from a preaching tour, the case was laid before him, and those who had been scandalized, represented the matter as a great and grave irregularity and grievance, that should be immediately corrected. Wesley was at once indignant at their breach of order, and being at the house of his mother, manifested great displeasure in her presence, who, on seeing it, inquired the cause, to which he replied, "Thomas Maxfield has, I understand, turned preacher!" Looking him seriously in the face, she said: "John, you know what my sentiments have been, you cannot suspect me of readily favouring anything of this kind; but," she added, "take care what you do with that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and learn yourself." He heard Mr. Maxfield, and at once expressed both his satisfaction and his sanction, by saying, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good!"

Here it may be interesting to note a letter written about this time, by the Countess to Mr. Wesley. She had heard Mr. Maxfield several times in their gatherings at the "Foundry," as also in her own mansion, and thus expressed her opinion of him: "I never mentioned to you that I have seen Mr. Maxfield. He is one of the greatest instances of God's peculiar favour that I know. He is raised from the stones to sit among the princes of his people. He is my astonishment. How is God's power shown in weakness! You can have no idea what an attachment I have to him. He is highly favoured of the Lord. The first time *I made him expound*, expecting little from him, I sat over against him and thought what a power of God is with him, to make *me* give attention to him. But before he had gone over one fifth part, any one that had seen me would have thought that I had been made of wood or

stone, so quite immovable I both felt and looked. His power in prayer is quite extraordinary. To deal plainly, I could either talk or write for an hour about him."

By Mr. Wesley's order, Maxfield was soon translated from the office of expounder to that of regular preacher.

The portraiture of this Methodistic band is exceedingly attractive. They are always painted as a noble-hearted company of men and women, most thoroughly awake to the exalted destiny of human souls. They could not, as they did not, boast of towering intellect. Placed beside such men as John Howe, John Owen, Richard Baxter, John Flavel, John Knox, Philip Melancthon, Martin Luther, and John Calvin, they fall far below them, "in comparison of learning, in theological attainment, in intellectuality and discursive power as preachers and writers, as well as in the depth and elevation of their devotional style."

They have not the grand, stately, and solemn tread of those great masters of scholastic and patristic lore, but when they marshalled their forces on the battle-field against the invisible hosts of darkness, against spiritual wickedness in high places, there was a determination and energy, and dauntlessness of purpose and chivalric daring, that gave them place in the very front rank of God's chosen instruments of righteousness.

Mr. Wesley's ideal of Methodism as a religious institution seemed to be measured by his estimate of conversion. He and his companions went with hearts all aflame, and sentences tipped with celestial fire, to preach Jesus crucified, and save perishing souls of men, "pulling them out of the fire," and then looking with compassionate eye upon these "babes in Christ" scattered abroad as lambs in the midst of ravening wolves, his first care was to gather them into one organization, mainly for the purpose of reproducing the same glorious results.

The great revival of the last century, as well in our own country as through the British Isles, was characterized by some features which were entirely new, or which at least had never before been brought so distinctly to view. One of these peculiarities was the awakening of the religious sense. There was not, properly speaking, any discovery of new doctrines, nor a

modification of the old, but a taking of the evangelical and well established truths of the gospel and reproducing them as true to the quickened hearts of men. And here, in passing, would we record our belief that the preacher of the word is instrumental in the conversion of the largest number of souls who preaches the doctrines of the cross, *assuming them all to be true*. The world does not so much require logic and reasoning and argumentation, as the direct and pungent appeals of truth, "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." This always commands the attention of the human conscience and makes a lodgment in the sensitive heart. And this was precisely what the Methodist preachers set themselves to do. What in this connection is termed the *religious sense*, is the susceptibility to religious impressions that every man finds deep in his nature. At the time when this great evangelical movement began, this religious sense had been slumbering for ages. For a long period the intellect had been the theatre of action, while the dominion of the heart had very much run to waste.

Religion as it existed in the English Church, in the midst of wars and rumors of wars, was a speculative, frigid, and formal matter. A dead, yet rigid formalism was seen on every land among the nominal people of God, and when He kindled within their bosoms the genial glow of a higher and more vigorous Christian life, the early revival preachers could no longer content themselves while living in the midst of such dreadful stagnation. This state of things may be said to have given rise to Methodism. Hence we are not surprised when we find the mighty preacher aiming his heaviest blows against this heartless religionism. These earnest men could not endure this spiritual sleep so near to death, this torpor of the highest and noblest nature. Hence we find them aiming at the outset to awaken and bring into more vigorous play, a vivid sense of eternity, and the reality of future and eternal retribution. The primitive Methodist preacher dealt with his hearers as if he truly believed that the time is coming, "in the which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat." To him the scenes of the final judgment were a startling and awful reality, which he never thought

of doubting. This full conviction gave to him great plainness of speech. The very same essential truths, proclaimed by the staid, godly, and sober Puritan, or the polished and scholarly Churchman, would awaken no such emotions, would stir no such thoughts in the hearer's heart or mind. They might, indeed, be received as true; challenge the reason, and lead captive the intellectual man, but there would be the end of their work. The congregation of worshippers would pass from the sanctuary as unaffected as they entered it. When the truths of the Word of God fall simply upon the intellect, the conscience unimpressed, the religious sensibilities unaroused, and the heart unaffected, the multitude of respectful hearers may, indeed, be *orthodox*; they may, through a long course of years, be instructed and soundly indoctrinated; but, resting there, they are still far from *Christians*. The preacher who only succeeds in convincing the intellect of his hearers, while the religious sense remains in a torpid, dormant state, will be compelled, at last, to mourn over a barren ministry. His congregation will go unprepared to judgment. Not so, however, when the primitive preacher of the last century entered the sacred place, and delivered the message from heaven. The word is now very "quick and powerful," and the multitude are swayed by it as the forest trees by the blast of a tornado. Heaven and hell are no longer fictions, but they are awful realities to be not only believed but *felt*. Sin is made to "appear exceeding sinful." The law transgressed, clamors for satisfaction, and violated justice lifts the rod to smite the guilty in vengeance, the sound of the final trumpet is heard, and, in a twinkling, the awe-stricken hearer is borne up before the great white throne, the books are opened, the sentence is passed, the ungodly are driven "into outer darkness," and the righteous are welcomed by choirs of cherubim and seraphim "into life eternal." Under the full power of such amazing truths so vividly presented, the people are transfixed, groans and sighs, and sobs fill the sanctuary, from which, in speechless astonishment, the congregation proceed, many to become henceforth the willing and obedient subjects of the "King of kings, and the Lord of lords."

Mr. Taylor has given so graphic a picture of the style of

preaching of which we speak, that we cannot forbear to quote it:—

“We can, many of us, recall the recollection of those overcrowding times, when a preacher of unmatched power and grace—a perfect orator—used to fix every eye upon himself through his hour of fluent and affluent sublimities. How did all faces, gleam with an intensity of intellectual enjoyment, longing to vent itself in loud acclamations at every pause; and when the hour of fascination was over, what looks of gratulation were exchanged among friends from pew to pew! what shaking of hands, and how many smiles and nods passed to and fro among the delighted people! But now all these pleasurable indications must be dismissed, for it is a Methodist, of Wesley’s or Whitefield’s order, that is in this same pulpit. As a preacher, he is not more sincere or right-minded than the last; and as an orator, he is far less highly gifted; he is not so accomplished a theologian, nor in any sense is he rather to be chosen than the other, as to his disposition or endowments, or as to his creed; but he is a Methodist, and his words sink into the hearts of those that hear. While he speaks, a suppressed anxiety rules the spirit of the crowd, and this feeling breaks forth into sighs on every side. The preacher’s style is not, in itself, oratorically affecting, and yet many weep, and an expression not to be simulated, of dread and of anguish, marks many faces. What is it then that has taken place? It is this—that a sense deep-seated in the structure of human nature, but which has hitherto slumbered, has suddenly woke up. There is a tumult in the soul, while a power irresistible is claiming its rights over both body and soul. Instead of that interchange of smiles which lately had pervaded the congregation, while the orator was doing his part, now every man feels himself alone in that crowd. Even the preacher himself is almost forgotten; for an immortal, guilty spirit has come into the presence of Eternal Justice. Within the dismayed heart, it is as if the moral condition, hitherto unheeded, were spread abroad for strictest scrutiny. Quite gone from the thoughts are all those accessories of religious feeling which so often, in times past, had been the source of agreeable, devout excitement. It

is a dread of the supreme rectitude that now holds the mind and heart."

This was undoubtedly one of the most prominently characteristic features of the preaching of those times, that it aroused the religious sensibilities and brought vividly before the mind a sense of eternal verities. The holy men in this country who stood on the high places of Zion and gave direction to the sentiments of the multitude, were of the same kind, and in all that gave Methodism its name and place in history, they were as truly Methodist as Wesley or Whitefield, Howell Harris, or John Berridge. Edwards, the Tennents, Blair, Parkman, and Parsons, who conducted the host of God's people in the "great awakening," were wonderfully effective in the pulpit, and for graphic power, for pungent appeals to the conscience, and overwhelming exhibitions of the great truths of the word of God, these men probably, were not a whit behind their brethren across the sea.

We are to notice that as these revival preachers were largely successful in calling the attention of the careless to the concerns of the soul; that they were in their turn, greatly stimulated in their work by what seems to have been a characteristic element of that religious awakening—we mean a prevalence of the Holy Spirit among the masses of the people, calling them to prayer, confession, and repentance. This awful sense of the realities of life, death, judgment, eternity, heaven, and hell, seen in the case of the individual sinner, awakened by divine power under the preaching of some faithful man of God, came at length to be a settled conviction among the godless multitude. The attention of the people every where was turned to matters of religion. Many of the letters of Lady Huntingdon to Wesley, Whitefield, and others, reveal this state of things in the most glowing and exultant language of a saint, whose heart could scarce contain its great joy at the wonderful triumphs of grace. President Edwards also gives us a picture of this state of things, in our own land. He tells us that "the minds of the people were wonderfully taken off from the world; it was treated amongst us as a thing of very little consequence; they seemed to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty than from any disposition they had to it: religion

was with all sorts, the great concern, and the world was a thing only by the by. The only thing in their view was to get the Kingdom of Heaven, and every one appeared pressing into it. The engagedness of their hearts in this great concern could not be hid—it appeared in their very countenances. It was then a dreadful thing among us to lie out of Christ, in danger every day of dropping into hell; and what persons' minds were intent upon was to escape for their lives and fly from the wrath to come. All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls, and were wont very often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes—which meetings when appointed, were wont greatly to be thronged."

Such was the pervading influence of the Divine Spirit among the people, and their vivid realization of the sublime truths of religion settled as a pall upon all communities of men, leading them to believe that the sovereign Majesty of heaven had, indeed, come to claim his rightful supremacy on earth. With all this, there was a prevalent sense of personal responsibility, which was quite in advance of any thing that had been seen before. The soul's consciousness seemed vastly stimulated, and it felt itself brought into more immediate and personal contact with a being of supreme power and inflexible justice. The constant tendency of the individual is to lose himself in the great human crowd. To sink personal identity, and neutralize his personal obligations and accountability, is counted as a facile and pleasant method of relieving ourselves of some of the most grievous burdens of an irreligious life. One of the prominent features of the great awakening, was that this disposition, or tendency, was repressed, and the gospel was armed by the Holy Ghost with a tremendous and irresistible *individualizing* power. Man was made to come forth into the light and take his appropriate place before God as guilty and accountable. As he listened to the flaming message from the pulpit, he became conscious of his individual ill-desert and condemnation. For the time he was made to feel that he stood alone—all human supports and sympathies removed, and he in the august presence of the Supreme arbiter as really alone as if no other being had ever been created.

The preacher arose in his place to announce "a message from God" to men, and such was his vivid, overflowing sense of its truth and importance, that he felt as if he must talk directly to the hearts and consciences of his hearers, and so he called upon each one *apart from all the rest*, to give heed to his words. The very fervor and depth of his own spiritual convictions, irresistibly led him to this course; and in this, the great religious movement, lifted the ministry and the Church far above any position they had ever held since apostolic times. The pulpit of to-day is feeling the impetus given to it a hundred years ago in the augmented power it possesses to awaken the slumbering souls of men.

Another very marked feature of the Methodistic age and work, was the re-awakening of the *missionary spirit* of the Church. After the missionary zeal and energy of the apostolic period had died away, the Church for ages was content to rest in a more formal service; to worship by torchlight in the subterranean abodes of superstition and Romish darkness. The recluse became the representative type of church piety, zeal, and devotion. With the decay of the missionary spirit, we must couple the decline of evangelical doctrines, until at length the creed of Christendom became a mere form of hollow-sounding words. For we may settle this in our minds, that just in proportion as a Church ceases to be evangelistic will it cease to be evangelical. The one state is usually a true measure of the other. It was essential that the early reformers, the men of gigantic intellect, of profound conceptions of the truth of God's Word, should stand forth as the expounders and defenders of that Word with its precious freight of saving truth for mankind against the usurpations of the man of sin; but their work being accomplished, it was quite as necessary that another class of men should be raised up, who, in their turn, should summon into a new and more vigorous life the too long dormant *heart* of the church, and let it flame with a divine love and compassion for a ruined race. Such a class of Christian heroes were the men who led forward the elect hosts in the great revival of the last century. They knew no limits to Christ-like zeal and effort, but the limit of the race. Shores

then unreached, seas yet uncrossed, people yet unknown, continents and islands unimagined, have received the Scriptures; regions of the earth, literally a new and greater world, have hailed the advent of the Messiah's kingdom, and wished good luck, in the name of the Lord, to those who came to them with knowledge and with power to reveal the secrets of heaven, and to win souls predestined to an immortality of glory. "The educational and missionary zeal of this day may well inspire faith, may well excite imagination, and encourage the expectation of an immeasurable extent of unimaginable good." But to whom is chiefly due this present energy? To the Whitefields, the Wesleys, the Edwards, and the Tennents of the last century. The modern missionary spirit was born in the great awakening. The divine and holy impulse then given to the Church of God has not ceased to be felt, and it never will. Spiritual, active, practical Christianity then asserted its sway over a heavy, leaden-eyed, and almost fruitless orthodoxy. Whitefield on Moorfields among the twenty thousand of the famishing for the bread of life; Wesley among the swarming, sooty colliers of Kingswood; Gilbert Tennent travelling through our land, preaching day and night to the clustering multitude; and David Brainerd with the poor Indians at Crossweeksung; these men were the true representatives of the quickened missionary, aggressive piety of the Church. These flaming ministers of God took their places on the highways of the world, and with clear, ringing voices, cried out: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

No one who is at all familiar with the history of the great revival of the evangelical piety of the Church in the last century, can for a moment question that there was an amazing impulse given to the missionary spirit—a spirit, heroic, daring, persistent, because having its spring and foundation in the love of souls. The philosophy of this is simple, if indeed any are disposed to ask for it. It is in the very nature of the gos-

pel to awaken and stimulate all the humane and benevolent impulses, sentiments, and sympathies of the regenerated heart, and just in proportion to the fervor of the evangelical spirit, will be the missionary zeal and earnestness of the militant Church. "The gospel," says the author of "*Spiritual Christianity*," "if it be warmly embraced, as a motive of conduct, does contain a reason and an impulse tending directly to carry forth Christianity and all its present blessings from land to land, until the human family is every where happy. And it does this by the solemn challenge of every human being *as its own*; how vile soever by actual condition, every human being is yet valuable, precious and honorable *as redeemed*." In virtue of this great truth, however loathsome we may find man, we yet may not despise, nor abhor, nor neglect him. As a member of the family, he is indeed "dead in Adam," but yet is he "alive in Christ." In respect of every child of man, lost as he may seem, and visibly despicable, the Redeemer stretching forth his hand in caution, says, "Take heed that ye despise him not." Whoso reads the "life and times" of those who figured in the "great awakening," must be persuaded that this sentiment entered largely into their experience. The Methodist preacher's heart flamed with unquenchable zeal for the salvation of his race. His love made him bold and confident of success. He could cross oceans and continents, he could "endure hardness as a good soldier," he could scale mountains, and take his weary way through forests and jungles and miasmatic champagnes, if so be he might proclaim the "unsearchable riches" to those for whom Christ died. And thus, as we think, was a new era marked in the history of the Church on earth. The great body of believers in all lands were baptized with a new spirit, that not only made its deep and holy impression upon that age, but upon all future ages of the world. Whether we regard the holy men, who were the chief actors; the means by which the work was moved forward; the spirit which seemed pervasive in the mind of Christians, or the glorious results secured to the human family; the Methodist revival, spreading over both continents, was unquestionably the most wonderful and important evangelic movement in

the Church in modern times. It commenced in a sovereign manner, and was clearly the work of the Holy Ghost. It could be gauged by no rules or principles familiar to the Church. It reached all classes of society, and seemed permanently to impress itself upon the intellect and heart of nations. When shall we have again such a divine visitation? When will the Church and its ministry be quickened into such a glow of spiritual life? When will Zion once again put on such "beautiful garments," and go forth with such conquering power? "Come from the four winds, O Breath!"

LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

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NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

I. COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES, with other Treatises. By E. W. HENGSTENBERG, D. D., Professor of Theology, Berlin. Translated from the German by D. W. Simon. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. pp. 488.

Messrs. Smith & English deserve much credit for the standard works which they are bringing out. We hope that they may find them as profitable to themselves as useful to the public.

This volume contains Dr. Hengstenberg's Commentary on Ecclesiastes; Prolegomena to the Song of Solomon; Lecture on the Book of Job; Lecture on the Prophet Isaiah; Treatise on the Sacrifices of Holy Scripture; The Jews and the Christian Church; with three Indexes.

No one would think either of questioning or eulogizing the learning of Hengstenberg. We must say, however, that we think his learning and ingenuity superior to his judgment, in many cases. He argues, not very conclusively, that Solomon was not the author of Ecclesiastes, but considers him the author of the Canticles. In regard to Job, he maintains the following singular opinion:—"How greatly the didactic purpose predominates over every thing else, is evident from the fact that even the *name* Job is found under its influence. The revered and sacred numbers, too, play a part such as they would scarcely be found to play in a real history. The negotiations, furthermore, between God and Satan, imperatively require us to distinguish between the idea and its clothing—a thing which can only be done when the form of representation is allowed to be a poetical one. If viewed as historical fact, the speaking of God out of the storm would be a thoroughly isolated case. There is not, in the entire Old Testament, one miracle having a simply personal reference: besides that, Job was outside the limits of the church of God, which is the natural soil of all the miracles of holy Scripture. The church is invariably the scene of miracles. Of still more thorough importance is the consideration, that such a person as Job could not have existed in the heathen world. If we regard him as an actual historical personage, we shift the boundary line separating the heathen world from the church of God, and pronounce the redemptive means set up by God superfluous. In depth

of religious knowledge, Job stands higher than Abraham. If heathendom could produce such characters; if it could penetrate so deeply into the wisdom of God, no other revelation was needed."

How strangely this leaves out of view the old patriarchal religion—that of the antediluvians, and the descendants of Noah, before they degenerated into idolatry, we need not say. To call Job a heathen is strange theology, equalled only by the strangeness of giving him no actual life, or a quasi, or mythic, or mere poetic existence.

While great regard is to be paid to Hengstenberg as the leader of orthodoxy in Prussia, as against the destructive Rationalists, yet his opinions are to be received with much caution. There is every where excellent material, but it is *as material* that his works are valuable. We feel insecure while reading him; and while always pleased to have his authority for an orthodox opinion, it does not alter our view to find him bent upon a different one; for, when he states his case, we are often not able to agree with the results to which he thinks his materials lead.

We should regret very much if any reader should imagine that we underrate the immense value of German learning in all departments of theology. Quite the contrary. There are masses of precious stones every where here, but often badly set. Their judgment is not reliable. For clear sense, one Calvin is worth a regiment of them; and yet no man can get on as a theologian without their materials. They need to be rightly used; that is all.

II. A COMMENTARY ON THE SONG OF SOLOMON. By GEORGE BURROWES, D. D. Second edition, revised. Philadelphia: W. S. & A. Martien. 1860. pp. 454.

We spoke highly of this Commentary when it first appeared, and are very glad to see that a second edition is called for.

This edition has seventy-three pages less than the other; and we supposed at first that Dr. Burrowes had condensed the work by that much, a process which we recommended, and which would greatly increase its value. We find, however, by examination, that the two editions are almost precisely the same, there being only some difference in arrangement, for convenience' sake. The condensation is in the printing of the matter, which is more compact, the page also being somewhat enlarged. This is an improvement, as it reduces the bulk of the book, while the type is sufficiently large and clear. It is the best commentary we know of, upon the Song, and we only regret that Dr. Burrowes has not condensed it. We would cut it down one-third, or one-half.

III. A COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By MOSES STUART, late Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Edited and Revised by R. D. C. Robbins, Professor in Middlebury College. Fourth edition. Andover. W. F. Draper. For sale in Philadelphia, by Smith, English & Co. 1860. pp. 575.

This is the well-known standard work of Professor Stuart. The editor says that he "has been careful not to make any alterations in the body of the work, that would be at variance with the theological or exegetical views of Professor Stuart. Guarding this point, he has not thought it necessary to indicate the changes made; although in the Introduction it was found necessary to re-arrange the matter somewhat," &c.

We are not satisfied with the principle of this manner of editing. How are we to know what is Stuart, and what is Robbins? How do we know that Professor Robbins is so thoroughly acquainted with the "theological and exegetical views" of Professor Stuart, that we can be sure that, in stating matters in his own words,—which words we cannot distinguish from Professor Stuart's—he never mistakes his distinguished author? Besides, he makes additions from "Forster, Davidson, and others," *ad libitum*; and putting these in just where he pleases, calls the whole, "Stuart's Commentary on Hebrews." We must protest against this kind of editing, and insist that a man's works be not mutilated or altered; and, above all, that everything be so stated, that we shall know exactly who writes every line that is given us.

In this edition, every effort is made to get the matter into a small space. The old copy, our reader remembers, was in two volumes. It was a very nice book, indeed; the Introduction in one volume, the Commentary and Excursus in another—well printed, in clear type, easily read, the volumes scholarly-looking, and facile to handle. Much of this is necessarily sacrificed to attain the object of cheapness and condensation in one volume of smaller form. The type is small,—some of it very small,—and the paper thin. It is not, by any means, so pleasant a book; but it is brought into a hundred pages less, and the price is very considerably less than old editions. We know that we paid four dollars and seventy-five cents for our edition, while this one is offered at one dollar and seventy-five cents; certainly a great difference. The only question is, whether a larger form might not have been adopted, at an intermediate price.

IV. NEW ISSUES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

Our readers will rejoice with us at the activity of our Committee, notwithstanding the slowness of the Church in furnishing the funds that they so greatly need. We notice the following issues recently published, and not hitherto mentioned in the Review:—

1. **BENEFICIUM CHRISTI.** The Benefits of Christ's Death; or, The Glorious Riches of God's Free Grace, which every True Believer receives by Jesus Christ, and Him Crucified. Originally written in Italian, and attributed to Aonio Paleario. Now reprinted from an Ancient English Translation. With an Historical Sketch of the Book and its Writer. pp. 131.

We condense from the Historical Sketch enough to interest our readers in this remarkable work:—"More than three centuries ago, a little treatise appeared in Italy. Emanating from presses in Venice, in Stuttgart, in Lyons, it swiftly found its way into the hands of the readers of Europe. In Tuscan, in Italian, in French, in German, in Croatian versions, it was eagerly read, and widely circulated. Forty thousand copies of it were, within a few years, uttering its voices, and bearing to multitudes its warm illustrations of the glories of free grace. Rich in evangelical theology, fervid in expression, loving in application, it is not strange that it thus won its way to the hearts of God's hidden people in papal lands, as well as many others in realms in which the Reformation was giving the word of the true gospel to the people.

"The little book was too true to Christ and his cross, to escape the ban of Rome. It was condemned by the Inquisition. Under their curses and threats, it sank from sight. Its forty thousand copies were sought out and destroyed. So utterly was it rooted out, that in 1840 Macaulay said of it, in the *Edinburgh Review*, 'The Inquisitors proscribed it; and it is now as utterly lost, as the Second Decade of *Livy*.'

"But Macaulay was mistaken. Dr. M'Crie had learned, from the will of Thomas Bassindan, printer, in Edinburgh, who died in 1577, that an English version of this treatise must have existed at some time previous to his death. This statement induced the Rev. John Ayer, of England, to search for it. In 1843, or 1844, he succeeded in discovering it, and, in 1847, reprinted it, stating, in the introduction, that no copy of the original Italian work was known to exist. This awakened a new interest, and led to the discovery, by antiquarians, of three copies in Italian, of one in French, one in German, and of a copy of the Croatic version, as well as several English copies.

"It was found that there was in existence, also, a *manuscript* English translation of the book, in the library of the University of Cambridge. This version was made from the Italian by Edward Courtenay, the twelfth Earl of Devonshire, in 1558, while lying a prisoner in the Tower. It was read by Edward the Sixth, who made one or two annotations.

"The English translation was made from the French version, and published in London, in 1573. This has been republished there. An

Italian version has been re-issued at Pisa and Florence. It has also been issued in German, Dutch, Danish, and French."

Paleario was born at Veroli, about 1503. He taught the learned languages at Sienna, where, in 1542, he was tried before the Senate on the charge of heresy. Three hundred men leagued themselves together for his destruction. At Milan he was appointed Professor of Eloquence. Here he was seized and carried to Rome, where he was imprisoned. The charges against him were four:—1. That he denied purgatory. 2. That he disbelieved in the burial of the dead in churches, and preferred the old Roman method of sepulture beyond the walls of cities. 3. That he ridiculed the monastic life; and 4. That he ascribed justification solely to faith in the mercy of God, forgiving our sins through Jesus Christ. He was condemned, after a lengthened imprisonment, to the flames; or, as some say, to be hung, and his body burned. It is almost certain that he was the author of this book. The translator's initials only are given; but he is supposed to have been Arthur Golding, who was employed in translations in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The work is orthodox, and full of unction. We doubt not our readers will all wish to have it.

2. **THE STILL HOUR**; or, Communion with God. By AUSTIN PHELPS, Prof. in Andover Theological Seminary. pp. 136.

We are happy to say that the Still Hour has already a wide circulation. It is an omen for good. It is very encouraging to thoughtful writers, as well as to all who are concerned for the interests of religion.

One great difficulty in the way of a man who would publish something to do the Church good, is that there has been a traditional style of religious writing, which has come down to us from Puritan times, and which in many hands has degenerated into cant. Without looking into Webster, we will give a definition of our own, of CANT. It is *the traditional or continued use of words, tones, and gestures, when the spirit which originally produced them has departed*. So long as a man is sincere, he may be enthusiastic or fanatical, but he cannot be canting; but the moment that there are the signs of deep evangelical emotion which he does not feel, he is beginning to cant. But honest men will not go into this; and the difficulty with them is, whether they can utter any thing which the Church will receive, when it is not written in the conventional style. That style was nobly sincere when it was first enunciated; it was the mode in which those of whom the world was not worthy, spoke to the Church in regard to the sublime themes which they felt as deeply, perhaps, as any men ever felt any thing; but it is as preposterous to write in that style now, as it would

be to revive their way of dressing themselves. John Foster made a grand attack—almost equal to Ney's charge at Waterloo—on this method of keeping up a phraseology, which repelled men of taste; and made a vigorous plea for common sense in religion. Professor Phelps has exemplified the principle at which we are aiming. He has set down, in his own unborrowed language, in the way which is natural to him, certain thoughts and feelings which the Church needed, on a most vital subject, and the Church has cordially welcomed it.

There is not so much of softened, elevated, spiritual meditation in this book as we expected from the title, and from the accounts we had heard of it. Reading it all through for ourselves, we found it a clear, strong, sometimes rather curt, analysis of false and true prayer. It is searching and spiritualizing, and calculated to be eminently useful. It is a manual. All would do well to lay it on the table in their closet, and quicken their souls with one of its short chapters when they retire to communicate with the Most High. It is one of the most sincere books of devotion that has been written in this generation.

3. THE PRESBYTERIAN MANUAL: Containing Forms for the Records of the Session, Presbytery, and Synod; and for the Judicial and other Ecclesiastical Proceedings required by the Polity of the Presbyterian Church. By the Rev. John N. Lewis, lately Stated Clerk of the Synod of New York and New Jersey. pp. 149.

This is the "Clerk's Assistant." It lays down the exact plan of doing every thing ecclesiastical in Presbyterianism. We see here just how to keep records of session, presbytery, and synod; how to organize a church; to elect elders or a pastor; to dedicate a house of worship; to conduct a case of discipline, &c., &c. In short, here are all the details of form which are apt to perplex, especially young ministers. What ministers have learned to do by twenty or thirty years' experience, Mr. Lewis puts down so that, as Mr. Dulles says in his preface, it may be *done right at first*. Being somewhat critical in such matters, we are happy to see that the principles of this manual are so generally correct. We notice, however, one wrong principle in a matter of importance. In the examination of members for admission to the church, (p. 6,) it is required that they affirm "the doctrinal standards of the Presbyterian Church." This is quite wrong. The officers of the church are required to do this, but members join the church as catechumens, to be instructed in doctrinal principles. All that is required is that they believe the great foundation principles of Christianity, and on joining the church they are trained in the more difficult and mysterious truths of the Calvinistic system. The principle we are advocating is not peculiar to our branch of the Presbyterian

Church. It was the doctrine taught at Princeton by the venerable Dr. Alexander.

We are very happy to commend this book as admirably done. The Church is much indebted to Mr. Lewis for it. The Publication Committee, in providing these forms and manuals, is doing an admirable work.

4. **THIS ONE THING I DO.** A Call to Christian Earnestness, addressed to New Disciples. pp. 75.

This is the work of a lady; it is an earnest appeal for a holy life. It discusses, especially, the Lord's Supper and Prayer, and in a very judicious spirit. The view taken everywhere is elevated, and there are marks throughout of a fine culture. We would particularly call attention to the remarks upon Imagination in Prayer, (pp. 45 seq.) We are happy to recommend this little book, especially to the ladies who read our Quarterly. It will interest them much as the thought of a sister mind, and will give them hints which they will find very valuable.

5. **THE SABBATH-SCHOOL HYMN-BOOK.** Prepared for the Presbyterian Publication Committee. pp. 318.

This Hymn-Book is prepared by the Secretary of Publication, who is himself a superintendent of a Sabbath-School. He has consulted freely with other superintendents, and has succeeded in making a very excellent book. He has kept closely in view the *idea*. We are particularly pleased with his admission of so many simple, lyrical hymns. The songs that the children delight in are actually the sweetest and the best. Many hymns, such as "I want to be an Angel," "Homeward Bound," "Little drops of Water," "Sweet story of old," have been admitted. Then there are many which have the heart of religion in them; a few standard didactic hymns which have stood the test of generations, and we are glad to see some patriotic songs. That the book will be popular we cannot doubt. The *Shorter Catechism*, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, we are happy to say, are appended.

6. **THE ECLECTIC TUNE BOOK,** a Selection of Standard Church Tunes: with new and appropriate Pieces for the opening and closing of Public Worship. Edited by Wm. B. Bradbury. pp. 368.

We are beyond our depth here, and must wade or swim carefully. We do not like to talk about what we do not understand. We can only say that competent persons like this book, and that the principle on which it is constructed seems excellent. *Five hundred lists* of tunes were furnished by ministers and choristers in reply to a circular

of inquiry to them as to the best and most popular tunes in use in their churches. Sixteen hundred distinct compositions were thus indicated, and the list carefully collated, so as to select those most generally recommended. To these have been added new tunes furnished by leading composers. A number of occasional pieces have been added. The book is admirably got up; the tunes under each metre are arranged alphabetically.

7. **THE BIBLE READ WITH PROFIT.** By the Rev. Thomas Watson, A. M. A Non-Conformist Divine of the Seventeenth Century. pp. 64.

Being somewhat old-fashioned ourselves, we are glad to see that the Committee have their archaic tastes. The reading of a good Christian, as of a good scholar, will combine the old and the new. The venerable man who wrote this treatise, was found dead in his closet where he had been engaged in prayer. There is a pleasant touch both of unction and learning in this little book.

8. **FORM OF COMMISSION TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.**

Printed on letter paper, and sold at 18 cents a dozen. Old Stated Clerks might say to young ones, in view of the present facilities, as the Irishman about the new roads through the Highlands of Scotland:—

“If you had seen the roads *before they were made*,
You’d have held up your hands and blessed General Wade.”

9. **THE PRAYER-MEETING.** By Rev. J. Few Smith, D. D. pp. 112.

This little work is a practical treatise on prayer-meetings. Dr. Smith shows that this service is scriptural; its uses, under various heads; its efficiency; preparation for it; manner in which it should be conducted. It is an excellent manual of the subject.

10. **MONEY; Or the Ainsworths.** A Prize Book. By the author of “*Day Dreams*,” “*The Barclays*,” &c. pp. 234.

The three sons of Dr. Ainsworth are taken as representatives of the manner in which mankind use money. Harry is lavish, a spend-thrift; Paul is a miser, and Bertie strikes the golden mean, putting the proper valuation upon that “which answereth all things,” and yet understanding and feeling that the great use of money is to do good with it, and promote the happiness of our fellow creatures. The story is well told, readable, and interesting. It contains a lesson of vast importance, which is well put. We are glad to commend it to all children and Sabbath School libraries.

It will be seen that our Committee are not idle. They are publishing good works and in variety. They only need the enlightened liberality of the Church to cheer them on their way, for they have their

eye clearly upon the great object of their creation. They do not intend to follow the precise track of any other publishing institution, but to advance as far as they have the means, to meet the demands of the time.

V. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DAN YOUNG, a New England Preacher of the Olden Time. Edited by W. P. Strickland. New York: Carleton & Porter, 1860. pp. 380.

Mr. Strickland, the editor of this mass of egotism, says, very oddly, that "nothing will be found here to offend the nicest taste." Now we never saw any thing in worse taste than page after page of it. Over and over again the author represents himself and his brethren as flooring Calvinists—Yankee Calvinists—ministers of thorough education—by arguments that every theological student in America who is not an idiot can answer. Professors in college, and eminent Congregational ministers, are represented as foiled, over and over again, by the merest *ad captandum* Arminianism. The book is stuffed full of it.

"Barring," as an Irishman would say, the insufferable conceit of this book, Mr. Young seems to have been a useful man. He was a member both of the New Hampshire and Ohio Legislatures, and appears to have had the interests of religion much at heart. He seems to have been bigoted to an extraordinary degree. But it is a blessed thing that even under such circumstances an earnest Christian can work with all his heart in a particular denomination, when he can see no good beyond, as a horse in a blind bridle keeps the beaten road, and accomplishes the work assigned him.

VI. PLANTS OF THE HOLY LAND, with their Fruits and Flowers. Beautifully Illustrated by Original Drawings, Colored from Nature. By Rev. Henry S. Osborn, Author of "Palestine, Past and Present." Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1861. pp. 174.

This is a beautiful gift-book. It is finely printed, and arranged in green and gold, making one of the most beautiful presents that could be given.

"This work," the author says, "is intended to comprise notices of every plant mentioned in the Scriptures, with its fruit and flowers. In this aspect we believe the work is complete—not one having been omitted. The addition of an equally extended and illustrated article on the *trees* of the Holy Land would have made this work too expensive. That must be reserved for another time." The following are some of the authorities consulted: Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Pliny, Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, with Rosenmüller's notes, Hasselquist, Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra*, Lady Maria Callcott's *Scripture Herbal*.

The number of plants discussed is fifty-two. We copy the following confirmation of the truth of Scripture in a matter where it seemed to be erroneous. Multitudes of skeptical objections are of similar character:—

“The record plainly speaks of the chief butler and the wine and grapes in Egypt. But history and facts were against the statement. Herodotus declares that no vines grew in Egypt; and the opinions of others added authority to the historian’s statement. The soil was examined and found to be wanting in the ingredients necessary to sustain the grape, and the conclusion was that here was an error in Scripture. For two thousand years the testimony of Moses stood alone in its contradiction to the testimony of historians, and the voice of the soil. But Mr. Costaz, during a visit to the catacombs and caverns of an ancient city on the Nile, discovered sculptures revealing the fact that, at a time long before the birth of the Greek historian, there lived men who planted vineyards and made wine in Egypt, and had carved in the rock the history of the whole process; and, as the curiosity of antiquaries was stimulated, other places were opened, and a certain sediment was found in ancient jars, and chemists knew this sediment to be the remains of ancient wines. The first discoveries were made at the present little Arab village of El-Kâb, the ancient Elethya, on the right bank of the Nile. But what shall we say of those examinations of the soil that led to the decision against the growth of the vine in ancient Egypt? They were, doubtless, correct. But, while they had reference only to the present state of the land, they merely proved that many centuries ago the soil of Egypt had undergone a change, and that the plants which once grew there had taken their departure before the time of Herodotus. Dr. Robinson discovered near Gaza an old wine-press. But the vines, as in Egypt, were gone, and the soil is of such a nature as to forbid the assertion that any vineyard, for many centuries before, could have flourished in that region.”

The gourd of Jonah, Prof. O. makes to be the castor-bean plant, in which he agrees with Dr. Henderson, Dr. Eadie and others following Dioscorides, Jerome, &c. But Dr. Thomson says: “Their arguments do not for a moment disturb my settled conviction that it was a gourd. The cause of their mistake may probably be found in the fact that in these modern Shemitic dialects, the word Kûr’ah—gourd—closely resembles, both in form and sound, khûrwah—castor-bean—just as the *kikion*—gourd—of Jonah resembles the Egypto-Greek *kiki*—castor-bean, according to Dioscorides. These accidental resemblances may have led Jerome and others into the opinion that they were the same

plant. But orientals never dream of training a castor-oil plant over a booth, or planting it for a shade, and they would have but small respect for any one who did. It is in no way adapted for the purpose, while thousands of arbors are covered with various creepers of the general gourd family." This is only one of the multitudes of examples where the extraordinary good sense of our translators has made their work to stand its ground against centuries of theorizing. A little farther on, Dr. Thomson tells us that the translation of *lapwing*, though recent writers think it a different bird, is correct.

We copy from Prof. O. the following touching the rose: "The wild rose, or sweet-brier, seems to grow wild in some parts of the Holy Land, as we have noticed in our travels; but the double roses, or at least the varieties which we understand by that name, are seldom seen—indeed, we are inclined to think, never seen, wild. The cultivated rose of Syria exceeds in beauty and perfection that of any other country, and the gardens about Damascus are like beautiful fairy-grounds in fragrance and appearance. We have often been delighted beyond description by the peculiar delicacy and novelty of the perfume as it swept by us from some garden or grove, suggesting every scene of beauty described in the dreamy tales of the Arabian Nights. The commingling of perfumes and the soft shades of the flowers, make the aspect and fragrance of the Eastern roses peculiar and scarcely capable of appreciation by owners of the most attractive gardens in this country."

VII. THE PROTESTANT THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA: being a Condensed Translation of Herzog's Real Encyclopædia. With additions from other sources. By Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D. D., assisted by distinguished theologians of various denominations. Parts XI. & XII. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. pp. 128, each part.

These parts of this noble work extend from *Heliogabalus* to *Josiah*. We have so strongly commended this Encyclopædia that it seems unnecessary to say more. Some of the more elaborate articles in these parts are:—The Helvetic Confession and Consensus; Herder; Hermeneutics; High Priest; Hippolytus; Holland; Homiletics; John Huss; Ignatius; Inquisition; Inspiration; Introduction to O. and N. T.; Irvingites; Italy; James the Apostle; Jansenism; Jeremiah; Jesuits; Jesus Christ; Job; John the Apostle. There is no other work of its kind which approaches this in value.

VIII. THE VOCABULARY OF PHILOSOPHY, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical; with Quotations and References. For the use of students. By WILLIAM FLEMING, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. From the Second, Revised and Enlarged, London Edition. With an Introduction, Chronology of the History of Philosophy, brought

down to 1860, Bibliographical Index, Synthetical Tables, and other Additions, by Charles P. Krauth, D. D. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. pp. 662.

We should think that this book would almost exactly answer the purpose of many educated men who, without choosing to go very deeply into the labyrinths of metaphysics, yet wish to have a reliable resort in which to make themselves acquainted with any thing relating to mental philosophy which may turn up in their reading, or become matter of public discussion.

We give the first dozen or so of titles, to show the reader what Dr. Fleming discusses:—Abduction; Ability and Inability (Mental and Moral); Abseissio Infiniti; Absolute, Unconditioned, Infinite; Abstinence; Abstract, Abstraction; Abstractive (Knowledge) and Intuitive; Absurd; Academics; Academy; Acatalepsy; Accident; Accidental; Acosmist; Aeroamatical, and so on, for 560 pages. As to his manner, we copy a little of the *Absolute* and *Infinite*:

“As to our knowledge or conception of the *Absolute*, there are different opinions.

“1. According to Sir William Hamilton, ‘the mind can conceive, and consequently can know, only the limited and the *conditionally* limited. The *unconditionally unlimited*, or the *infinite*; the *unconditionally limited*, or the *absolute*, cannot positively be construed to the mind; they can be conceived at all only by thinking away, or abstraction of those very conditions under which thought itself is realized; consequently the notion of the *unconditioned* is only negative—negative of conceivable itself.’

“2. According to Kant, the *absolute* or *unconditioned* is not an object of knowledge; but its notion as a regulative principle of the mind itself, is more than a mere negation of the conditioned.

“3. According to Schelling, it is cognizable, but not conceivable; it can be known by a sinking back into identity with the *absolute*, but is incomprehensible by consciousness and reflection, which are only of the *relative* and the *different*.

“4. According to Cousin, it is cognizable and conceivable by consciousness and reflection, under relation, difference, and plurality.

“All philosophy aims at a knowledge of the *absolute* under different phases. In psychology the fundamental question is, Have we ideas that are a *priori* and *absolute*?—in logic, Is human knowledge *absolute*?—in ethics, Is the Moral Law *absolute* rectitude?—and in metaphysics, What is the ultimate ground of all existence or *absolute* being?”

The work is an excellent one, and very modestly done. There is a great amount of suggestive information. It is not the most profound of books, but one that we can turn to for information, carefully gathered, and honestly given. In the preface to the second edition, the author

says: "Useful suggestions have spontaneously been made to the author by persons with whom he was previously unacquainted; and, among others, by Mr. Hayward, the translator of the *Criticism of the Pure Reason*. Mr. Morell, who was formerly a student at this University, and who is now so well known by his valuable contributions to Philosophy, had the kindness to go over the contents of the Vocabulary, and to furnish a list of such additional words and phrases, as might be introduced with advantage. The like good office was rendered by Dr. McCosh." Dr. Fleming thinks of making this the basis of a larger and more elaborate work: "Should," he says, "suitable arrangement and co-operation be obtained, it is in contemplation, by extending the plan, and enlarging the articles, to claim for the work a higher title, by trying to make it instrumental in rendering to philosophy among ourselves, a service similar to what has been rendered to philosophy in France, by the publication of the *Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques*."

The editor has added "a vocabulary of some of the principal terms used by German philosophers." He considers Dr. Fleming weakest in the German line. Next, "he has given from Tennemann's Manual a Chronological Table of the History of Philosophy, enlarged somewhat in its closing part, and brought down to 1860; and with this has been connected a classification, by schools, of the latest German philosophers." Next, a Bibliographical Index. "By turning, for instance, to the articles Aristotle, Plato, Hamilton, or Leibnitz, the reader will find himself able to examine consecutively their views." Next, "the final labors of the editor have been devoted to the preparation of the Synthetical Tables which follow the introduction. The utility of these tables will," he thinks, "at once strike the reader." The additions of Dr. Krauth are 110 pages, but he informs us: "Very far more than in the ratio in which they have enlarged the work, the editor believes they have added to its value as a Manual."

IX. HARPER'S GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS. Herodotus. Recensuit Josephus Williams Blakesley, S. T. B. Coll. Ss. Trin. Apud Cantabr. quondam Socius. Two vols. New York: Harpers. 1861. pp. 362, 364.

Two pocket volumes in the delightful flexible binding—volumes to make a scholar's eyes glisten. The grand old Ionic Father of History in the most delicious of Greek type. There is nothing but the text, three pages and a-half of Latin Introduction—"Lectori," and at the end twenty-six pages of an *Index Nominum Propriorum*.

In regard to the merits of Herodotus, we are getting together materials for an Article from the researches of the Rawlinsons, which we hope to have ready for the next Number of the Review. We wish to

gather up, if we can, the additions made to sacred and classical knowledge by the discovery of the method of deciphering the arrow headed inscriptions, and the studies which have been instigated by it.

X. THE NEW AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Vol. X., Jerusalem—Macferrin. Vol. XI., Macgillivray—Moxa. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Agent in Philadelphia, John M'Farlan. 1860-61. pp. 788 each.

Two more volumes of this admirable work. We have certainly never seen any thing equal to it as a reference manual. It is truly what its name imports—"A Popular Dictionary." It takes little side in the subjects discussed, generally giving the average views of every thing. For the information that one wants for every day use, it is entirely unrivalled.

Some of the larger and more elaborate articles in these volumes are: Jerusalem, Jesuits, Dr. Johnson, Kant, Kentucky, Lafayette, Language, Latin, Lead, London, House of Lords, Luther, Madagascar, Madison, Magnetism, Maine, Malays, Mammalia, Marble, Marshall, Mary Stuart, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mechanics, Medical Jurisprudence, Medici, Medicine, Mercury, Meteorology, Methodism, Mexico, Michigan, Microscope, Milton, Minerals, Minnesota, Miracle, Foreign Missions, Mississippi, Missouri, Mohammed, Mongols, Monroe, Moral Philosophy, Mormons.

Some of the authors are: Dr. Francis, Prof. Henry, Prof. Schem, Mr. Simms, Mr. Hillard, Dr. Schaff.

XI. JOHN ALBERT BENGEL'S GNOMON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Pointing out from the Natural Force of the Words, the Simplicity, Depth, Harmony, and Saving Power of its Divine Thoughts. A New Translation by Charles T. Lewis, M. A., and Marvin R. Vincent, M. A., Professors in Troy University. Vol. I. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1860. pp. 925.

Bengel was learned and evangelical; few men have exerted so widespread an influence in biblical literature. Of the older class of German writers scarcely any one is so well known. He has kept his place as a scholar for a hundred and forty years. His Greek Testament is still spoken of with respect in the history of biblical criticism as an excellent pioneer effort, and his piety served to reconcile Christians to the then new methods of research.

His Gnomon appeared first in 1742. New editions were published in 1759, 1773, 1835, and 1855; and now two English translations appear, a hundred and twenty years after the publication of the original work. When we consider the giant strides that have been made

in commentary and criticism in that time, and that this branch of theology has been almost reconstructed, this is a very high tribute to the talents and piety of Bengel.

This edition is condensed as much as possible into two thick volumes, containing in all about 1800 pages, the first volume alone having yet appeared. The type is sufficiently large and clear, and the paper thick and good. The price (five dollars,) very reasonable. The principles of Prof. Lewis in this edition seem to be correct. He says: "But one course remains for the editor of Bengel. He must translate Bengel's text as it is, connecting with it such extracts from other writers as will guard the reader against views now refuted, and will further give some hints of the results of more modern criticism and exegesis. If less were done, the work would be very imperfect; if more were attempted, it would become rather a new book than an edition of Bengel." The translation is from the Latin, free use being made of the English translation published by the Messrs. Clark, Edinburgh, 1854, and the German one by Werner, Stuttgart, 1853. But Prof. Lewis thinks there is much difference between his translation and that published by the Messrs. Clark. The authors most frequently used in modifying the statements of Bengel are, Alford, Calvin, Dorner, De Wette, with Brückner's additions, Rev. James Ford, Lampe, Lücke, Meyer, of whom he speaks in very high terms, Neander, Olshausen, Quesnel, Stier, Tholuck, Tischendorf, Trench, Winer. He does not—we cannot too highly commend this—mutilate the work by omitting Bengel's views, even when clearly erroneous. They are inserted with those which have superseded them, "sometimes, however, abridging arguments on controversies of his day, now obsolete." In the *critical* part of the *Gnomon* there is radical revision. Prof. Lewis compares the *Textus Receptus* with Tischendorf and Alford, and aims to make a *critical English Testament*. "All additions are in brackets, that Bengel may not be held responsible for any thing not his. I have omitted nothing which could be of interest or of value to any student; nothing but references to books never known in this country, and superseded in their own; a few remarks on Greek etymology, intelligible only to Greek scholars, who will find better ones in any recent Greek lexicon, and a very few more, perhaps five, chiefly on modern miracles, and now valueless." Prof. Vincent translated about half the volume, but all the additions, as well as the plan, &c., belong to Prof. Lewis. The volume goes through the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

XII. REASON AND THE BIBLE: Or the Truth of Religion. By Miles P. Squier, D. D., Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy. Beloit College. New York: Charles Scribner. For sale in Philadelphia by Smith, English, & Co. 1860. pp. 340.

There is much in Dr. Squier's writings with which we sympathize cordially. There is great freedom of thought. He will not be bound by any authority of great names. He thinks for himself. He will strike with the sharp point of his lance against the shield of any challenger, and will run a tilt against the most stalwart knights that have fought since the world began. Again, we admire his unhesitating faith in the Bible. He has a profound disregard of any thing that opposes it; he holds unfalteringly that truth is consistent with itself, and is perfectly sure that verity in one department of God's universe will come into harmony with all verities any where else. We like very much, too, his genuine love of thinking; he delights in a hard knot as some people do in picking out the kernels that bury themselves deep in the intricacies of the nut-shell. So far from giving in to the indolence of mind and taste for superficial sensation now so common, he desires to go to the bottom of every thing, and rather prefers that the truth be investigated and discovered in abstract philosophical forms.

The titles of the chapters are: Introductory; The Harmony of Truth; God in Reason, in his Works, and in Revelation; The Bible coincident with Reason; The Analogy of all Religion; The Bible necessarily True, and Authentic; The Biblical System, Pure and Exclusive, and the Antidote for Sin and Wo; The Bible adapted to the Perfection of Mind; Advantages of the Philosophic Method in Truth; The Relations of Moral Evil.

We would not be critics if we could not find some fault. Dr. Squier is clearly right in his judgment that Reason and the Bible are coincident, but it is of the last consequence to distinguish here. Is the Bible the judge and indicator of truth with which Reason is to be brought in harmony, or is Reason to judge of truth first, and the Bible then to be interpreted into concurrence with the utterances of Reason? The first method brings us into evangelical truth, and the last into German rationalism. The book needs guarding at this point. Again, Professor S. has a degree of confidence in Reason—fallen and degraded as it now is in our doomed race—that we have hardly ever seen in any evangelical writer. He seems to think that mysteries are obsolete. Reason can understand the Trinity, or “is not embarrassed by it,” p. 119; and in the last chapter, Reason, Prof. S. thinks, has solved the question of the “relations of moral evil.” “Both the

questioning and the answers" heretofore given on the existence of sin, "have shown immaturity in the study of moral science, and much want of a discriminative analysis." He then proceeds to state "those generic principles of thought, on the basis of which this whole subject adjusts itself." His points are: that God intended a holy and happy universe; that intelligent creatures, as made, were a perfect work; that intelligence is cause *per se*; that moral government has only moral means to prevent sin; that "a divine moral government may not see its entire will and aim effected in its probationary methods; sin is unreason, and does not need a reason; the history of sin will be a good lesson. "Finally, God is our heavenly Father," and we must be able "to look intelligently right into His heart, and see that no dark enigmas lurk there."

We need hardly say to any practised theologian how entirely all this fails to touch the point of the question. Grant that a moral government uses moral means. Could not Omnipotence by moral means, have kept Satan and our first parents from sinning? Yet He did not. Why? We do not know. Neither does Dr. Squier, nor Calvin, nor Augustine, and the Bible has not told us. Again, a thousand things have been decreed, *of which the sinful actions of free agents are an actual part*. Take the death of the Saviour. The betrayal of Judas, the thirty pieces of silver, the crucifixion, were all announced in prophecy hundreds of years before the event. But here is involved the sins of Judas and of Pilate. Without the sins, the prophecy would be untrue. But the fore-knowledge which the prophecy involves would be impossible, unless the facts were certain. Yet nothing could make these certain but God's decree. Then is He the author of sin? No. How escape the conclusion? We do not know. It is a mystery. Dr. Squier does not *begin* to solve it. Arminians shirk it, and Calvinists march up to it and state the difficulty clearly, and then acknowledge its insolubleness with any light we now have. Professor Squier's theory simply denies the omnipotence of God, in a vain attempt to place His goodness on grounds where the Bible never places it. Here is the whole truth—that is, all we know about it—expressed in such English as few men can now write: "The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his providence, that it extendeth itself even to the first fall, and all other sins of angels and men; and that not by a bare permission, but such as hath joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to his own holy ends; yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God, who being most holy and right-

eous, neither is, nor can be, the author or approver of sin." Confession of Faith, Chap. V., Sec. 4.

There is much in this book that we heartily approve. We should like to strike out about one-fourth of it, and put the remainder into the hands of every one that could understand it.

XIII. TRAVELS IN THE REGIONS OF THE UPPER AND LOWER AMOOR, and the Russian Acquisitions on the Confines of India and China. With Adventures among the Mountain Kirghis, and the Manjours, Manyargs, Tougous, Tonzemts, Goldi and Gelyaks, the hunting and pastoral Tribes. By THOMAS WITLAM ATKINSON, F. G. S., F. R. G. S. With a Map and numerous Illustrations. New York: Harpers. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1860. pp. 448.

The Amoor is a River of North-eastern Asia. Its two branches unite in about lat. 53° N., and long. $120^{\circ} 30'$ E. It empties into the Sea of Okhotsk, on the Pacific. Its length is about sixteen hundred miles.

Mr. Atkinson is the same gentleman who travelled into Siberia, and whose travels in that country we noticed. He seems to have a thorough passion for travelling. He is always good-humored, and makes light of his hardships and dangers. The book is full of information, related in a plain, straightforward manner. There is no special grace of style, nor any remarkable learning, but everything is related in a true spirit of adventure. The vast strides of Russia to power are watched with English feeling, and the openings for trade are not forgotten. We commend the book as very interesting to those who have tastes corresponding to its objects.

XIV. STUDIES FROM LIFE. By the author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." New York: Harpers. Philadelphia. For Sale by Lippincott & Co. 1861. pp. 290.

OUR YEAR: a Child's Book, in Prose and Verse. By the Same. Illustrated by Clarence Dobell. Same Publishers. pp. 297.

The first of these books contains Miss Muloch's Magazine Articles. They are, naturally, of unequal merit. Among the best are "Old Stones," a fine description of Stonehenge and Salisbury Cathedral, and "The Man of Men." The latter is a sketch of Sir Charles Grandison, in which is contained exactly "our sentiments—better expressed"—in relation to that most remarkable book, parts of which we had the good fortune to read at about ten years of age. The following extract from the preface of Richardson is most admirable: "It has been observed by some that, in general, Sir Charles Grandison approaches near to the faultless character which critics censure as being above nature. Yet it ought to be observed, too, that he performs not one action which it is not in the power of any man in his situation to perform, and that

he checks and restrains himself in no one instance in which it is not the duty of a prudent and good man to restrain himself." "Thoroughly noble," says Miss Muloch, "just and generous; pure through the temptations of a licentious time; asserting true honor against all the shame of it then current; polite, without insincerity; pious, without either intolerance or cant; severe in virtue, yet pitiful to the most vicious; faithful to his friends, and forgiving to his enemies, till his last foe is conquered by the force of kindness; loved by all women, admired by all men, yet never losing a sweet humility, which, coming out as it does at times to his nearest ties, must, we feel assured, be always his before his God. The marvel is how the little fat bookseller could have conceived such an ideal of a true Christian gentleman."

The other little book, while the letter-press does very well, is remarkable for its very beautiful and spirited engravings. They are full of character, and are every way a credit to Mr. Dobell. No more acceptable present could be made to one of your children.

XV. MEMORIAL OF THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF THE LATE REV.

HENRY A. ROWLAND, D. D., Pastor of the Park Presbyterian Church, Newark, New Jersey. With the Sermon preached at his Funeral, by E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1860. pp. 191.

We knew Dr. Rowland quite well, having met him a number of times at the General Assembly and elsewhere. This Memorial is well done. It is modest, affectionate, and discriminating. Dr. Rowland is not unduly exalted. Allowance is well made for his peculiar temperament, and the effort of the whole is to set him forth clearly and fully, as a true Christian, and a faithful, active, and useful minister, who used well his peculiar gifts for doing good.

The reader will find our notices of three of Dr. Rowland's works, No. IV., pp. 680, 1, 2, and No. VII., pp. 500, 1., of this Review. We find, on recurring to them, that we have spoken highly of them, a commendation which, expressed in his life-time, we have no disposition to recall, now that he is gone. They are very valuable practical works, written in a clear, strong style. They are—*The Path of Life*, *Light in a Dark Alley*, and *the Way of Peace*. They are treatises on the most serious of subjects, but expressed in the cheerful, business-like method of our time, and which was peculiarly characteristic of Dr. Rowland.

XVI. COINS, MEDALS, AND SEALS, ANCIENT AND MODERN. Illustrated and Described. With a Sketch of the History of Coins and Coinage, Instructions for Young Collectors, Tables of Comparative Rarity, Price Lists of English and American Coins, Medals, and Tokens, &c., &c. Edited by W. C. Prime, Author of "*Boat Life in Egypt and Arabia*," &c., &c. New York: Harpers. 1861. pp. 292.

This is a beautifully executed volume, on tinted paper. The claims

for it are very modest. "It has been my desire to encourage in the young a taste for numismatic study, and to discourage the mania for rare and curious, but uninteresting and worthless, pieces of metal—the collecting of coins for the sake of their rarity instead of their historical value."

"The portion of the volume which relates to American coins and medals has been prepared with much labor, but is sadly imperfect. Collectors we have without number, but very few students of the science."

Here is an excellent remark: "The Scripture affirms that at a period about 4000 years ago, the world was depopulated by a deluge, which only one family survived. The world shows no remaining monument of any earlier period than this. Let us record the fact, in spite of all that men have sought to establish to the contrary, that no one has found a relic of human existence on earth, which antedates the period of the Noachic deluge."

The first money, Mr. Prime says, was coined about 900 B. C., probably at Miletus, though Herodotus ascribes it to the Lydians. It was the gold *stater*, a rude lion's head on one side, and the mark of the punch on the other. There is a very old Lydian coin, supposed by some to be older than that of Miletus. The earliest known *silver* coinage is that of *Ægina*, about B. C., 870. It contains the *Æginetan* emblem, the tortoise.

The first devices were emblematic, as the owl at Athens, the seal at Phoecea, &c; next came the heads of deities. The first royal head seems to have been that of Archelaus, King of Macedonia. He reigned from 413 to 399 B. C. During the reign of Amyntas II., the punch-mark disappears and coinage rapidly improves. The Macedonian coinage has been preserved in remarkable succession, and evinces high excellence. There are a large number of coins extant of Alexander the Great.

More than forty coins have been found in many places in Britain with the name of Cunobelin, (the Cymbeline of Shakspeare.) A very interesting coin is extant with the name of Boadicea, and others with the name of Segenax, one of the kings of Kent who attacked Cæsar. It is supposed by some, however, that these are of much later date than they purport to be.

We consider this work as very well done. Very much information, difficult to reach, is brought forward in excellent style and spirit. It is very full upon the subject of American coinage.

XVII. COMMENTARY ON THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT. By Dr. A. Tholuck. Translated from the Fourth Revised and Enlarged Edition, by the

Rev. R. Lundin Brown, M. A., Translator of "Ullman on the Sinlessness of Jesus: an Evidence of Christianity." Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1860. pp. 443.

Tholuck is learned, but this is not the only value of his exposition. He has much of insight. His view of the text generally shows good judgment. He is æsthetic, too; the movement of his criticism and remark is elevated.

Perhaps there is no work extant, upon the whole, on the Sermon on the Mount which contains so many valuable elements as this. It is certainly a large book upon three chapters, but then where shall we find three such chapters!

XVIII. TEXT-BOOK OF CHURCH HISTORY. By Dr. John Henry Kurtz, Professor of Theology in the University of Dorpat, &c., &c. Vol. I. To the Reformation. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1860. pp. 534.

We have already noticed, at considerable length, the former translation of this work, by Dr. Edersheim. The present edition is arranged by the Rev. Dr. Bomberger of this city. Dr. B. says in his preface:

"The present edition of the 'Text-book of Church History' is, to a large extent, a reprint of the Edinburgh translation. But as that translation avowedly tampered with the original work, care has been taken in this edition, to make the rendering conform strictly to the author's sense. This proved to be a more serious task than was anticipated, in some cases requiring an entire reconstruction of the plan of the work, and in others the translation of whole pages of matter omitted in the Edinburgh issue. The number of pages thus added amount to about fifty, including pp. 371-82, 387-99, and the whole of the section treating upon Huss. The verbal alterations necessary, are too many to be enumerated, although in making these no mere private taste was indulged. Wherever the translation fairly conveyed the author's sense, it was allowed to stand; and it is due to the Edinburgh edition to say that this was very largely the case. It is probable that no book, original or translated, was ever issued, in which the author or editor did not see room for improvement. But the verbal changes made in the present instance, were required in justice to the theological stand-point of Dr. Kurtz. Mr. Edersheim, (the translator of the Edinburgh edition,) by omitting a qualifying word, or substituting one of a different import, has kept Dr. Kurtz from saying, in many instances, what he desired to say, or has made him utter something which he would be unwilling to endorse. This is especially true of statements relating to Predestinarianism, the Sacraments, and the Church. As an illustration of the injustice thus done to the author, the reader is referred to p. 119, 6, (2,) where, in reference to *John Ruchrath of Wesel*, Dr. K. says: 'In opposition to transubstantiation he advocated the doctrine of impanation.' The Edinburgh translation has it: 'His views were certainly not Romish.' Indeed, it be-

came very evident, upon comparing the Edinburgh issue with the original, that the alterations were designedly made, for the purpose of adapting a *Lutheran* work to a Puritan market.

This is not only doing great injustice to the author, but to the church at large. One of the best apologies for denominationalism is, that it is overruled for the manifold development of the excellences of Christianity. And this benefit, so far as it may hold in fact, must exist of itself no less in the literary than other labors of Christians of different confessions. Why, then, should not a Puritan or Presbyterian be allowed to speak or write as a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian as an Episcopalian, a Reformed as a Reformed, and a Lutheran as a Lutheran? The truth is not all on one side. And no one mind, imbued with true moral earnestness, is capable at once of appreciating and presenting fairly the various sides of truth. Instead, therefore, of distorting a work like the present by forcing it into the pattern of a foreign mould, it should be permitted to set forth facts in its own way. Doubtless, Dr. Kurtz is fallible, and will find many to dissent from some of his statements. But he is a responsible man, and ready, it is to be presumed, to make corrections whenever convicted of errors. We say this the more unreservedly for not being of the same Church with the respected author.

"It is proper to add, that whilst the Edinburgh translation was made from the third edition of the original work, the edition now offered to the public contains all the improvements of the fourth edition of the original, which was published within the last three months."

On the other hand, Dr. Edersheim states the matter as follows:—

"Little, it is believed, requires to be said either by way of introduction to, or apology for the appearance of the present volume, which carries the narrative to the Reformation. In another volume it is proposed to continue the history down to our days. But in order to adapt the work to the wants of British readers, it will be necessary for the editor, while following Professor Kurtz in his accurate researches on the *German Reformation*, to detail with the same care and fulness the *History of the Calvinistic Churches*. The want of a manual like the present, at once so comprehensive as to serve for reference, and so condensed as to form a suitable text-book for students, has been long and increasingly felt. On a comparison of various works of this kind, that by Professor Kurtz has appeared to the editor best adapted for reproduction in English. It has been sought to make the translation faithful without being slavish. Throughout, the book has been anew and carefully compared with standard works on the subject in English and German. Where necessary, slight modifications have been made, and expressions altered or omitted, when Dr. Kurtz's Lutheran predilections have led him beyond the limits of strict historical evidence. Such alterations, however, are not material; they have been requisite only in a few instances, and do not, in any case, change the character of the book. The *Literature* of the subject has also undergone careful revision and been to a considerable extent supplemented. The editor

alone is responsible for the following portions of the volume, viz.:—The Life of Wickliffe; the Theology of Wickliffe; the Lollards; the Sketch of the System of Huss; the Bohemian Brethren; and Humanism in England and Scotland.”

Perhaps the matter may be *compromised*, as this is the favorite method of disposing of difficulties, by the statement that each edition has its value. Dr. Edersheim states, it would seem, pretty fairly what alterations he has made. We only wish that he had been absolutely explicit as to every word he has altered or added. This is the only true principle of book-making. For those who wish a book with, as Dr. Bomberger calls them, “Puritan” additions, we have Dr. Edersheim’s adaptations, and for those who wish “Kurtz entire,” with the whole Lutheran position, we have Dr. Bomberger’s edition. It will be observed that he bears testimony to the general fidelity of the Edinburgh translation.

Dr. Bomberger gives us the following additional information concerning Dr. Kurtz. “He was born Dec. 13th, 1807, at Montjoie, in the district of Aix-la-Chapelle, Rhenish Prussia. In early life, he contemplated becoming a merchant, but as the desire to study theology soon became predominant, he entered, (1829,) upon a five years’ course at the Gymnasia of Dortmund and Soest, the University of Halle. Ullman and Tholuck were then lecturing there, and the latter especially, exerted a decidedly favorable influence upon our author’s theological training. He subsequently completed his studies at Benn, and then went as a private teacher to Courland. He would soon, however, have returned to his native country, but for an appointment in 1835 as chief teacher of Religion in the Gymnasium at Mitau. The honorary degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred upon him, and in 1850 he was called to the chair of Church History in Dorpat, Livonia. He is also Counsellor of State to the Emperor.”

XIX. A COMMENTARY, CRITICAL AND GRAMMATICAL, ON ST. PAUL’S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS, with a Revised Translation. By Charles J. Ellicott, B. D., Professor of Divinity, King’s College, London, and late Fellow of St. John’s College, Cambridge. With an Introductory Notice by Calvin E. Stowe, D. D., Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover. W. F. Draper. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1860. pp. 183.

We opened this thinnish, well-printed octavo, without much expectation. Commentaries are greatly multiplying, and the name of the author was entirely new to us. We soon found, however, that we were in the hands of a remarkable man, and that Professor Stowe is hardly saying too much when he declares that these commentaries “mark an epoch in English sacred literature.” We make some extracts from Dr. Stowe’s Notice.

"It is the professed object of both these writers, (De Wette and Ellicott,) by a severe and purely grammatical analysis of the language of the sacred penman, to ascertain precisely the ideas which they meant to convey; and to express the results of this analysis in the simplest and briefest manner possible, without reference to theological systems, or ecclesiastical prepossessions, or practical inferences. Professor Ellicott first, with the utmost care and the most conscientious laboriousness, gives the reader a correct text, by means of a widely extended comparison of original MSS., ancient translations, and the best editions. The amount of hard work evidently expended on this part of his undertaking is, to one who knows how to appreciate it, almost appalling. His results are worthy of all confidence. He is more careful and reliable than Tischendorf, slower and more steadily deliberate than Alford, and more patiently laborious than any other living N. T. writer, with the exception, perhaps, of Tregelles. Having thus ascertained the text, he then goes to work, logically and grammatically, upon every word, phrase, and sentence.

"Mr. Ellicott is of an old Devonshire family. He was born in 1819, the son of Rev. Charles Spencer Ellicott, Rector of Whitehall in Rutlandshire. He studied at the grammar schools of Oakham and Stamford, and afterwards entered St. John's College, Cambridge, of which Society he became a Fellow in 1844. In 1848 he married, and took the rectorship of Pilton, in Rutlandshire, which he held till the beginning of 1856, when, for the sake of having access to large public libraries, he resigned his living, and returned to Cambridge. In 1858 he was appointed one of the select preachers before the University, and prepared and published a volume of sermons on the 'Destiny of the Creature.' (Rom. viii, 19, sq.) He received the same appointment again the next year, and was also made Hulsean lecturer. In this capacity he delivered a course of lectures on the connection of the events in the life of Christ, which are now in press. In 1858, also, he was appointed to succeed Professor Maurice in the Professorship of Divinity at King's College, London, which office he still holds. He has published on all the epistles of Paul, except Corinthians and Romans, and these he has in hand. The American publisher will issue the successive volumes in the same order with the English, the next being the Epistle to the Ephesians."

We make an extract or two from the preface of Professor Ellicott, to show his spirit.

"My own studies have irresistibly impelled me to the conviction, that without making any unnecessary distinctions between grammar and exegesis, we are still to recognise the necessity of first endeavoring to find out what the words actually convey according to the ordinary rules of language; then, secondly, of observing the peculiar shade of meaning that the context appears to impart. Too often this process has been reversed; the commentator, on the strength of some 'received interpretation,' or some dogmatical bias, has stated what the passage ought to mean, and then has been tempted, by the force of bad example, to coerce the words 'per Hebraismum,' or 'per enallagen,' to yield

the required sense. This, in many, nay, most cases, I feel certain has been done to a great degree *unconsciously*, yet still the evil effects remain. God's word, though innocently, has been deceitfully dealt with; and God's Word, like the Ark of the Covenant, may not, with impunity, be stayed up by the officiousness of mortal aid."

Here are two or three specimens of his criticisms:

"In the Grammar of the N. T. we are now in a fairly promising state. The very admirable work of Winer has completely rehabilitated the subject. It is a volume that I have studied with the closest attention, and to which I am under profound obligations. Still, it would not be candid if I did not state that it has its weak points. I do not consider the treatment of the particles (a most important subject in St. Paul's epistles) at all equal to that of the prepositions, or by any means commensurate with our wants on this portion of grammar; the cases might also, perhaps, be more successfully handled.

"I have especially used the admirable and, in my opinion, wholly unrivalled system of Bernhardt, the good compendious syntax of Madvig, the somewhat heavy treatise on the same subject by Scheuerlein, Jelf's Grammar, and the small Greek Grammar, by Dr. Donaldson, which, although unpretending in form, and succinct in its nature, will never be consulted, even by the advanced student, without the greatest advantage. On the particles, I have principally used the somewhat clumsy though useful work of Hartung, and the very able and voluminous notes of Klotz, on *Devarius*. This latter work the student will rarely consult in vain. In particular, I have used Fritzsche's edition of the Romans nearly as a grammar, so full is it, and so elaborate in all details of language. As a grammarian, I entertain for him the highest respect; but I confess my sympathy with him as a theologian is not great, nor can I do otherwise than deplore the unjust levity with which he often treats the Greek Fathers, and the tone of bitterness and asperity which he assumes towards the learned and pious Tholuck. It is a sad evidence of an untouched heart and unchristian spirit, when a commentator on the New Testament leaves the written traces of his bitterness on the margins of the Covenant of Love.

"Amidst all these details, I have, I trust, never forgotten that there is something higher than mere critical acumen, something more sure than grammatical exactitude, something which the world calls the 'theological sense,' but which more devout thinkers recognize as the assisting grace of the Eternal Spirit of God. Without this, without, also, a deeper and more mysterious sympathy with the mind of the sacred writer whom we are presuming to interpret, no mere verbal discussions can ever tend truly to elucidate, no investigation thoroughly to satisfy."

We are greatly pleased to see, with others, this sort of commentary. It begins right, and is the basis of all true interpretation.

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ARTICLE I.

THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

[BY ED. LABOULAYE. TRANSLATED FROM THE "STAATSWORTERBUCH."]

THE privileges of the Gallican Church are those customs and principles, which, under the old monarchy, regulated the relations of the French Church with Rome, and of the kingdom with the papacy. In part they affect church discipline—in part the sovereignty of the State. The former has gradually disappeared, or, at least, been very much weakened, since the Catholic Church passed from the control of the councils to the absolute power of the popes; the latter has, however, been maintained, and is made part of the Organic Articles of the Concordat of 1801. The study of these privileges, has, therefore, a twofold interest; historical, as explaining the long resistance which the French prelates, the University of Paris, and the kings of France made against the claims of the popes; and political, as showing us how these kings—the oldest defenders of the Church of Rome—defended their own crowns better than other princes of less energy or less foresight. The worldly character of French society was noticeable at a time when the rest of Europe was dependent on Rome; and this partly explains the fact that the Reformation found less favor in France than in England or Germany, for there had been

less room for the ambition of the popes and the invasions of the Roman Hierarchy. Under the term of privileges or liberties (*libertates*) of the Gallican Church, we are not to understand the overthrow of any old claims, but in the sense of the doctors of the middle ages, (as *Pithon*, for instance,) the natural privileges of the common law, which was firmly and steadfastly maintained and upheld. The Roman Church desired to change it, but France held to its old usages as to a shield against the new claims of the popes. In the name of antiquity, in defence of the consecrated limits prescribed by their ancestors, they resisted the attacks of Rome; and hence it is, that, under some circumstances, the bishops showed themselves not less zealous than the kings, in maintaining not privileges only, but blessed rights. What were these Roman reforms? This question is easily answered by the date of each change proposed, in spite of the efforts of theologians and writers under papal influence; we know, that, since the papacy of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., a school of theologians called now-a-days *ultramontane*, has endeavored to enforce certain principles, which must, if pursued to their ultimate results, end in subjecting all Churches and States to the despotism of the pope. These principles were, at the very outset, resisted by the order of begging friars, and next by the Jesuits; they are twofold: 1st. The pope, as the vice-gerent of Jesus Christ, is infallible, and in him all ecclesiastical power is centered; he alone deduces power directly from God; the bishops draw their authority from him, and are only his representatives, and the agents of his will. Even general councils require to be authorized by the pope, who alone can decide questions touching the faith; he only can enact new laws or repeal old ones, dispose of all the property of the Church; and as he is responsible only to God, he can judge all men, but no man can judge him. 2d. All temporal power is subordinate to the ecclesiastical power, and princes and kings are immediately subject to the Church; by its authority they can be stripped of their sovereignty, either for heresy or for disobedience to its behests.

The same principles which were enunciated by St. Thomas were maintained by the Dominican Cajetan, by the Jesuits

Bellarmino and Suarez, and were defended in our time with more acuteness than sense by De Maistre. On the strength of such principles, Gregory the Seventh, Innocent the Third, Innocent the Fourth, Sixtus the Fifth, undertook to uncrown kings, and to dispose of their crowns. All these popes, convinced of their infallibility, really believed that the ban of the Church deprived any prince of the power to govern Christians; perhaps ambition did not affect their judgment, but the right which they claimed, secured the sole authority in Christendom to the popes, the final decision depended on him, and this doctrine made kings his vassals. These principles, which threatened to turn Europe into a theocracy, were always rejected by France. The Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis is a solemn protest against the papal measures, the Gallican Privileges, by Pithon, published in 1594, embrace the old customs of the French Church, and renew the protest, deducing all these privileges, which he repeats in eighty-three articles, from two closely related principles, which France has always firmly adhered to, viz.:—

Lib. Gall., Art. 4.—The first principle is, that the popes have no right to order or decree any thing which affects temporal things to be done within the king's territories; and if they do so order or decree, the king's subjects, even if they are priests, are not bound to obedience.

Art. 5.—The second principle is, that although the pope is recognised as sovereign in spiritual affairs, yet in France his power was never absolute and unlimited, but has always been limited and restrained by the canons and ordinances of the ancient councils held in this kingdom, *et in hoc maxime consistit libertas ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*, as the University of Paris (which, according to an old French phrase, holds the key to our Christianity, and has been the most careful guardian and protector of these rights,) declared, in full sitting of the Court and Parliament, when it opposed the recognition of the Bulls relating to the Legation of Cardinal d'Amboise.

Although the collection of these "Privileges" is merely the private work of a lawyer, it received the respect due to good law, and even the Parliament never questioned its authority.

It would be easy to prove, that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the university and the clergy were equally determined to maintain it; when, for instance, the Papal Legate, who presided over the Council of Trent, was desirous of declaring the papal power according to the Council of Florence, that "the pope received, in the person of St. Peter, from the hands of Jesus Christ, full power to control and govern the whole Church," he was contradicted by the French prelates. "I cannot deny," wrote the Cardinal de Lorraine, "that I am a Frenchman, educated in the University of Paris, which holds the Councils of greater authority than the pope, and declares that it is heresy to believe otherwise." In France, the Council of Florence is declared illegal, and Frenchmen would rather die than yield to it.

The opinion of the French Church was most clearly and solemnly enunciated in the Declaration of March 9th, 1682—it was mainly composed by Bossuet, and signed by the French bishops—it embraces the Gallican theory in four articles, without falling into the excesses in which the lawyers and the Parliaments plunged themselves:—

Article I.—"St. Peter and his successors, vice-gerents of Jesus Christ, and the whole Church, have received from God no power other than that of spiritual affairs relating to the soul, and none affecting temporal and political rights; Jesus Christ himself teaches us that his kingdom is not of this world, saying too, 'Give to Cæsar the things that are of Cæsar, and to God the things that are of God;' nor can the words of St. Paul mean other than that every man is subordinate to the temporal government under which he lives, for all such power is from God, and he who opposes it, opposes God's ordinance. We, therefore, declare that the kings and sovereigns, in their lawful domain, are subject to no ecclesiastical interference in their authority; that they cannot be removed either directly or indirectly by the direction of the pope; and their subjects cannot be relieved of the fealty due them, nor released from their subordination; and this doctrine, which is wholesome and necessary, as well for the Church as for the State, is to be implicitly obeyed, as being so ordered by God's Word, by the

teachings of the Evangelists, and by the example of the saints."

Article II.—"The power which is intrusted to the Holy Apostolic See, and to the successors of St. Peter, in spiritual matters, is such, that, as set forth in the decrees of the Holy Ecumenical Council of Constance, as they were adopted in their fourth and fifth meetings, approved by the Holy See, established by the practice of the whole Church and all of its popes, observed at all times in the Gallican Church, and remain in full force and activity. The French Church rejects the doctrine of those who would weaken or attack this Decree, for they endeavor to weaken its authority, and assert that this Decree was of force only during the period of the internal quarrels of the Church."

Article III.—"Therefore, the use of apostolic power must be controlled by the Canons, which are replete with divine spirit, and approved by the general recognition of the world. The rules, customs, ordinances, and constitutions which are adopted in the kingdom and Church of France shall preserve their force and strength, and the usages of our ancestors shall remain untouched; the dignity of the holy apostolic seat itself demands that these laws and usages, which were established with the consent of that reverent authority, should remain unaltered."

Article IV. "Although the Pope possesses the chief authority in questions of doctrine, and his decrees are universal to all churches, yet his judgment is not irrevocable until it receives the confirmation of the Church itself. It is plain, therefore, that these four articles are based on these two principles enunciated by *Pithon*; they declare (1,) that temporal power is independent of ecclesiastical, and they reject any subordination of the State to the Church, just as they do that of the Church to the State, as it is practised in England and Holland; (2,) that the power of the pope is not sovereign to such a degree as to free him from the control of canonical law, or to make his decisions, in matters of faith, final and without appeal, or to render him, at all times, free from complaint or remark; and, in short, that he is not infallible, and is subordinate to the Councils. Bossuet has justified this doctrine in his best

work, for the 'Defensio Declarationis Clerici' remained the doctrine of the French Church down to the Revolution of 1798. The Gallican clergy, who have been reproached with schism, and even with heresy, never made it an article of faith, any more than the popes have ever raised the theory of their infallibility, and their power over all governments, to a dogma; but it has been defended on principle as a reverent inheritance and a holy defence intrusted to their keeping. After the restoration of public worship, in 1801, the Gallican doctrine was maintained by the most respected bishops, by Cardinal de la Luzerne, Barsal de Beausset, Frayssinons and others. It was not until the reign of Louis Philippe that the younger clergy, brought up in the school of Father Lamennais, and fed on ultramontane principles, first discarded the inheritance of Gallican freedom, and made known their dogma of papal infallibility. This new school does not see whither their theory would lead, if adopted as part of the politics of the day, and, in fact, the spirit of the age rejects so energetically every interference of the pope in temporal matters, that little interest has been taken in following out the logical sequences of this theory of infallibility. Yet already it has produced evil results, and the last French *Concordat* shows plainly that Rome still claims a right over matters of temporal government, and is always ready to grasp, in the name of its spiritual supremacy, jurisdiction, and to exercise control wherever it can gain a foothold. Hence it is useful to study the individual peculiarities of the Gallican liberties, for they are fast beginning to take the old shape, and they are sure almost to attain the same form as before.

To give this sketch a better starting point, let us choose the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, when the old customs were strengthened by ordinances which existed down to the period of the Revolution. To him France owes as much in matters ecclesiastical as in all its other departments of government. The best authority is that of Abbe Fleury, and the best edition of his admirable work, "Discours sur les libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane," is that of 1807 (reprinted in 1818,) by *Eymery*. The author was a lawyer in his youth, but he never embraced the prejudices of the Parliaments of the day; he became a

priest, a writer of church histories, the pupil and friend of Bossuet; when he wrote on the same subject, his views are both wise and lofty; the arbitrary nature of the law-writers was not his, and he was truly a religious man; so that it would be hard to find a better authority.

I. *Distinction of Power into Temporal and Ecclesiastical.*

The Gallican Church distinguished two sorts of power, and gave to each its proper authority. To the Church it intrusted (a.) The right to teach the faithful, and to expound to them the Word of God. (b.) The right to absolve sinners, or to refuse absolution, and to eject irredeemable outcasts from the Church. While Fleury holds that sovereigns, as well as their subjects, can be excluded the community of the Church, although less frequently and with more caution, in order not to create any hostility between two conflicting equal authorities, yet the Gallican priests declared that the pope had no right to put a whole kingdom under the ban of the Church, or even to excommunicate kings, out of fear lest a schism should result from it, for in France men had no fear of this spiritual lightning. Every excommunication of a magistrate or other public officer, based on the exercise of his duties, was looked upon as an indirect effort to grasp temporal power. In theory, Fleury was right; for in the Church the duty of an officer or a prince fades before that as a member of the Church; but at a period of close intimacy between Church and State, when excommunication was a sure means of awakening the consciences and disturbing the peace of a whole kingdom, the ban of the Church was necessarily put under restraint, to save the sovereigns in it from revolt, and to strip the pope of a barren pretext for interference in their affairs. (c.) The third recognised right of the Church was that of disposing of the public offices of the Church, and judging the cases of the officers of the Church itself, with the privilege, where needful, of deposing them.

On these three points then, as now, the real privilege of the Church was limited: all else was looked on as the exercise of political sovereignty, permitted by the tacit consent of the chief in such government. In this category were reckoned, (a.) The privilege of the clergy to be tried only by a spiritual court, even

in things temporal, and of matters of civil and penal offences. (b.) The right of these ecclesiastical judges to change corporal punishment and imprisonment for grades of civil indignity and money penalties. On the other hand, in recognition of temporal sovereignty, there were many things in which the Church had an interest, so subordinate to the State and the king, who, in the close ties of Church and State, was not only defender of the faith, but in externals almost a bishop, too. (a.) He controlled the right of his subjects, priests or lay, to leave the kingdom, even in order to go to Rome. (b.) Bishops could not leave France without the permission of the king of France, even though summoned by the pope, lest his commands might conflict with others laid on them by their own sovereign. (c.) They could not call provincial councils without royal license. Much as this contradicts the rules of the Church, it was so firmly set that it had to be left untouched even in the Concordat of 1801 [Article 4.] (d.) No foreigner dare collect any moneys in France, and hence the Parliaments decided that none could be head of any cloister or religious house. Nay, further, it was determined that every order, whose head resided in Rome or elsewhere, should have an independent and responsible chief in France, who should be a native Frenchman. The precautions against foreigners went so far as to forbid the bishops to correspond with Rome; although, with curious want of logic, it was freely suffered to the monks, who clung more closely to their order than to their country.

One of the weightiest attributes of sovereignty is the peace and protection secured to property. Grant once that part of the soil of a country is subordinate to a foreign power, and that this foreign influence controls its property there situate, as to impose on it an arbitrary tax, or declare it to be or not to be alienable, is simply cutting up the sovereignty of the country itself by the roots, and letting in on it two sets of masters and two sets of laws. Frenchmen never fell into this mistake; the consecrated property did not cease to be so far worldly as to be always subject to the political magistrates. The Church had no exclusive privilege in its possessions, and must submit them to all ordinary rules. The results were various and im-

portant. (a.) Since the clergy had only the *user* of their revenues, the magistrates took care of the property out of which they were raised, and guarded against any injury done to the principal, in order to levy a higher rate of interest. (b.) Without royal permission, and against the concurrence of the clergy, the pope could not lay any tax on priests, even in the form of a loan or of a voluntary subscription. The right so to do was one of the privileges of the national government, and belonged exclusively to the king. (c.) The pope was forbidden the right to grant away any church property, without the consent of the king and of the clergy, and then even only according to the directions of the laws of France.

The French jurists were not less zealous in defending the exclusive jurisdiction of their own government, and oppose vigorously every acknowledgment of Roman rights within the limits of the kingdom. They adhered firmly to the principle that the pope dare not give, in the shape of a gift, any thing which belonged to the temporal rights of the kingdom. He could not legitimate bastards, pardon infamous offenders, relieve criminals of any grade from the penalty of their sins, enlarge the period for completing testamentary dispositions, give any value to bequests to pious uses, enable persons under restraint of the law to make wills, nor withdraw that privilege from any one. In France neither the courts of the Church, nor its notaries, were acknowledged; in civil courts all jurisdiction was exclusively temporal, and the French jurists confined the legal interposition of the popes within the narrowest boundaries. The French Revolution of 1789 only completed a work which had been long in progress, in entirely secularizing the whole power of legislation.

II. *The Authority of the Pope.*

In this direction the Gallican Church distinguished between that which affected the religious belief, and that which relates to the discipline of the Church; and in the latter the power of the bishops, and indirectly that of the government, was alone consulted. Here we need not examine the questions of belief, farther than to say that the Gallican Church acknowledged the divine right of the pope as primate, but neither respected the

infallibility of the pope nor taught others to do so—asking only that he should act in harmony with the councils of the Church. According to the view of Bossuet, who represents that of the Gallican Church, the Roman hierarchy was indestructible—that is, they hoped it would never be for any length of time allowed to remain subject to any fatal error, as happened to those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem. They supported this opinion by the text, “I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy belief may not be shaken.” (Luke xxii. 32.) The Gallican Church believed that the pope was intrusted particularly with the duty of education, and the conduct of his flock; but, at the same time, that every bishop had his authority directly from Jesus Christ, that the regular control of every diocese belonged to its bishop, and that the pope had no other right or duty than that of correcting and leading into the right path every bishop who erred in his behaviour, or grew lax in his belief.

On this power of the bishops, and on that of the text, “Where two or three are gathered together, there am I, too,” (Matt. xviii. 20,) the Gallican Church based the authority of councils, and the infallibility of the general council, representing the whole Church. They granted the popes the right of presiding in every such council, and the decisions made there did not depend on the authority of the pope alone, but needed the concurrence of the bishops. In the publication of their decrees by the popes, the Gallicans recognised no sanction, but only a confirmation. Fleury calls attention to the fact that in the subscriptions of the old councils all the bishops use the expression, “*confirmatio*,” and with it signed next the pope.

The Gallicans based this independence, or, rather, sovereignty, of the councils on the historical fact of the condemnation of Pope Honorius by the Sixth General Council, on the expulsion of Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII., by the Council of Pisa, in 1409, on the clear avowals of that of Constance, which declared, in 1414, that the pope was subordinate to the councils, in all things affecting Church doctrine, the curing of all schisms, and general reform of its members. According to Bossuet and Fleury, these ordinances, on which were based the trial and displacement of John XXII., were never disputed, unlike that

adopted at the Council of Basil, which was disputed, while at that of Trent it was in vain attempted to secure general approval of that of Florence, which yielded to the pope entire power in things affecting the Church at large.

The Gallicans strove, as they thought, to maintain the doctrines asserted in the early part of the Church's history; and, in a certain sense, Fleury foresaw the sophisms advanced by De Maistre, when he rejected the introduction of abstract principles, and a philosophical foundation of the infallibility of the pope, and his sovereignty over kings, as it has been adopted by the ultramontane party. Such were the limits of papal authority in matters of belief, according to the Gallican theory. In reference to questions of church discipline, they declared that papal power must be limited and exercised according to the laws of the Church, and yielded to the pope only supreme power in enforcing upon all his subordinates a strict observance of these laws. In their eyes, church government was not a despotism, but an affectionate and parental administration. The pope, according to St. Gregory, had command of the whole Church, not of its individual members; he was intrusted with the execution of the laws, but he was no embodiment of law itself. In France nothing was recognised as canon law but the general body of ecclesiastical law, and the old customs of the Gallican Church, which were of an antiquity beyond which the memory of man runneth not, and, therefore, had the authority of immemorable usage. "The old purity of the laws of the Church is the only source of Gallican liberties," declared the Parliament of 1703, in their Decree of March 9th. Hence it was not believed that the mere will of the pope made or unmade ecclesiastical law, nor that the faithful were bound to render obedience to every papal bull. The modern decrees of the pope, and as such all since the thirteenth century are counted, control the Gallican Church only so far as they are in conformity with the laws of France; neither bishops nor the king were in the habit therefore of obeying the rules laid down by the bull *in cœna domini*. The existing liberties of the Gallican Church may be arranged in the following order:—

I. In France the Tribunal of the Inquisition has never been

admitted, inasmuch as it implies an abnegation of the royal authority, a limitation of episcopal jurisdiction, and an extravagant privilege for the order of priests charged with its administration. Hence all the claims of the Roman Inquisition were rejected, when they pretended to mastery over all Christendom. So, too, the jurisdiction claimed by the Congregation of Cardinals summoned at Rome, in the sixteenth century, was very curtly denied; and so, too, was that of the Holy Office or Inquisition; that of the Index of forbidden Books; that of the Council charged with the interpretation of the Decrees of the Council of Trent; that of the bishops and monkish orders; of the Propaganda; of the Immunities of the Church, which protected the right of asylum in churches, and the privilege of the clergy. The decisions of these congregations were respected as the advice of learned and venerable men, but they were not looked up to as legal authority, for it was thought that their tribunals were innovations, and likely to narrow the ancient jurisdiction so much as to endanger the respect due the temporal power. Hence the publication of their decrees was forbidden, and the most pious Christians read unhesitatingly books not forbidden by the bishop of the diocese, or in themselves of an heretical tendency.

(2.) The Pope was not freely granted the right to confer, at his good pleasure, the gift of consecration, or, at least, the clergy thus admitted were not allowed to exercise clerical functions in France.

(3.) No bull, and no apostolic letter, durst be enforced in France without the *pareatis* or *visa* of the king or his officers; even the decrees of councils were only admitted after a thorough examination, to see that they were not in conflict with any of the Gallican Liberties. The Decrees of the Council of Trent, which invaded French usages, and awoke the mistrust of the king, were never recognised as law in France, while the Articles of Faith there adopted were universally admitted throughout Christendom. The greater part of its prescriptions in church matters were adopted, but in the shape of an Ordinance of Blois, in 1579, so that, as Pithon says, the nice questions of jurisdiction and competency should be obviated, and,*as far as possible, avoided.

(4.) While, in Spain, every petty church impost required a bull, which itself yielded a handsome revenue to Rome; in France this was used only for great consistorial taxes, and for the others a simple signature was made to serve at a very cheap rate.

(5.) The pope was not allowed to increase the rate of taxes for bulls, or for letters rogatory, &c.; and the custom was as old as the reign of Charles VI., who adjudged, on the 18th February, 1406, that no new demands of money for Rome should ever more be admitted.

(6.) The so-called right of inheritance which gave the Pope all the property of bishops, and others dying in the possession of ecclesiastical benefices, still in force in Spain and Italy, was never recognised in France. From the time of the Schism of Avignon, this hateful right was exercised with great fidelity, but in France it was opposed with equal obstinacy, and in this spirit, the right heirs were admitted to the goods of the Church; and thus, as Fleury says, the one evil was used to cure the other; but, at least, it saved all parties a tedious and ruinous lawsuit.

(7.) Only those exceptions in favor of ecclesiastical property were admitted, which were legalized by royal authority.

(8.) Church dispensations, too, were rejected whenever they affected divine law, the Canons of the Church, the old usages of the kingdom; and even then their frequency was an innovation suffered to grow up only because private interests overbore the earlier strictness and severity that controlled them.

(9.) Subjects of the king could not be drawn away from home either by the pretext of citations, or by appeals and other legal claims; this was partly a reason for disobeying the Council of Trent, which declared in Sess. XXIV. 20, that certain lawsuits should be regularly tried by papal courts, and that others should be liable to an appellate jurisdiction on the part of the pope himself.

(10.) While in Spain, episcopal functions were subordinate to the papal, in France the nuncio was merely an ambassador from abroad, and any effort on his part to exercise authority against this peculiar Gallican liberty was most energetically opposed by the courts of law.

(11.) The *legatus a latere* had certain rights, but lest he might abuse them, the pope could send no legate to France without a summons from the king; even then, when he came, he must, by a written oath, pledge himself to exercise the duties of his office only in conformity with the royal directions at the royal pleasure. His bulls were examined by the Parliament; and, on leaving the kingdom finally, he must give up all the archives of his office, while all the moneys obtained thereby must be spent in charitable gifts.

(12.) Finally, under Francis I., the free cities, and right of asylum in churches, were abolished; for, although they were based on very ancient claim of right and long usage, yet they protected crimes, and encouraged conflict of authority so much that the unity of sovereignty could no longer brook them.

III. *Papal privileges acknowledged in France.* We have seen that the much decried Gallican theory, really held to "the ancient law and power of the bishops, as ordained by general councils and the saints themselves;" (these are the words of *Bossuet* in his opening address to the Convocation of 1682;) but even this wise distinction was not always firmly adhered to; at an early day, the false Decretals had extended the power of the popes, and the French kings had recognised certain papal privileges, which affected and narrowed the extent of episcopal functions, so that custom was less wholesome than the law itself. (See *Fleury's Discours sur la Liberté*, p. 178.) These papal privileges were, 1. For many centuries the pope established and destroyed bishoprics without stint; exercised the right of removing bishops or of giving them coadjutors, while the old law gave the former privilege to the provincial councils, and the Council of Nicæa entirely abolished the others.

2. From the Concordat of 1516, the pope alone had the right to consecrate the bishops nominated by the king; originally, their choice even was not left to the king, but was exercised by the clergy and laity in common; after the thirteenth century, the cathedral officers gained this right, and it was confirmed to them by the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis. The king had, of course, great influence on such an election, but it was only an influence; the election once made, it only needed the ap-

proval of the archbishop in case of a suffragan, or of the pope, in that of a metropolitan bishop, to complete the choice. But Leo III. and Francis I., divided with one another a power which belonged to neither of them; while the pope granted to the king some ecclesiastical privileges, and the king yielded to the pope certain temporal dignities, they agreed to yield to the king the choice, and to the pope the confirmation of bishops. This change, which destroyed the political as well as the religious independence of the Gallican Church, was long contested both by the parliaments and by the clergy. The Parliament did, indeed, on the 19th March, 1518, adopt the Concordat, with, however, the formula, "on the express and repeated command of the king," which was a significant mark of compulsion, and implied an absolute repudiation of any approval. The clergy protested as late as 1636 against the Concordat of 1516, and demanded the restoration of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438, which gave the election of bishops to the dioceses; (see the Memorial of the Clergy, 1650, vol. II., p. 248;) the contest of the two powers was never livelier than after this division of power over the episcopacy.

3. The Concordat of 1516 changed the election of abbots as well as of bishops; the pope installed the abbots nominated by the king, and in exchange drew himself the taxes which were taken from him by the Council of Basle and the Pragmatic Sanction; the older laws were much more favorable to freedom, under which the monks elected an abbot from among themselves, and presented him to the bishop, who then confirmed the election and consecrated the candidate in his new office. The cloisters of nuns were not mentioned in the Concordat, and the old method of election of abbesses by the nuns and confirmation by the bishops should not have been altered; but in fact the king and the pope took upon themselves this duty too, although the pope in his bulls on the subject, pretended to keep up appearances by affecting only to assent to a choice made by the nuns, and called the nomination of the king only a suggestion.

4. It was equally a violation of old canonical law, and in further execution of the new claims of the Roman hierarchy,

that the pope assumed the privilege of mortgaging the revenues of the various districts for his own benefit, and not for the profit of the local church authorities; this custom was approved by the ultramontane faction as part of the universal jurisdiction of the pope over the whole Church, and was recognised in the Concordat, while all the courts of law tried to limit it; but every recourse to Rome served only to increase its hateful evils, either by uniting in a few hands several taxes, or by arbitrarily granting to third persons the ancient revenues of independent authorities; either and any change served to give to Rome a larger and more exclusive share in the administration of the property of the Church, no matter how derived.

5. Whenever any one wanted to violate the customary laws of the country, he applied to Rome for a dispensation, and the pope, as the living law of the Church, granted the privilege of marriage to near relations, of excuse from vows, of release from ecclesiastical censure, and of many other violations of the laws of the Church.

6. The privileges of the heads of the various spiritual orders were dispensations of this kind; they were two-fold—both releasing them from episcopal supervision, and conferring on them full power to exercise ecclesiastical functions. These rights were based on the sovereign and direct jurisdiction of the pope over the whole Church, and made the monks a spiritual army, devoted to Rome alone. In vain did the Council of Trent strive to strengthen the jurisdiction of the bishops, so as to narrow down the excessive privileges in this quarter; and their ordinances were adopted in France, and legally enforced; so that, according to Gallican usages, no cloister, or any religious community, could be established within the limits of a bishopric without episcopal consent; no member of the religious orders could celebrate any of the offices of the Church, without the express sanction of the ordinary. But, despite these limitations, the great church orders, with their generals at Rome, built up a special hierarchy within the Church; always cared for, and in order to maintain and extend their own powers, the liveliest defenders of Roman claims, they expected much from the pope, and were rarely disappointed in his help when they needed it.

It is plain that, in spite of Gallican liberties, the power of the pope in France was very great, and controlled men and affairs in the Church with little stint. The only limit put upon it was that of the government, supported by the Parliaments, for the independence of the bishops was soon destroyed after their appointment was given to the king and the pope.

IV.—*The Parliaments.*

While the popes, on the theory of their infallibility, varied at will the ancient laws of the Church, and extended their jurisdiction, and enlarged their influence, the Parliaments and the royal officers made angry assaults on the independence of the Church, and, with loud invocations in the name of freedom, sought to make the Church subordinate to the State. Bossuet appealed to the liberties of the Church, in order to restrain the Church (in his *Oraison funèbre du chancelier Le Tellier*.) On the king's side, and on that of the pope, there are many and repeated invasions of old privileges. If need be to blame the pope, men speak only of the ancient laws; if the king, then neither reforms nor abuses are longer thought of. The Parliament not only succeeded in regaining a share of that temporal power which the Church had aggrandized to itself, but it also invaded successfully the clear rights of the bishops, and any fair review of the contending claimants, must find cause for condemning both. These royal privileges, which old jurists count among the Gallican liberties, and Fleury calls "*Servitudes*," are as follows:

1. The nomination of bishops belonged to the king; this is confirmed by the new Concordats, but it is in nowise just; such a choice confuses the temporal with the ecclesiastical, compelling the State to undertake affairs of religious import, which can but lessen the purity of religion.

2. The king had the right, as sovereign over all, to collect the revenues of all vacant bishoprics; and yet this right, old as the twelfth century, is clearly unfair to the Church, whose revenues are thus diminished, and useless to the State, whose affairs are complicated to no good.

3. The king had the right to tax the clergy: this usage of taxing the Church to pay the expenses of the State, began after the sixteenth century. Fleury defended the immunity of the

Church on the basis of the maxim, recognised as well in France, as elsewhere, since the eleventh century, that persons and property consecrated to the service of God are of right free from all taxation. It is certain that the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in the papacy of Innocent III., expressly forbade the clergy paying any tax, without the direct order so to do of the pope; and this Council was always of great authority in all questions touching the ecclesiastical constitution of France. But Fleury forgot that no limitation runs against the sovereign, that all property in a State is subordinate to the government which protects it; and that the admission of immunity, according to the wishes of Rome, would be dividing public power. In this respect, therefore, the Parliament was perfectly right; and the opposition of the clergy, to defend this unjust privilege, was one of the causes of the revolution of 1789. Had the clergy, under Louis XV., agreed to submit to taxation, perhaps the Church would have been spared the sufferings under which she soon afterwards fell to pieces. Now-a-days nobody questions the liability of all kinds of property to taxation.

4. Finally, we refer to the temporal jurisdiction, and especially to the right to prevent abuses in the Church (*appel comme d'abus*;) which *Pasquier* calls a just and fair way to bridle the power of the prelates, without giving offence, and Fleury pronounces the greatest privilege of the Gallican Church.

When the kingdom grew powerful, the laity, which felt itself subordinate to the ecclesiastical law in many acts of civil life, sought to rid itself of this Church domination; an example of this sort is the reclamation of the royal advocate, Pierie de Cuguères, in 1329, which is transmitted and preserved in the answer of his opponent, the bishop of Autun, Peter Brandi, the defender of the clerical jurisdiction. The former complained, justly enough, that the spiritual courts so widely extended their privileges as finally to swallow everything in their capacious maw. No matter how a clergyman was interested in any sort of business, they claimed jurisdiction; if any criminal declared that he was a clergyman, they undertook his defence, even when he had neither tonsure nor membership with any of the "orders;" they conferred either to every claimant, so as to increase their adherents. Under a thousand such pretexts these

judges stretched their control over the laity; if the witnesses were required to take any oath, that gave them a right to bring the trial into their forum. The execution of trusts for charitable uses, served as an excuse for adjudging questions touching wills, their signature and inventories; they decided questions of marriage contracts, because marriage was a sacrament, and pushed their claims as to widows and orphans, because they were especially to be cared for by the Church. Excommunication grew, in such hands, to be a means of civil execution, and was used against debtors or against a judge who should dare to refuse to disgrace his office or dishonor his Church, and then they excluded both judge and defendant from the society of all their friends and familiars.

It took a long time to restore the independence of the temporal powers; and, when this was at length attained, the royal government, on the ground of the Roman law and the Constitutions of Theodosius and Justinian, claimed to decide all questions of mixed jurisdiction, wherein both civil and religious interests were involved.

(a.) Thus, under Louis XIV., the right to a divorce from bed and board was withdrawn from the spiritual, and handed over to the lay courts, because it affected questions of property; and all matters touching marriage contracts were decided by them, as being of as much moment to society as to religion.

(b.) All questions of church rates were handed over to the lay judges, under the pretext of avoiding disputes for possession; nor did the royal authorities suffer any questions of abstract right thereto to be brought before the spiritual courts, although the law did give them at least an equal right over them. The result was that a bishop had not the free choice of his subordinates, and that a priest might get possession of a parish which the bishop had intended for somebody else; but this was only the natural rebound from the extravagant claims previously used and enforced by the clergy.

(c.) The same principle produced the same result as to all parish disputes, which had too much civil interest and too great importance not to be claimed by the government authorities as fit and proper for their decision.

(d.) Gradually, but finally, without exception, disputes be-

tween the clergy came to be decided by the lay courts, which were very naturally preferred to courts whose judgments soon lost all weight.

(e.) Thus the jurisdiction of the civil courts was entirely regained; in matters of criminal offences the principles of Roman law, and especially the equality of all persons before the law, were revived; five or six centuries through the clergy had been protected by canon law, but after the fifteenth century the right of the ancient common law over all highly penal offences was generally acknowledged, and although the spiritual court could claim to assist the lay judges, the latter did not often deem this aid necessary, and very often the penalty imposed by the latter was enforced before the Church could declare the condemned person within their power.

(f.) The bishops alone saved their privileges, and refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Parliament; but disputes affecting them were too rare to be a noticeable feature; they had also protested against the claims of the pope, and in the seventeenth century they defended their right to adjudge matters within their episcopate, and having shut out the Roman jurisdiction, the French kings preferred to let a mischievous bishop exhaust himself within his diocese for his whole lifetime, rather than run any risk of banding all the cloth together.

(g.) The appeals from the unjust conduct of the clerical judges, finally produced their entire abolition; with this strong arm the state defended itself and the Gallican liberties against the invasions of the spiritual courts, just as had been done in fact, (although not under the same honest name,) in Venice and Spain and Germany; in France the first mention of its exercise was in the fourteenth century, but after the Pragmatic Sanction and the Concordat it became a matter of regular routine, and at last delivered the country of its spiritual courts.

V. *What are the Gallican Liberties which now exist?*

The Revolution destroyed the position of the clergy, confiscated the property of the Church, and destroyed the Gallican Liberties; the separation of Church and State seemed final, and there were not wanting men of sound discretion, who strove at the time of the restoration of order to make this sen-

sible principle part of the Constitution, as it was one of the most favorable elements of political liberty. Bonaparte, however, decided against them, and renewed the old union of Church and State; to do this it was necessary to call in the aid of the pope in restoring the episcopacy. The Concordat of 1801 gave the pope absolute power in the French Church; at one swoop all the bishoprics fell, even those which were as old as Christianity in Gaul, and new dioceses were created without any regard to the boundaries of the old; all the bishops were either robbed of their offices or compelled to surrender them; all deans, abbots, priors, rates, foundations without difference and without exception were swept away, and all church property irrevocably made over to the State; a new Church, created and approved by the pope, replaced the old Gallican Church; the historical connexion was so absolutely severed that nobody ever referred to the old apostles of the Gauls, and everybody found the source of the new episcopal power in Rome and the papacy. The French Church has always looked upon this step, as new as it is and without any analogy in history, as right and justifiable; but properly to establish this justification, they were obliged to recognise papal privileges which had always been disputed by the old Gallican Church; they were obliged to grant that under certain circumstances, the papal authority was sovereign and supreme over the laws of the Church itself; thus the pope is become head of the church which he founded. Bonaparte did not anticipate these consequences of the Concordat; in adopting the organic article, which he published on his own authority, he thought the remnants of Gallican Liberties which then existed were renewed; the number of them was much diminished, for with the abolition of church rates a great part of the customary jurisdiction which protected the soil of France from papal claims was swept away; the bishops and priests were paid by the State, the churches and parsonages belonged to the parishes and departments, there were no church properties in the sense of the canon law; the statute book recognised only one sort of property, and the code Napoleon, (Art. 3,) declared that all property in France was subject to French laws only. What was left, then, of the Gallican Liberties? Certain rules of conduct to protect the clergy against the pope

as a foreign prince; as for instance, the publication of Roman bulls and rescripts, the right to refuse a *legatus a latere*, the synods and councils, &c.; the maintenance of certain other rules intended to protect the sovereignty of the State, by forbidding any assemblage not authorized by the civil authorities, appeal against abuses of political privileges, the entire police of education, &c., &c. These are the limits of the organic article against which the pope energetically protested; but despite his protest the Church has existed under it, greatly to its own advantage, for half a century or more, winning more adherents to itself than under the days of the old monarchy.

How will it be in the future? This is not easy to foresee, but it is likely that the Church will make further advances toward absolute freedom, freeing itself entirely from the State and gaining finally its own independence. Then the few rules of discipline which the State enforces against the bishops will fall to the ground, but the great principles which protect the temporal sovereignty from the invasions of the Church, will be strengthened rather than weakened. In this respect, there is an immortal element in the Gallican Liberties, of which we can say with *Portalis*: "The principle of the independence of the government in things temporal is the first law of the State, nor is it to be looked upon as a right peculiar to France, or to any one State rather than to another, for it is a universal right of the human race." See *Discours et rapport sur le Concordat de 1801*. Paris, 1845; pp. 129; and for other literature of this subject: "*Liberté de l'église Gallicane redigée en 83 articles par Pierre Pithon*. Paris, 1594: 12mo." "*Preuves des libertés de l'église Gallicane*," Paris, 1639, 1651, 1731, 1771; (edited by Durand de Maillans, and embracing all the others.) "*Defensio declarationis cleri Gallicani*" of Bossuet in his works. Fleury, "*Instruction au droit ecclesiastique*." Paris, 1679. "*Discours sur les libertés de l'église Gallicane*," in the "*Nouveau Corpuscules*." Paris, 1818. "*Manuel du droit public ecclesiastique François*," par M. Dupin. 1845.

ARTICLE II.

CITY CHURCHES.

WHEN our Lord ascended, he gave directions to his apostles to commence their work in the city; and though he specified the city of Jerusalem only, the implied principle of the direction was afterwards followed, at least, by the more prominent of the twelve—or rather thirteen—made up by the addition of Paul. The Acts of the Apostles are, for the most part, a history of the giving of the gospel to cities. Ephesus, Corinth, Athens, Rome, are the stars which glimmer in the apostolic sky, and shed their light upon the surrounding darkness; and ever since that period, a like condition of things has existed. The history of religion, so far as written, is, in no inconsiderable degree, the story of it in cities. These being the *ganglions* of the world's nerve-system, the forces which shape and control society, are naturally accumulated there, and thence distributed. A better illustration still would make the city the *heart* of the community, sending its blood to every part, and receiving it in turn with whatever it gathers up in the journey. And though the kingdom of God spreads after the same general law, is advanced by the same generic instrumentalities, and operates in a similar manner, through all communities, and among all peoples, yet there are various peculiarities attaching to it, in all these respects, in cities. The religion of the city differs from the religion of the country as the city itself differs from the country. One peculiarity begets another in its own image. And hence, it has come to pass, that, in our days, religion in cities is a distinct study; engaging the attention of good men everywhere, and raising such questions as these: By what instrumentalities shall religion be made effective and triumphant among these congregated masses, destined to be indefinitely multiplied? How are churches to be best increased in numbers? By what law

or style of propagation shall the Church be enlarged? What missionary endeavors are to be made, and how much shall such endeavors embrace as the scope of their operation? Can these masses of Papal ignorance and superstition be broken in upon and scattered? How far, and how fast, can this jumble of foreign material be assimilated? What can be done to purpose for the poor? Is there any hope, and if so, what, for the abandoned classes? Otherwise, shall the gospel have for its aim to hold its position as well as it can, and leave affairs much as they are; dividing the city between the moral and the vile, the enlightened and the ignorant; dedicating certain portions of it to wealth and splendor, and the others to poverty and squalidness; leaving religion its little tracks and station houses of light, and the connecting lands to be the provinces of the devil, to be filled up and occupied with such sections of his forces as best suits him; and each to grow as it can in all time to come?

For ten years past, such questions as these have assumed new prominence, and given rise to schemes and activities, and uses of money, and combination of effort, destined to have more bearings than one, and to affect, not the communities only, but the churches, in ways not now much thought of or understood.

Let no one suppose the object of this paper to be to discuss all these questions. Each one is sufficient for an article of goodly length. The aim here is, rather, to look at certain special peculiarities as attaching to the Church in cities, as they may be ranged under three heads, viz.: *Churches Proper; Church Edifices; and the Angels of the Churches.*

Concerning the churches proper, a very obvious thought concerns their relative importance. Put the churches in one city together on one side, and all other churches together on the other side, and compare numbers, wealth, intelligence, activity, and influence, and this matter stands out in relief. Take, for instance, the Synod of Albany, N. Y. It numbers seventy churches, which include a reported membership of five thousand five hundred and sixty-four. Select now four of these churches, say those of Troy, Albany, Hudson, and Catskill; and these four churches include one thousand nine hundred and twenty-

six members, or almost one-third as many as the whole remaining sixty-six.

The Synod of Utica has seventy-six churches, with a membership of six thousand eight hundred and ninety. Of this number, one church, that of Utica, reports six hundred and eighteen.

The Synod of Geneva has seventy-eight churches, and seven thousand five hundred and sixty-six members. Of these, three churches, viz., those of Geneva, Elmira and Ithaca, claim eleven hundred and seventy-eight.

The large Synod of New York and New Jersey numbers one hundred and sixty-four churches, and twenty-three thousand nine hundred and forty members. Selecting from this number sixteen churches in the city of New York, and eight in the city of Newark—twenty-four in all—and they number ten thousand seven hundred and forty-two members. That is, these twenty-four churches contain nearly as many as the other one hundred and fifty.

Taking the four Synods named together, they count 288 churches, with 44,280 members. The 32 churches already selected, contain of these, 14,464. That is, 256 churches have a membership of 29,816, and 32 churches have a membership of 14,464; or, the 32 churches have half as many members as the 256 within 888.

Now, from facts such as these, several inferences flow; some running backwards and some forwards. We have some probable reasons why the first disciples were to begin their work at Jerusalem, and why this rule was so fully adhered to by the apostles. We can see also how a few even can reach the greatest number of people. In truth, there are several economical aspects of the case worthy of attention. Suppose all these two hundred and eighty-eight churches to be supplied with ministers. *Two hundred and fifty-six men* preach to an aggregate congregation, represented by twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight; while *thirty-two men* are ministering to a congregation represented by fourteen thousand four hundred and sixty-four. So much for personal labor: call the average salary of the rural ministers \$500, and that of the city ministers \$2500, and the aggregate cost of the gospel to

each will stand thus: rural churches, 256 at 500 = \$143,500; city churches, 32 at \$2,500 = \$80,000. Then, as to the value of church edifices used by the two classes, if we call the country churches worth an average of \$3000, and those of the city worth \$25,000 each, the cost will stand comparatively thus: 256 at \$3000 = \$768,000, 32 at \$25,000 = \$800,000. So that while the cost of the gospel per annum to the country churches will exceed that to those of the city by \$63,500, the cost of edifices to the city will exceed that of the country by \$32,000.

These calculations are liable to vary from the facts in a number of particulars; still they are presumed to be approximations, and as the basis of them are given, others can correct them to their liking. It may seem to some that \$3000 is a large average for country churches, but it must be remembered, that in the thirty-two city churches, we have only included the largest, leaving, as reckoned among the rural churches, those of considerable places, such as Keeseville, Malone, Plattsburgh, Salem, Glenn's Falls, Cohoes, Potsdam, Watertown, Waterloo, Rome, and a great many others, which would very likely bring the average up to \$3000, or more. And then, as to the salary, few ministers, even in country places, live upon less than \$500, while large numbers exceed it by from \$200 to \$1000. And then, as to the cost of edifices in cities, as well as salaries, it is presumed our estimates would be borne out by the facts, although it is well known that some of the church edifices named cost much above \$25,000, and some of the salaries exceed \$2500. The whole facts, if accurately collected, would pretty surely show that the gospel is preached, counting men and money, at a less cost to the dwellers in the city than to those in the country.

Another question follows close upon this, which incurs not expense alone, but relates to another branch of economy; and that is, to efficiency. Which has the advantage in this respect? It is difficult, if not impossible, to answer such a question. All that can be done is to look at some of the items in the calculation. The economy in the *number of men* required to preach the gospel in the cities is apparent enough. Is there also an economy in the *quality* of the men, or attaching to their mode of presenting it? This is a question of more delicacy, and a

very decided affirmation will scarcely be becoming. The current opinion is evident enough. According to that, the city minister is supposed, very likely at least, to be made of better stuff than his country brother. The city church wants, and will have, if it can get him, the best man. The only question is, whether it uniformly gets him. Within limits, doubtless, it does; but not by any means uniformly. Could we, in any way, *average* the ministerial qualifications of the city, and compare with that of the rural parishes, the power might be somewhat higher than the latter; because, while the city might present none absolutely superior to some of the country, there would be less of the lower grade of ability to weigh the average down.

But we all know, what it gives great pleasure to say, that talent and high ministerial qualification, are not confined to place, large or small. Christ would not suffer Paul to be settled in Jerusalem, though Paul was highly anxious for what he thought to be a field precisely adapted to his style of effort. Jonathan Edwards did not preach in Boston; and we can put our finger to-day on more than one man, of prime qualifications, serving their Master in little out-of-the-way parishes; and, for aught we know, content so to do.

A question, attended with great difficulties, and but dimly understood, relates to church-planting in cities. The first church in a town, is a thing of course. Like *Topsy*, in the novel, it is scarcely born—it rather “grows.” But not so with the after churches. It is a question, very soon: “How large is it best to have the single church? When shall it swarm, or shall it swarm at all? By what rule shall the new church be begun? Why may not a *new* church grow up, when wanted, precisely as did the *old*?” Some people have got light, more or less distinct, by experience in such questions.

It is discovered, for one thing, that the old church is, ordinarily, not much disposed to go into the work of planting new ones. Do not misunderstand this assertion. The old church is entirely ready to plant the new, in a certain manner and form. It will be glad if some preacher can be got to take the risk and start a church in a place where one ought to be, and give money liberally, perhaps, to have it done. But hear

the word, young minister! Be not caught in this trap! Put not yourself beneath this mill-stone! You will rue the day, when you shall feel it grinding all your bones to powder. Set yourself first to study analogies. See all the little streams run into the larger ones. So will all the people run into the large church, as surely as it has an older and stronger congregation, a better house of worship, a better organ, and more money to spend in music, more social advantages, and more means of making it for the interest of all to go with it. Set up your little chapel a mile away from the stone steeple, two hundred feet high—gather a little band of a score or two, and begin. You will feel your heart go down like a stone, as you see the crowds of the very people you came to win to your effort, go by your door, on each Sabbath morning, seeking the great church, a mile away. The truth which you will discover, by and by, will be, that the members of the old congregation do not wish to leave it. They are accustomed to go there. They love its minister; they are wed to the church; and to go to your little chapel, is to go to a foreign land. You may preach the gospel ever so well—it will not sound so well to them.

Then, as to the new-comers, whom you suppose it will be easy to get, because their associations are not yet formed, you will find that, while some may be drawn to you by convenience, and some because they are content with the small church, the great number will shun you for such reasons as these. New-comers to the city, wish to get into the best society, and to gain business. The church is, and is felt to be, in the city, the centre of acquaintance and of influence. The older and larger it is, the better. One has grown up sons and daughters. What chance for matches, when nobody marriageable is met? One wants trade; what chance for customers here? A physician wants practice: he must be seen in a church where practice is to be had.

Other questions will arise on the other tack. There will be large expenses in the small congregation. A minister must be supported; a lot will have to be purchased; a house to be built, and a great many other things will have to be done. “Yonder, the house *is built*, the expenses *are* taken care of, and all I shall have to do there, will be to pay the rent on my pew at a certain rate.”

And thus two things are discovered: one that the old church members are not willing to go out for new enterprises; the other, that the new-comers cannot be relied on to begin new churches, nor even to aid them, unless before-hand assured. And thus the little band, with their minister, thinking to rear a church from the seed, are put between the upper and the nether mill-stone.

There are some exceptions to this view. A locality may be so distant, or so divided from the rest of the city, or so peculiar, by some reasons or other, as to be isolated, in a manner, so as to compel its people into a new church. Or the old church may be running over, or it may be unpopular, or some such thing. There is also one man, out of a thousand or two, who will succeed anywhere, by the mere force of his peculiarities. If Henry Ward Beecher were announced to speak by the side of a certain rosin weed, on a prairie in Illinois, at ten o'clock at night, on a given day, doubtless his audience would await him there. But for some reason, though would-be Beechers are plenty enough, the real ones are scarce; and our most sober people do not think it best, on the whole, to increase the tribe.

It becomes, therefore, a plain case, that unless in very extraordinary circumstances indeed, the only safe way of increasing city churches, is *by colonies or divisions*, of such strength, both as to means and men, as will insure the new enterprise from the *very beginning*. Any other course is cruel and suicidal. When the old church, in Detroit, a few years since, divided itself into three, it did the wisest thing we have ever known in that line of effort. It could afford the division, and three strong churches, instead of one, are the result.

The growth of churches in cities disposes measurably of another matter, which elsewhere gives difficulty. The church is *a brotherhood*, and does not know the differences which prevail in the world's society. And yet there are difficulties sometimes thrust into the cognisance of the church, which prove hard of adjustment. Every community of people, large or small, exhibits much difference of character. In our American world, we have all varieties. Few are the communities in which there exist not differences of nationality, of education, of denomination, of

temperament, of prejudices, and the like, almost endlessly diversified. It often becomes a very serious question, when such variety is congregated in a single church, how it is all to be managed. Great is the assimilating power of the gospel; but it cannot assimilate Simon Magus, nor compel truth to the lips of Sapphira. And when you get Demas and Diotrophes into one church, you will be sure to have trouble, even though Paul be the pastor.

In small places this evil is sometimes very great. The gospel net seems to catch a very heterogeneous medley of fish; and even of such as you pronounce "good," such variety of size, shape, color, and use, will prevail, as to puzzle the fisherman exceedingly. Now, where but one church exists in a place, and there is no room for more, there seems to be no remedy for the evil, but such Christian virtues—especially patience—as can be summoned to the treatment.

In the city much of this is obviated in two ways. One, in that exercise of the affinities, lawful, where no countervailing principle is at stake. Not only the Congregationalist, the Presbyterian, and the Lutheran, may take to their own name; but churches themselves come to embody people of like habits of thinking and feeling—so that one church, as such, will be radical, and another conservative; one will embody active, and another staid people; and thus there will be harmony from the absence of jarring elements; and, if this be not carried too far, it conduces to unity and to efficiency. "Such a church," it was said, "is made up of popes; they are *all* popes there; and the only way to get along is to allow them to *be* popes." Another church neither wishes nor needs any pope at all.

The same difficulty is obviated in another way. A *large* church, by that fact alone, is rendered stable. A colt will do mischief in a light team, but with the quadruple of draught horses before the ponderous train, his prancings amount to little. Diotrophes will produce prodigious disturbance in a church of fifty, while with six hundred his love of pre-eminence beetles the rock of their steadfastness in vain. Hence, we look on it as a sort of duty in the *large churches* to give the sticks which are so crooked as to be unable to lie still, place with them to roll and tumble in. Uneasy members, in such cases,

often become highly useful, and being useful grow in grace; while to the pastor of the little church and to the brotherhood, they would only be a thorn in the flesh, leaving all uncertain whether heaven were to receive them, even with the consumption of the wood, hay, and stubble.

And yet churches are in danger in regard to the operation of this principle of affinity. "Caste is not confined to India," said a secretary of a certain *Board* before an indignant company of *Free-missionists*, on a time. City churches are liable to be puffed up; to despise the poor, whom Christ declared to be always with us; and to make property alone the principle of division between churches. Perhaps no absolute rule can be laid down which will meet the case in all its length; for while it is not unnatural that one church as such should be richer than another, it is plainly contrary to the gospel that a church, by any arrangement, exclude the poor from the house of God. Some thoughts may be offered in this regard when we come to speak of church edifices.

Two things belong to all churches—work and worship. And while none fail of opportunity in the first of these, most especially is this the fact with the city church. Does such an one desire the chance to exercise *the grace of giving*? Be sure your prayer will be answered. While there may be hid away in some rural district, a little church of farmers; all rich in this world's goods; each monarch of all he surveys, whether it be fat acres or fatter kine, groaning corn-cribs, or waving wheat; each lending money at great interest, and yet *the church poor*; so poor, that its minister is shifted with each December, and only carries away a gaunt body and a sharpened visage; while there may be such a church, which, for lack of opportunity, never learns how to be generous according to the gospel, your lot will be different; you, at least, will have a chance to give money. All the great boards will, of course, rely on you as the servitors of the artillery of the kingdom. After them will come the infantry and the riflemen, in the shape of city poor, Sabbath Schools, tract visitation, and the unnamable army of solicitation for churches to be built, or got out of debt; poor families somewhere to be relieved; poor children to be educated; and ten thousand things to be done

at home and abroad—in Egypt and in Canaan. Well; do you not wish to give? How could you give, if you had no chance? Have you not read that the Lord *loveth* a cheerful giver? Despise not your opportunity, if it be one which crucifies covetousness. It is more blessed to give than to receive. But giving is not all. Do you wish to be a missionary, and yet not be at the trouble of a journey to Soo-choo, or to the Gaboon? Here is your chance not ten squares away. There are no sadder heats than these anywhere beneath the moon. Here is ignorance enough, squalor too much, laziness equal to that in the shade of Juggernaut; and *vice* such as will test all the power of your Christian strength. The highways and the hedges swarm with the crowd which never find their way to the feast without compulsion. Here is work equal to your day.

We need not dwell upon the peculiarities of city worship; on its great expenses; on its large demands for eloquence and pulpit power; on its contact with special amusements—the dance, the card-table, the opera, and theatre, to be dealt with, at least once with each rising tier of youth in the congregation; and, on its struggles to adjust the praises of the sanctuary to this generation, and yet escape floating away on the stream of a demand which uses music as a mere entertainment; deeming devotion to be exercised when taste only is gratified. All these are things understood in the marts of trade, as well as more or less elsewhere.

If there are peculiarities such as these in the experiences of churches, quite as truly will the work of the ministry take some shapes of its own in connexion with them. The city minister will be, in many particulars, a different man from his brother in the rural parish. His worth is more or less different, his trials are peculiar, and his experiences such as belong to his position. It is useless, were it practicable, to sum up the relative advantages in one column, and the disadvantages in another, with a view to strike a balance; since there are things in a minister's experience, wherever he is, which do not admit of being weighed in any scales of human possession; and, if they could be, such weighing would do no practical good. There are, nevertheless, salient points of experience worth looking at, especially as there is more or less of misconception in regard to them.

It has ever been supposed, more or less widely, a desirable attainment, with the minister, to procure a city settlement. It is a sort of goal to ministerial ambition. Various motives combine to make it such. Ideas of a better support, an easier livelihood, of social advantages, of increased influence and reputation, crowd together; and, tinted as they are often, by a warm imagination, make this the object to be sought, and many a man will take a poor position in the city in preference to a good one in the smaller town.

But, here as elsewhere, only a part of people's ideas are true; the rest are merely empty delusion, or solid and soggy falsehood. It is true, that, in each large place, there are a few positions combining these, or such advantages, and even those which are greater. It is a pleasant thing to address a large audience; especially on the greatest of themes which ever occupy the human mind; themes affording the highest scope of thought—asking and satisfying the best moral capacities, and inciting to the best of human efforts. By itself, it is better to preach to one thousand than to two hundred people; and yet it is not an entirely unmixed matter—something will depend on the composition of the respective audiences. It is not infrequent, that the rural audience is every way superior to that in the city, in all that makes it desirable to be its preacher. It has more intelligence; its moral status is better. And this will be true even when we speak of the richest and largest of city audiences. Wealth does not insure intelligence nor moral appreciation. Fine clothes and rich equipage set off a vast amount of mental and moral inferiority; and, at the same time that this is true, the range of self-appreciation, and the demand on the minister to meet it, will often go upward to a very high figure. Neither property nor the experiences of fashionable life are sure to make people humble. They are much more apt to raise the gauge of self-appreciation to another part of the scale. Nor is the case very much better, if to wealth and position are added the pride of intellect, stimulated by the experiences of professional life. Men are not by necessity learned in religion, because they are learned in the law; or because they are so fortunate, or unfortunate, as to hold office at the hands of the government or the people.

And so it will turn out, that while *the great congregation* will really demand, if they knew it, but a moderate range of talent to meet all their necessities of instruction, really needing, as they do, the simplest elements of the gospel, presented in simple ways, they will look at their great wealth, and their professional and social standing; taking a glance also at their splendid church, and thinking a little of the grand organ and well-toned bell, and so come to fancy that none but "first abilities" will do for them. And the more exacting will their demand be, the more blunt is their spiritual apprehension. In such case, their pulpit will be no sinecure for its occupant. The strain upon him to meet the demand for tremendous eloquence, will be prodigious. Let no common man think that he can long succeed in such a place. And yet, here is really a position to be coveted by a first class man—one who comprehends the whole case, and is able to put himself in the command of it. To *satisfy* this rich and proud audience, at the same time that he really *instructs and humbles them*, and thus to lead them to Christ, in spite of their folly, is no small work, and will scarcely be effected by any other than good talents, prime common sense, and the soundest and best of moral integrity. But the man who aspires to such a place, needs, as the first thing, to aspire to its needed qualifications. There is no sorrier sight, in this section of the universe, than to see an empty-headed, loose-toned man, at the head of such a people, endeavoring simply to keep at its head; and studying to effect this, by mere rhetoric, or by voice and manner, or by sensational clap-trap; or by rare art of the man apart from the art of the gospel.

It may be said, in general, that however sunny the landscape of the large city congregation may look in the distance, the pastoral oversight of it involves the most intense and protracted care, and the utmost vigor of endeavor. Its substance may be given in two words—*watching and working*.

The country parson, in his small house, may think upon a rainy morning precluding the distant farmers, with wagons and wives, from that day's attendance on worship, to put off the straggling village hearers with "*a talk*," and so save his sermon for a fairer day. But the city pastor cannot do this. His best hearers will likely be present on that very day; and he

knows not what stranger may drop in, whom no amount of rain will keep from church *abroad*, even though a sprinkle might detain him *at home*; and what he has written must be given to few or many. Besides, he must always do his best. To the rural people, dwelling apart, and seldom excited by new things, simple thoughts, if true, and a moderate sun of endeavor, are an excitement and an enjoyment on the Sabbath day. But, to the people of the city, the whole week is an excitement—day and night. Like the Athenians, they spend their time to see or hear some new thing; and their minister is under a constant disadvantage from this source. The rural hearer sees and hears less, but *thinks* more; and so becomes actually the more intelligent while less exacting.

And yet the fact is not without its benefit. The faithful metropolitan, while stimulated, does not suffer himself to be carried away. He grows by virtue of his effort, while the temptation of the rural brother is, to presume on his position, and intermit labor. And so it comes to pass, that while the first retains his position, and becomes old in his one church, the other is out-grown by his people, and continually shifts from place to place. This is doubtless one reason why the city pastorate is more permanent than the rural.

The stimulus touches the metropolitan at another point. He is brought into closer relations with his brethren in the ministry; and this fact opens up a variety of considerations. The pastor of the church at *Shingle Hollow* is, in a sense, the lord of that realm. He knows each family and each face; and, if he is a worthy man, he is, of course, the greatest man there. It is not necessary that he know this, or even think of it, once in his life. It is all taken for granted. It was *settled long ago*, and need not now, in any way, be brought into question. Not so with the other. He is surrounded with men of his own profession. There is a corps of brother pastors, and perhaps a body of professors; at any rate secretaries, editors, and general workers, to say nothing of ex-pastors, and men without charge. He knows that he has some sort of standing—or the want of it—with these, to say nothing of that with the people at large; and the least of these is large enough for a critic of the largest. And no matter how little all this may affect him, no man feels

absolutely and entirely above it. Hence, the city is naturally the place where the question, which disturbed Zebedee's wife and children, continues to operate: viz., Who shall be greatest? And though this question is commonly settled without much consultation with the parties most interested, it is sometimes settled with more or less heart-burning.

The danger of this is the greater from a fact yet unnoticed. All city churches do not number the congregation of a thousand; or if they do, all do not embody wealth, or learning, or position. There are churches which are new and small; churches which represent principally the labor and industry of the town; churches where the poor are plenty. All these latter are together the most numerous. Please take notice, brother *Rusticus*, that of fifty churches in the metropolis, all supplied with pastors, you never *heard* of more than *four or five*. You read in the newspaper—religious, of course,—of Dr. A's. church, and B's., and C's., and D's. All these are doctors—but you never read of Mr. X's., nor of Mr. Y's., nor of Mr. Z's. So you may talk with the last twenty men, or women, who have visited the great town from your region, and not one of them spent the Sabbath at either of these last places of worship. All their interest centres about the first letters in the alphabet. As to the others, they positively “never heard of them; supposed there were but *four* churches in the place.”

A city pastorate, therefore, does not, as a matter of course, imply a marble church, with steeple, two hundred feet high, nor a salary of seven thousand dollars. It may be a place for which you are obliged to look into the Assembly's Minutes for knowledge. Therefore, brother *Rusticus*, suffer a word of information and advice. Should you succeed in the expectation, which it is said you are now cherishing, in receiving a call from the church on *Rattlesnake Alley*, in the metropolis, and remove thither, you may look for an experience like this. The salary seems large to you; being four times that you now receive at *Podunk Station*—and larger even in comparison with that offered you in the village of *Roseberg*, whose call you now have in your hands, although it is but one-fourth larger.

But you will find the people on Rattlesnake Alley to be poor, and with no very competent men to manage their affairs. The

salary will not be paid at the time when due, and not more than two-thirds of it at all. You will find some good, pious, praying people—chiefly women; but your prayer-meetings will be chillingly thin; and, what is more, will devolve chiefly on yourself to be carried on—the brethren who attend it being, all but three or four, averse, and fanciedly unfitted, to praying in public. When you meet your brethren in the ministry, they will be very cordial, indeed, and will be greatly pleased to have you come to the city; and will ask you, one by one, to preach in their large churches;—(yours, you know, is but a wood edifice, not large, old, badly-seated, without stained glass, with no organ—only a melodeon.) And you will so preach once in each church. For awhile you will think of yourself as in the city, and be happy. And, if you are a man of grace, and of developing talent, as it is hoped you are, and your church is in a place to grow, after a *long, hard tug*, you may come out with an established and firm church.

But you *may* not. You are liable to twenty failures. After you have got over the first round of polite attentions, you are liable gradually to come to the perception, that you are falling behind; in fact, *are behind already*. You will come to see that there are *grades* in the city ministry, and that you are not in the first one. No *semilunars* are yours. You are not invited to lecture before the Cyclopædia Society. When the anniversary comes off, you have no part assigned to you. At the installation you are solicited to hold the candle, while Dr. D. preaches, and Drs. K. and O. give the charges—on the score of “personal friendship” to the parties concerned, of course. Now, do not get red in the face, and hasten to say: “If I have ability and character, who shall hinder me from their recognition?” Softly; it is not talent nor character that settles such things. Men in this world are judged of by their position. Do you not know that the man from London is thought to be the greater for that; the supposition being, that something of the greatness of that city attaches to his person? Have you not seen, that the dweller in a fine house is presumptively finer than he of the shanty? Does not the world estimate the man somewhat by the style of his clothes? And do you think all the human nature already eliminated from the Church? The minister

is what his church is; and you may have more of talent and weight of character than any of your peers, and yet stand behind them all. And as your standing is at home, so will it be abroad. The Presbytery, or the Synod, will not want you for moderator. If you are sent to the General Assembly, you will be an unknown quantity there. You will not be in the papers: you will not be consulted on general interests. And, if you are a man of real worth and grace, we are aware that you will not care much for any of these things. Nor will all this be without advantage to you. You will be delivered from a burden of trouble from outside interests, which will press on your more prominent brother, and be as heavy to him, at times, as even his own church duties. If a minister, anywhere abroad, is in difficulty, and wants advice; or a church is in debt, and wants help; or an educational interest demands to be boosted upward, these will all skip you, and demand payment of the tax due from prominence. For all this, you may be in a manner thankful.

True is it, that sometimes these abilities and disabilities will balance themselves with a leaning against you. If good and great *Dr. Clericus* comes to the city, to stay a Sabbath, he will not seek you, at least till he is engaged to preach at the church *on the Square or up town*.

If a missionary visits the country from Turkey, he is not the man to talk in your pulpit. If, however, one returns, after thirty years, from *Minimus Island*, it will be quite convenient that he address the people in your church. Of course, your people will be very glad to hear him, because none others wish to. To tell you the truth, the congregation on *Rattlesnake Alley* will not have frequent opportunities to listen to celebrities from abroad; and this fact, when once understood, will not increase the congregation there.

Now, we do not say these things, brother Rusticus, to discourage you. We would only give you to see beforehand what will very likely happen, if you think best to reject the call to *Roseberg*, and take the place in town. And, if a word would be acceptable in the present state of the case, it would be of advice to the end that *Roseberg* is far the better place, if you are looking, as it is suspected you are, for comfort and consideration

in the ministry. But, if you are content to be a missionary, and to accept the conditions of that way of life, go, by all means, to the Rattlesnake Alley Church; for a good man is needed there. But keep sharp watch that, in after time, neither *ambition* nor *envy* find a way to your heart.

But a church organized, with its minister secured, is not yet "*a church*" in the full popular sense, nor in truth for effectiveness in action. Every thing earthly must be anchored in the physical. Each soul needs a body. A church must have an edifice, and till it is so provided, no matter what its position, numbers, or advantages, it is not *secured*, or in really working order. As a matter of fact, churches are rather known in cities by their edifices, than by any thing else. The pastor's name as that of the church is a mere designation; but when you speak of the church itself the mental association will carry you to the edifice; and that, be it white or black, stone or brick, or wood, will stand before you, precisely as when you speak of such a man your remembrance is of the body he wears; and such as is the edifice, such does your association, more or less, make the church. That old massy, brown brick building, with a tall, slim steeple, and a solid, time-defying air, standing yonder, is Dr. S's. church. They must be a staid people, consisting, doubtless, of old families, wealthy, conservative, and lovers of good orthodox doctrine. Your sensationalist will not prosper remarkably there, for the people are not fond of sky-rockets. But that is a different affair over yonder; that ambitious building of white stone variously chiselled, and with cost of carving enough to build a good edifice, that is a younger church, made up of younger people. The merchants and trades-people have their spiritual *habitat* there. And they do not care so much for solid orthodoxy; they want a "*smart man*," one with the "snap in him;" one who "keeps up with the times." A new opinion, a new mode, a new figure does them no fright. They desire to keep out of the ruts; they are a vivific people. And yet this rule or habit of judging the organism by its physical, is liable to criticism; for while the people change with the lapse of years, the building remains. The fact, however, points to a useful idea in the structures of churches, and that is set forth in the word, *adaptation*.

But this matter of church building is not one to be despatched in a paragraph. It is one of great moment, especially as cities are to multiply indefinitely in our land; and the church will be more and more preponderant as contained in them. We cannot now stop for the history of church building. Our concern is with that which shall be history in after times. It is a question, *how* shall we build our churches? of what size, style, order, and arrangement shall they be? For those questions stood connected with the growth, purity, and prosperity of the church in coming time. The medieval idea in papal worship, for instance, made nothing of *instruction*, and demanded no seatings in the house of worship; a stone floor on which the attendants might kneel and pray, met their want. Not so now, and with us; having a different ideal, we demand different arrangements.

There is a triple consideration in the matter of church edifices, which must be taken into account and harmonized inter-relatively, viz.: the economical, the useful, and the æsthetical. If either of these run away with the others, a violence is done which will be sure to work evil somewhere, at some time. And yet to harmonize them is no easy matter; for while some wish to build a thing to be looked at, and with some medieval model in their eye, others care nothing for appearances, and wish only for convenience, or are careless even in regard to that, but expend their solicitude on the economical consideration above. It is doubtless the truth that no one uniform plan of church building will suit all cases. Some considerable regard must be had to variety, not only in form and order of architecture, but as to expense, ornament, size, and many other particulars. If churches themselves are made up in cities as they will, and ought to be somewhat, by principles of affinity, the fact will appear in their edifices. In looking over any city in the land, it will be observed that affinity has regulated residence. One quarter of the town is occupied by foreigners, and this is divided so as to bring together people of the same language and habits; *one* is more thickly populated by mechanics, *one* by tradesmen, and *one* by professional men. Wealth places its dwellings together in one part of the city, and poverty huddles together in another part. Now churches must be placed

where the people are. And these two facts by themselves will determine, more or less, the character of each church. And each church will devise an edifice to correspond somewhat with the habits of life at home of those who compose it. A congregation of mechanics, mainly, will neither devise nor be able to build such an edifice as will be perfectly natural and without burden to a congregation of retired capitalists. What would be extravagance for one, would be a matter of course for the other, inasmuch as people will naturally seek church accommodations which correspond with those of their daily life.

And yet two evils are at hand here. One is, that the expensive and elegant edifice will be unduly esteemed by the public, led on by letter-writers and religious newspapers, and so held up as the model for all other churches, and be faintly and foolishly reproduced in all but its excellences in every ambitious village of the land; for in *imitating*, the errors and blunders are sure to be copied.

Time was, when our colleges were full of *Byrons*, in open shirt collars, gin-drinking, and profanity; but always without the poetry. And so our land to-day is full of Beechers in blunders and bellowing, but without the life and genius of the real article.

The other evil is, in the liability to extravagance with the wealthy congregation itself. Men who are foolish enough to erect a dwelling for themselves, costing \$200,000, are not to be supposed as wiser, when they turn their attention to the erection of a house of worship. If any objection is made, on the score of expense, the stereotyped answer will be forthcoming, that the Jews built a very expensive temple, and that Jehovah gave it sanction. But it is submitted, that this answer does not meet the case. The temple was a building for the nation; and were we to have but one church for all the American Zion, it would doubtless be pardonable, if not advisable, to give it something of a parallel splendor. Our church edifices are not the successors of the temple, but of the synagogue; and when a case can be shown where the Jews built *such an one*, and Jehovah gave it his approbation, the authority will be acknowledged. There is a limit beyond which even wealth ought not to go; for though the limit be not the same, to wealth and

to want, it really exists to each. But as the time where covetousness begins, is not laid down on any moral chart, so it is impossible to draw the line in advance, which shall be the boundary to extravagance, either for one or another congregation. The special case must determine it at the bar of conscience. And the truth is, that the congregation is not always responsible for the extravagance which their building exhibits. Churches are often built in a way something like this. The members of the congregation talk over the matter, but with no distinct notions of the edifice which they wish to erect. A few of them are either wealthy or ambitious, and desire a splendid affair. After figuring awhile, a sum is settled on as its cost, being, of course, a little more money than they can at present provide for, but which they hope to realize. At this stage an architect is called in. The sum is given him, and his plans are drawn. They look finely on paper; and only exceed the sum named by the committee some twenty per cent. Now, the committee, in nine cases of ten, know little of what is involved in the *plans* of an architect. They grasp the outline, but have no idea of the *filling up*; a fact of which the architect is well aware; and this filling up is precisely where the expense is, and he knows that when the plan is adopted, the details follow. Did the committee understand what they were doing, they would reject or modify the plan; as it is, they accept it and are pledged to twenty-five per cent. more than the estimates returned.

The truth is, the committee have one design—the architect has another. His wish is to build a splendid church, as an advertisement; and while the congregation intended to expend \$20,000, they are embarked in an expense of \$30,000 to \$35,000; and a debt remains to cripple them. Not every architect will thus mislead a committee, but he who will not is honest.

The fact which ought to be impressed upon all congregations, rich and poor, is, that in large buildings, such as churches, most especially, beauty is to be sought, not so much in minute carving and elaborateness of finish, as in gracefulness of outline and harmony of colors. These latter are comparatively cheap, while the former are expensive. What avails it, that a piece of *embroidery* is worked about

every door and window, and into every panel in the building? True, they gratify the æsthetic sentiment, when examined; but how many of the congregation examine them? Or, is their examination any legitimate part of the objects of church attendance? The writer hereof had two neighbors, who purchased each a carpet for their parlors. Both were wealthy, and both intended to be satisfied. One expended five hundred dollars, and the other a thousand. When laid upon the floors and inspected, the great multitude pronounced the five hundred dollar article the best and most beautiful; yet there came now and then a person, say in the ratio of one to a thousand, who detected the difference; being educated up to the perception of that in which the additional five hundred dollars was expended.

This case illustrates a principle in church architecture. If such an amount of elaboration is expended as fully satisfies nine hundred and ninety-nine persons, is it worth the while to double the expense, with a view to secure the thousandth? A part of the answer might be contained in the question, whether this additional half of the cost were an unpaid debt upon the congregation,—but not quite all.

In order to a full emancipation from absurdity in church architecture, we need to be cut loose from slavery to medieval and ancient models. Churches ought to be built in the light of present needs, rather than in that of their architectural history. Wherein we are the models of the past, we ought to accommodate them to the ideas and usages of the present—*use* first; and *beauty*, as attaching to, and illustrating the use. The Temple of Jupiter Olympus was, doubtless, a fine building; but the question might remain, whether, after all, it were adapted, without some considerable changes, to the uses of Christian worship and instruction.

Under the general head of *use*, quite a number of special matters need attention. All those outside, or incidental arrangements, deemed necessary in those days, will here be passed by; such as conference, session, and Sabbath School rooms, as well as courts or parlors—as they are called. Our attention will be confined wholly to the audience room and its arrangements. The matters here which call for consideration

are the ingress and egress, size, shape, furniture, and pulpit, and choir convenience. The first aim is, *to get into* the room. And why is it, that so many of the fine churches furnish us no better means of ingress? Why are the passages so low, dark, and gloomy? Why the doors so few and so narrow? The questions may be extended. What earthly reason can be given for providing the church itself with such an absurd number of windows, so elevated from the floor, and yet leaving it so dark? Is it not time that the senseless stuff, about "*the dim religious light*," were exploded? If God himself be *Light*, and Jesus Christ be the *Sun of Righteousness*, can we not be afforded enough of the plentiful light of his lower heavens, to be able at least to see each other; and to be qualified to say, positively, whether the preacher, on a bright day in June, were an American, or a swarthy Mongolian? Our demand is decidedly like that of Ajax—for light.

But how large shall a church be, and how many shall it accommodate? It is doubtful, if a single answer can be given, which shall meet all cases. Something will depend on the structure and fillings of the room itself; something on the quality of the congregation; and something on the quality of the man who fills the pulpit. Where a church is situated to meet the demands of a great population—and our cities ought to have many such churches—the aim should be, to give it *size* sufficient to hold a multitude. If the congregation be mixed, as to means, a corresponding variety in the pews, as to assessments, may prevail. If the number of persons of small means be many, a large number of small pews may be prepared for their accommodation, especially if such consist of clerks, operatives, or others, without families. Church accommodations may be thus afforded to the multitude, and expenses paid, by an assessment on each pew at low rates, while self-respect will be nurtured in their occupants. But size must be made to consist with some other things. In a large room, attention must be given to its shape also, as to its length as compared with breadth, and its height of ceiling,—else hearing will be defeated in it. It must be empty also, as far as possible, of all columns, tracery, and wood-work of all kinds, which obstruct the sound. Nor is that all. Every thing in a church, which goes to fill it up, has

the effect to carry the people away from the speaker, and to break up that electric, or spiritual communion, which is the chief element of success in public speaking.

Nor is it to be denied that, under any conditions, the larger the churches are made, the fewer will be the ministers who will be qualified to supply them. The number of good ministers, who can address large bodies of men acceptably, is small, and will be so, till a new crop of orators can be produced. We have *one* man in the United States who can successfully and continuously address an audience of five thousand people: there is one such in Great Britain, but where are the fellows of these? As our churches are hitherto constructed, the men are not plenty who are able to address successfully more than one thousand persons. Most men lack the voice, or the electric power, to *bring their hearers near to them*, but leave them at a seeming distance, too great for any decided impression. And hence many a man who succeeds entirely in a small church, fails as soon as he comes into a large one.

It is doubtless true that variety as to size, as well as to expense, will always be demanded. When ideas of *caste* are out of account, it will still be true that all localities in cities, which will need churches, will not need large ones, and can sustain them, though smaller.

But, whether a church be large or small, for the poor or the rich, one thing is possible—it may have comfortable sittings. The same rule has prevailed in church and school-house architecture, as regards these; a rule founded in popish custom, and attaching a seeming virtue to the practice of penance. The rule is abolished in the latter connexion; let us hope that it will in the former.

A matter of importance not the least, remains to claim a few words. It relates to the position of the pulpit and the organ. The olden folly of elevating the former of these to such absurd heights, is now confessed and renounced; yet it is not altogether agreed how high the pulpit shall be. In a large room it requires to be somewhat higher than in a smaller. It must be somewhat higher, too, where there are galleries, than without them. But in a room seating eight hundred people, the feet of the speaker will need to be no higher than the heads

of the audience; while, with a congregation of five hundred, the floor of the pulpit may well be put on a level with the top of the pews.

The great question of reform, however, in church arrangement, regards the situation of the organ, and the consequent position of the choir or leader in the service of song. This whole question rests upon another:—What shall be the arrangement of the musical part of worship? Shall it be “congregational,” with a single voice to lead,—sustained or not sustained by an instrument? Shall it be a choir to lead in, or to discharge the whole service? Or shall it be a simple *quartette* to perform before the audience? If the aim be that of a musical entertainment, it matters little where the performers are placed. They may as well be stowed away in some loft, under the roof, as anywhere. The common, or, at least, frequent, custom of banishing them to a kind of perch in what would be the third story, were stories made actual in that connexion, is as good as any. As long as they are hired, they will go, of course, where they are sent, and the more conspicuous the better. If, however, a voluntary choir be relied on, it may be difficult to sustain it in a place so out of the way and cheerless. The tendency of desire, to a large extent, is nevertheless toward the singing by the congregation; and, with proper ideas on the subject, it may be doubtless reached. But, in order to this, two things will be necessary. One is, that the congregation be able to sing; and before this is well realized, so far as some congregations are concerned, a good deal of instruction and patience will be needed. The other is, that the congregation be suitably led. For this an instrument and a number of trained voices, call them choir, quartette, or what you may, will be indispensable. Now, then, with the congregation able to sing, and an instrument and choir all ready, what more is needed? for the aim is not yet reached. One thing, and that is essential,—*bring them together!* Either put your congregation up where the choir and organ are, or bring the latter down to the congregation. Or, as compromise is the order of the day, let them meet *midway!* But bring them together! Abolish all singing galleries with the remorselessness of a broom among cob-webs. They never had any business in a church; they were

brought in by the popish priesthood, and have clung to an illegitimate existence with the tenacity of an abuse. But rout them; give them no quarter; put the organ and all its troupe as low as you put the pastor—not an inch higher. What business have they above him? Is he not as well entitled to speak from the clouds, as they to sing therefrom?

When the leaders in sacred song are once brought back to the flock they are to lead, there will be a possibility of singing by the congregation—only so the congregation *can sing*.

These thoughts, some of them familiar enough, are intended to point to evils or errors, standing in the way of the efficiency of the Church in our cities. But with all the facilities of salvation perfected, there is needed still one thing more—the breath of the divine Spirit, giving life to the machinery of the kingdom, and making it effective to souls dead in trespasses and sins.

ARTICLE III.

THE IMPRECATORY PSALMS.

By the imprecatory psalms, is meant those in which the writer prays for the injury or destruction of his enemies. The following, which include nearly all, are ascribed to David:—Psalms, 5, 17, 28, 35, 40, 55, 58, 59, 68, 69, 109, 140, 141, 143, 144. As illustrative of these, we quote from Ps. 5: “Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness because of mine enemies; make thy way straight before my face. For there is no faithfulness in their mouth; their inward part is very wickedness; their throat is an open sepulchre; they flatter with their tongue. Destroy thou them, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions; for they have rebelled against thee.” Ps. 35: “Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that devise my hurt. Let them be as chaff before the wind, and let the angel of the Lord chase them. Let their way be dark and slippery, and let the angel of the Lord persecute them.” Ps. 55: “Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quickly into hell.”

Ps. 140: "Let the mischief of their own lips cover them; let burning coals fall upon them; let them be cast into the fire, into deep pits that they rise not up again."

Christians in reading these and other like imprecations have felt a difficulty in understanding and explaining them. "How," it is asked, "could David, an inspired and sanctified man, put up such petitions? How does this comport with the forgiving spirit inculcated in other parts of the sacred volume?" Some, it may be, have derived encouragement from these passages to indulge in malignant and revengeful feelings; assuming that David possessed such feelings, they are ready to find an apology, if not an excuse, for the same emotions in themselves. Infidels, especially, have found in these passages a strong weapon of assault upon the verity of inspiration. They have dwelt upon the severity of these imprecations, and have asked if such utterances could be inspired. Other difficulties, they would admit, might be explained, but here is something that militates against the writings themselves, the inspired medium of the divine Author. "Such writings," they say, "if inspired, must be inspired by an evil being, not a good!"

I. Let us see, then, what is to be said upon this subject. 1. Some, in explaining these imprecations take the view that they are inspired only as the utterances of a sinful man, and not as indicating the mind of the Spirit. There are some things in the Scriptures, such as the language of Satan and of evil men, and the mistaken utterances of good men, which it is intended should be there, but which are not in themselves true. Satan, when he said, "Ye shall not surely die," spake falsely: Jacob, when he said, "All these things are against me," was mistaken; Elijah, when he said, "I only am left," mis-counted, for there were seven thousand left; Peter, when he said, "Be it far from thee, Lord," incurred censure, "savoring not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." Occasionally, too, an improper spirit was manifested. Moses lost his temper at Meribah; Jonah in his petulance said, "I do well to be angry;" James and John, when they would have invoked fire from heaven, brought down the rebuke upon themselves, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." Many of the reasonings and opinions of the friends of Job are incorrect, and are recorded

for other purposes than their truth. With these exhibitions of unsanctified feeling, those who take the view named would place the imprecations of the Psalmist. "David," they would say, "though inspired, was yet not perfect; his mind was excited at wrongs received, and in this state he uttered these imprecations. They are simply the out-croppings of an evil nature, and are no more approved by the Spirit, and no more indicate the mind of the Spirit, than any of the wrong acts and utterances mentioned. Nor should these ebullitions of feeling be regarded as militating against the inspiration of the Scriptures any more than the hasty expressions of any other sacred writer."

2. Others, seeing difficulties attending this view, regard the imprecations of the Psalmist as mere *predictions*. "David," they say, "means to declare what must and will befall his enemies; it is a simple affirmation or assertion that they will be destroyed; and this assertion he makes in the light of truth and justice, and not from a vindictive spirit." Instead of reading, "Let them be confounded and put to shame," they would read, "They shall be confounded and put to shame;" instead of "Let them be turned back and brought to confusion," "They shall be turned back and brought to confusion;" and so of the other imprecations.

It is objected to this view that while there seems to be some license for it in the use and form of the Hebrew future, which for the first and third persons answers both for the imperative and the future, it is forbidden in most, if not all, of the imprecatory Psalms by the context. The imprecations of the 109th Psalm commence with a regular second person imperative, "Set *thou* a wicked man over him," and hence must be considered as conforming to the same grammatical construction. Peter's quotation, also, from this Psalm in reference to Judas, in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, shows that he regarded these as imprecations, and not as predictions.

3. The remaining view, which is the one commonly adopted, regards David as occupying the place of Christ, or personifying justice. Instead of being less under the power of inspiration in these places, or speaking from a vindictive spirit, he is, if possible, more thoroughly inspired. He is brought into en-

tire fellowship with God, and his utterances are like a voice from the most excellent glory. His enemies are God's enemies; nor is it himself, but truth, justice, law, in him personified, which cries, "Destroy thou them, O God!"

II. That this is the correct view will appear from the following considerations:—1. Observe what a mingling of piety there is with the denunciations named. It would seem impossible that one would rise from a vindictive state into such sudden and delightful communings with God, or descend from the latter so abruptly into the former. If the professions of piety were genuine, we are compelled to believe the denunciations could have contained no element of anger or revenge; or if they did, the piety must have been false. In the 17th Psalm David says: "Thou hast proved my heart, thou hast visited me in the night; thou hast tried me, and shalt find nothing; I am purposed that my mouth shall not transgress." Yet in this same Psalm, a few verses farther on, he utters a malediction upon the wicked that oppressed him, and from this rises to the sublime sentiment, "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied when I awake, with thy likeness." In the 55th Psalm he says: "We took sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company." Yet from this delightful reflection upon Christian fellowship and the worship of the sanctuary, he immediately ejaculates: "Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into hell;" and then as suddenly adds: "As for me, I will call upon God, and the Lord shall save me: evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray and cry aloud, and he shall hear my voice."

2. It is noteworthy that the Psalmist much more frequently refers to the wicked in general, than he does to personal enemies; indeed, most of the imprecatory Psalms are of this character. Thus, in the 59th Psalm we read: "Thou, therefore, O Lord God of hosts, the God of Israel, awake to visit *all the heathen*; be not merciful to *any wicked transgressors*." If it were personal enemies whom David always imprecated, it might appear more as if he were actuated by a vindictive spirit; but it is the wicked generally, and if in this sense enemies to him, much more to God. Thus, in the 139th Psalm he says: "I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee; I count them mine enemies."

Moreover, in certain instances he brings to view the design of his maledictions, as for the honor of God and the good of men, and not for personal revenge. Thus in the 5th Psalm he prays: "Destroy thou them, O God, let them fall by their own counsels; cast them out in the multitude of their transgressions, *for they have rebelled against thee;*" not, for they have abused or injured me, but "for they have rebelled against thee." In the 28th Psalm he writes: "Give them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their hands; render to them their desert. *Because they regard not the works of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands, he shall destroy them and not build them up.*"

3. It is to be remembered that some of David's enemies referred to in the imprecatory Psalms, were once in his power. Now if the prayers indicate so ferocious a spirit, why did not his acts? If his evil nature so got the advantage of him that he thirsted for blood, why did he not take that blood when he could? Saul, Absalom, and Shimei, were his bitterest enemies—at least, among them. The life of each was in his hands, yet he spared them all. When Shimei came out to curse David and cast stones at him, "Abishai, the son of Zeruiab, said unto the king, Why should this dead dog curse my lord, the king? Let me go over, I pray thee, and take off his head." Did David say, Go? Not at all. "Behold, my son which came forth of my bowels seeketh my life: how much more now, may this Benjamite do it? let him alone, and let him curse, for the Lord hath bidden him." When David found Saul asleep in a cave at En-gedi, and cut off the skirt of his robe, and again in the trench at Hachilah, and took the spear and cruse of water from his bolster, did that look as if he were seeking to be revenged? And when Absalom was thrust through by the darts of Joab, and when tidings were brought to the King, did he express gratification at this? Nay! He "was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate and wept; and as he went, thus he said, O, my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" David knew, moreover, that God had suffered these enemies to rise against him on account of his sins. He had been forewarned of this by Nathan. Hence, he said to Shimei,

"Let him curse, for the Lord hath bidden him," and again cries, "Deliver my soul from the wicked, which is *thy sword*; from men which are *thy hand*, O Lord." Is it probable that while recognizing these men as the Lord's "hand," he would allow himself to cherish malignant and revengeful feelings towards them?

4. It is remarkable that many of the Psalms, in which David imprecates his enemies, or the wicked, most severely, are Messianic in their character. Thus, in the 69th Psalm, where the imprecation is found: "Let their table become a snare before them; and that which should have been for their welfare, let it become a trap. Let their eyes be darkened, that they see not; and make their loins continually to shake. Pour out thine indignation upon them, and let thy wrathful anger take hold of them." Immediately preceding these words, occurs the passage,—*"They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink"*—language that is acknowledged to refer to Christ. Peter, by his quotation from the 109th Psalm, makes the imprecation there, as we have already seen, refer to Judas. If so, then the language is to be regarded as emanating more from Christ than David. Some of the Psalms contain language which it is impossible should refer to David. Thus, in the 2d of Acts, and Paul, in the 13th of Acts, both argued with regard to the 16th Psalm. David spake of not seeing corruption; but it was Christ, they said, and not himself, with reference to whom this was true.

5. The lyrical character of these Psalms—their adaptation to public use, and the fact that they were, and have continued to be, employed in the temple service, and by devout minds in the Christian Church, argues their being an effusion of personal malignancy. David wrote for others, as well as to express his own emotions. Besides, it implicates the Divine Being, who has authorized the use of the Psalms in worship, if their spirit is bad. Still further, it is not certain that all the Psalms ascribed to David were written by him. Three imprecatory Psalms (the 74th, 79th, and 83d) are ascribed to Asaph, and two (94th and 129th) are without a title. In these Psalms may be found language as denunciatory as any that

David used. Thus, if we fasten malignancy upon him, we must upon the persons who composed the other Psalms. Nor does the difficulty stop here. We remember that other of the sacred writers uttered imprecations in language not lyrical. Jeremiah prays: "Let them be confounded that persecute me, but let not me be confounded; let them be dismayed, but let not me be dismayed; bring upon them the day of evil, and destroy them with double destruction;" and again, in language as unrelenting as that of David: "Deliver up their children to the famine, and pour out their blood by the force of the sword; and let their wives be bereaved of their children, and be widows; and let their men be put to death; let their young men be slain by the sword in battle. Let a cry be heard from their houses, when thou shalt bring a troop suddenly upon them; for they have digged a pit to take me, and hid snares for my feet. Yet, Lord, thou knowest all their counsel against me to slay me: forgive not their iniquity, neither blot out their sin from thy sight." Paul utters an imprecation upon "Alexander the copersmith," who had done him much evil, by saying: "The Lord reward him according to his works;" and an awful malediction upon every enemy of Christ, in the words: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema maranatha." The imprecation of Jeremiah, and that of Paul upon Alexander, it is to be observed, were uttered in view of personal injuries; while those in the Psalms, as we have seen, more commonly plead as the argument, "For they have *sinned against thee*."

6. Finally, joy at seeing the wicked punished, is not inconsistent with the highest state of holiness. Instead of arguing vindictiveness, it may argue the fullest absorption into the Divine mind. Pres. Edwards has a sermon on "The end of the wicked contemplated by the righteous; or, the torments of the wicked in hell no occasion of grief to the saints in heaven," in which he says, the rejoicing of the saints in heaven will not be because they "are the subjects of any ill disposition; but, on the contrary, will be the fruit of an amiable and excellent disposition: it will be the fruit of a perfect holiness, and conformity to Christ the holy Lamb of God." And this is the view that Revelation itself presents. In full view of all

the miseries and torments of the damned, the saints are represented as saying: "Alleluia; salvation, and glory, and honor, and power unto the Lord our God; *for true and righteous are his judgments.*" Nay, they even cry with a loud voice for vengeance, saying: "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" Now, is it not possible for this feeling to be shared by the good, to some extent, before they reach heaven? Doubtless it is; and the more fully, the more they come into sympathy with, and see and feel as the redeemed. Moses, after a most terrific exhibition of the judgments of God upon the wicked, (Deut. xxxii.,) in the language of satisfaction and gladness, writes: "Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people; for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries;" and this language is a part of the song that God directed him to write for the entire congregation of Israel. Similar language is found in many of the Psalms that are not imprecatory. There is something, too, in man's inmost nature—his consciousness of right—that prompts him to use such language in the absence of bitter and revengeful feelings. Nor do we see any more difficulty in the one case than in the other. If a truly devout spirit can rejoice at seeing God's judgments executed, why may it not, at an earlier stage, with the same devoutness, take the attitude, and employ the language of prayer?

The late eminent Professor B. B. Edwards, some years ago, wrote an Article on this subject, and we copy what we consider the best words we have ever seen published on this subject:—

I come now to what, I think, must be regarded as a justification of the language in question; as going to account, in a great measure, if not wholly, for the usage of the sacred writers.

The principle may be best stated by two or three illustrations. Doeg, an Edomite herdsman, in the time of Saul, killed eighty-five unarmed, helpless priests, when he knew that they were wholly innocent of the charge made against them, and when no one else dared to touch these consecrated servants of the Lord. But with this he was not satisfied; every woman and child, every breathing thing, fell under the assassin's knife. Now the very mention of the atrocity stirs up feelings in us which cannot be repressed, and which are only rendered the more poignant by reflection on the attendant circumstances.

The murder of the children at Bethlehem, by Herod, another Edom-

ite, was an act of gratuitous cruelty, which the imagination utterly refuses to carry out into its details. The shriek of the frantic Rachel, in every dwelling where there was a little child to be struck down, is all that the heart can bear. Towards the author, every reader of the history, from his day down, has had but one feeling. The horrors of conscience that he suffered on account of his murder of his wife Mariamne, and which almost antedated those pains that shall never have an end, do not awaken for him the slightest degree of sympathy. A happy end to that turbulent life would have shocked us.

The woman that wished the head of the venerable forerunner of our Lord to be brought to her in a basin, who desired to enjoy a sight which would have curdled the blood of any one else,—has excited a feeling in every reader's breast, that no lapse of time has in the least degree diminished. The simple words of the gospel are enough. We wish not a word of commentary. Every right-minded man has one, on the living fibres of his heart.

The striking of a great bell at midnight in Paris was the signal of a deed at which men shudder now, at the distance of nearly four hundred years. It was a night long to be remembered. It needed no record on the page of history. It is engraven in ineffaceable characters on the moral sense of all Protestant Christendom. It was an outrage upon the nature which God has given to his creatures, which admits of no apology, and which necessarily demanded an atonement that is not yet fully paid.

In the darkest moments of the French Revolution, we are consoled by one circumstance. There is light in one quarter of that midnight horizon. The day of retribution will come. Every spectator of the tragedy feels, if he does not say, "Blessed shall he be who rewardeth thee as thou hast done to others." And when the cup is poured into the lips,—to the very dregs,—there is a satisfaction, not so much heartfelt as *conscience-felt*. A great moral debt has been paid. God's righteous government has taken a firmer hold of men in consequence. The Divine veracity has received a new illustration. He who sowed the wind has reaped the whirlwind.

What is the character of the principle thus manifested? What is the nature of these emotions?

A primary element of it is indignation. Before we have had time to reflect, there is an instant, a spontaneous gush of the emotion of anger towards the evil-doer. We cannot prevent it if we would. It is prior to all deliberation. In its first outbreak it is above control. It is outraged nature, that will have vent. In the commission of a great wrong, particularly where the accompanying circumstances are such as to strongly arrest attention, the being is something more or less than human whose soul is not deeply stirred.

Another element is compassion towards the injured party. We have an instinctive pity for weakness crushed in the dust, for innocence betrayed and violated. The wailing cry of infancy is in our ears; the white locks of age, dragging in the dust, are in our sight. An unoffending man, because he would not alienate the inheritance of his fathers, is defrauded of his rights, and then taken and murdered on

religious grounds, by lying testimony. Sentiments of the tenderest interest in the wretched sufferer spring up. Our hearts rush towards him with the warmest compassion. We would rescue him, if possible, ere the fatal stone be thrown. Thousands in our land can testify to such an emotion—deep, and not to end but with life—towards the hapless aborigines of this country, cheated and worn out by a long course of successful villainy.

Another and a principal ingredient is a sense of justice. When a crime of extraordinary atrocity goes unpunished, we feel that justice is defrauded of its dues. We are indignant that such a wrong should be unredressed. While the crime is unatoned for, we have a feeling, not only of insecurity, but that justice has been violated. Public order is disturbed; a shock has been given to that sense of rectitude which is common to man.

This is not of momentary duration, as the indignant or compassionate feeling may be. It grows stronger with the lapse of time. Reflection only adds to its intensity. Deliberation but shows its reasonableness. In other words, when a great outrage is perpetrated, nothing will calm the perturbation of our moral nature but the infliction of a penalty. The grievance must be redressed. A voice within us calls imperatively for reparation, whether we or others are the authors of the deed. The endurance of suffering is an indispensable condition for the return of peace. We secretly desire the speedy infliction of the penalty on ourselves, if we are conscious of guilt, and on others, also, if they are evil-doers. And what we crave by an irrepressible instinct of our moral nature, may we not, on fit occasions, *express in language?*

It may be maintained, further, that this feeling is not necessarily accompanied with any malice or ill-will towards the sufferer. An atrocious crime is committed in our neighborhood; we have the strongest sympathy for the injured party, and indignation towards the evil-doer. We unite in all proper measures to bring him to what we call a condign, that is, a deserved punishment. We rejoice when we learn that he has been apprehended, and that justice is permitted to take its appointed course. If we do not, in so many words, imprecate calamities upon him, we feel, and we perform, what amounts to the same thing. We ardently desire and pray that he may suffer punishment. If he is proved to be guilty, we are disappointed if he escape. We are even eager to co-operate in efforts to bring him within the arm of the law. But all this is not attended with any desire to witness the sufferings of a human being, or that those sufferings, in themselves, should be felt. We have no malice or private revenge to gratify. The absorbing emotion is for the good of society. We have the persuasion, that, if the criminal escapes, the bonds that hold men together will be weakened, if they are not destroyed. That there may be this entire freedom from personal ill-will, is shown by the fact, that our feelings are precisely similar, in kind, at least, towards an offending contemporary or neighbor, and towards a notorious culprit who lived ages ago, or may now live at the ends of the earth, and whose punishment, or escape from it, cannot possibly affect us personally.

The utterance of this moral feeling is the utterance of humanity within us. It is an expression of sympathy in the well-being of the race. If it be the faintest sigh of some abused exile among the snows of Siberia; if it be an ancient Briton, standing on the last rock where freedom could find a resting-place; if it be an American Indian, looking for the last time on the grave of his father, just as insatiate avarice is about to drive his plough through it,—the feeling within is one and identical. Time and space are overleaped in the twinkling of an eye. Our hearts gather instantly around these despairing wretches. Towards their oppressors we feel no hate or revenge. But till retribution has been made in some way, till suffering has been felt in some form, it is impossible for us to rest in quietness. The delicate framework of our moral being has been deranged. It must be repaired by the infliction of suffering.

Instead of the feeling in question being necessarily sinful, it may, on the contrary, be the evidence of a generous sympathy, of a finely educated conscience, and of a character conformed to the great standard of perfection. Not to possess this moral sympathy, might indicate a pusillanimous nature, a dulness of spiritual apprehension, and no desire that the disorders in God's kingdom should be rectified.

In thus briefly considering one of the sterner features of our constitution, and some of its practical developments, we cannot but be struck with the morbid type of much of the philanthropy and religion current at the present day. Love degenerates into weakness; compassion becomes itself an object of pity; benevolence is degraded into an indiscriminating instinct. The employment of force is branded as a relic of barbarous times. The exercise of authority is scouted as contrary to the spirit both of the gospel and of an enlightened age. The world must now be controlled by persuasion. It was formerly supposed that law, with its rigorous penalty, was a chief instrument in moral reformatory; that it was one of the main elements in the means which God and man must employ in meliorating the state of society.

So, likewise, in respect to religion. In our days, there is such a prominent and reiterated exhibition of the paternal character of God, as to endanger, if not destroy, its legitimate effect on the character of His intelligent creatures. There is such a protrusion of the promises of the Bible, and such a concealment of its threatenings, as to neutralize the influence of both. Religion is sometimes so divested of its grander and sterner qualities, as to fail to secure any respect. It becomes a mere collection of pleasant counsels, an assemblage of sweet recommendations, which it would be very well to observe; instead of presenting, as it does, an alternative of life or death, an authoritative code of morals, a law with inflexible sanctions, a gospel to be rejected on peril of eternal damnation.

These shallow philanthropists and religionists are as ignorant of the nature of man, as they are of the revelation of God; as little versed in the more imposing features of our constitution, as in the high and solemn themes of Christianity. They have little to do with the deeper wants of our moral being. They do not understand how curious and almost contradictory a piece of workmanship is man. They seem

never to have imagined, that he has the closest relations to a moral law, to an atoning Saviour, to a righteous moral Governor, and to an impartial judgment seat.

Equally ignorant are they of the bonds which hold society together. Much of the doctrine which is industriously promulgated at the present day, tends to form a counterfeit philanthropy; to make men sympathize with the misfortunes of the criminal, rather than with injured virtue, or with public morals; to weaken the arm of the law, and reduce government itself into a compact remarkable for nothing but its weakness.*

We will only add to these true and elegant words that the entire subject cannot be comprehended, without a full and constant reference to the *Oriental character of the Scripture writers*. If an occidental were wrought into the precise frame which produced the 109th Psalm, it would not be *natural* for him to say, under any possible provocation: "Let his children be continually vagabonds and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places. Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the stranger spoil his labor. Let there be none to extend mercy to him; neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children. Let his posterity be cut off; and, in the generation following, let their name be blotted out. Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord; and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out." But neither would it be natural for him, under any sorrow whatever, to say, as Job did of the day of his birth: "Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it; let a cloud dwell upon it; let the blackness of the day terrify it. Let them curse it, that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning. Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark; neither let it see the dawning of the day." Nor would it be natural for him to describe his sorrows as David does in the Psalms; or to speak of sin in the terrible terms of Ezekiel, or to excite devotion in the manner of the Song of Solomon. Here we must allow for oriental taste, while we hold fast to the substance of truth.

Dr. Thomson writes thus about the exaggeration of oriental methods of talking. He is replying to the question: "How do you account for the very pious and becoming language used by these heathen sailors [in Jonah's ship,] and the humble and penitent deportment of the king of corrupt Nineveh?"

* Works, vol. ii: 371—383.

“There is nothing very strange in this to Orientals, or to one familiar with them. Such language is universal. No matter how profane, immoral, or even atheistical a man may be, yet will he, on all appropriate occasions, speak of God—the one God, our God—in phrases the most proper and pious. We Americans are abashed and confounded in the presence of such holy talkers, and have not courage, or, rather, have too much reverence for sacred things to follow them in their glib and heartless verbiage. The fact is, I suppose, that Oriental nations, although they sank into various forms of idolatry, never lost the phraseology of the pure original theosophy. We are struck with this in all the Bible histories, in which these people have occasion to speak of God and of his attributes. The Canaanites could talk as devoutly as Abraham, and Nebuchadnezzar with as much propriety as Daniel. And the same is wonderfully true at the present day. A hard old Druse of Lebanon would edify a Payson or a Martyn. Indeed, there is nothing in which modern custom corresponds more completely with the ancient, than in this pious talk. There is scarcely an expression of the kind we are considering, which has not its parallel in the daily living language of the people around us. Place an Arab in the circumstances in which these old heathen are represented as acting and speaking, and his expressions will be so similar, even to the very words and peculiar idioms, as to suggest the idea that they have been learned from the Bible. And yet this cannot be; because the remark applies, in all its extent, to the wild Bedouin, in whose tribe there has never been a Bible, and a man able to read it, had there been one.”*

Dr. Thomson says that some boys called him “the father of a sauce-pan,” because they thought his American hat resembled that utensil; and a Druse guide, out of whom he was endeavouring, in vain, to extract some account of his religion, broke in with an obijuration to one of the asses as follows:—“May God curse the father of this donkey!”

Let us not be misunderstood. The inspired words of the Imprecatory Psalms are perfect truth and righteousness; but the sacred Spirit allows scope for all the varieties of human cul-

* The Land and the Book, pp. 99, 100.

ture, race and character. An occidental curse would be brief, crushing, and comprehensive. It would not amplify nor spread into particulars. It would be none the less severe for this—but its words would be different. To curse the acorn would kill the tree as effectually as if every separate branch, twig, and leaf were given over. Yet it is utterly contrary to our taste and mode of thinking and feeling to dwell upon particulars in such a case. With a battery of our Columbiads we would unhesitatingly bring down a whole city, and slaughter hundreds *en masse*, but we could not bear to have our own exploits brought home to us in the cold clay of little children, and the long hair of women soaked in blood. Our imagination turns away from such details; the Oriental touches each one of them with its own horror.

ARTICLE IV.

PHILOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF ISAIAH VI. 9, 10.*

"And he (Jehovah) said, Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed."

This is one of the most important, yet perplexing, passages in the Book of Revelation. It is quoted or referred to by each of the four evangelists—viz.: Matt. xii. 12–15; Mark iv. 11, 12; Luke viii. 10; John xii. 40; and by Paul, Acts xxviii. 25–28. Such repeated and solemn appeals made to it by the inspired writers, and the magnitude of the doctrine which some are wont to predicate upon it, demand for it an honest, prayerful, and thorough investigation. The only key by which we can unlock this difficult passage, and rightfully possess ourselves

* This is confessedly one of a difficult class of passages. The Editors do not publish the following Article as their view of them. But they think there are valuable suggestions in it, calculated to awaken thought and to lead to investigation, and that the whole paper is able and interesting. As such they commend it to their readers.

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of its golden treasure of truth, is correct philology,—the accurate interpretation of the original Hebrew language in which it was written. When thus approached, we become the rightful lords of its precious and weighty contents, and rejoice in the known harmony of its various applications and combinations. In this way let us remove obscurity, and grasp, with clearness and strength, its solemn import.

Our first remark, in the way of its solution, is *that it is originally a prophecy*—a prediction, and covers a period of seventy-five years—i. e., from its utterance to the captivity of the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar. To the question of the prophet, “How long shall this be the case of my people?” the response is,—“*Until* the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate, and the Lord have removed men far away.” Is. vi. 11.

Our second remark in explaining the passage is this: The Hebrew language in which it is written is very deficient in qualifying terms, and has no comparative or superlative degrees formed like the Greek or our own English language. This defect was compensated by doubling or repeating the words, and thus forming a comparative or superlative sense. Thus, holy of holies, means *most* holy—vanity of vanities, means exceeding vanity—God of gods, King of kings, means supreme God and King.

So the repetition of the same *verb*, as in our text, gives it an intensive signification. Thus, “Hear ye indeed,” or literally rendered, “To hear, ye do hear; and to see, ye do see;” means “Ye do enjoy the most abundant means of hearing and of seeing, and of thus becoming wise unto salvation.” That they were not enlightened, converted, and saved, was, in no sense, owing to the deficiency in the means of grace. These were diversified and very abundant.

The following are illustrations of similar phraseology and of the accuracy of this interpretation. Thus, the waters of the flood to abate, did abate—i. e., *greatly* assuage. God said to Abraham (Gen. xii. 17:) To bless, I will bless; and to multiply, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and sand on the sea-shore; that is, I will very greatly multiply thy seed, as expressed in xvii. 2. Gen. ii. 17: In the day thou eatest

thereof, "*to die, thou shalt die*"—i. e., *fearfully* die. So when Samson chided his wife for forsaking him for another man, she replied, "*To think, I did think, or I did solemnly think, that to hate, thou didst hate me, or utterly hate me.*"

So in the text, "To see, ye shall see; and to hear, ye shall hear;" means, "Ye do enjoy the most rich and diversified means of becoming enlightened, converted, and saved. You are a most highly-favored people, and your guilty and unconverted state has no palliation from any defect in the means of grace."

Let us now, in the third place, approach and remove the greatest and most perplexing difficulty connected with our text, and which arises wholly from the peculiarity of the language in Jewish prophecy. Jehovah commissions his prophet, saying, "Go, and make the heart of this people fat, shut their eyes, and close their ears, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert and be healed."

Thus the *prophet* is said to make fat, or insensible, and to shut their eyes and close their ears, lest they should see with their eyes, &c. Now, in what sense is this language to be understood, and how is it to be correctly interpreted? Evidently it is to be understood and interpreted according to the Jewish method of interpreting their prophetic utterances. The correct understanding and application of one grand rule or principle of Jewish prophecy, removes at once all obscurity and difficulty from the passage, and restores the most perfect harmony among all the inspired writers who quote it. The rule is merely this—*a prophet is said to do what he simply predicts. To foretell it is his only causality in the matter, which logically is no causality.* For the correctness of this rule of interpretation, we appeal to some of the many and indisputably clear facts of Bible record.

Thus, Gen. ix. 25, *Noah* cursed Canaan, saying, A servant of servants shalt thou be to thy brethren; that is, speaking in the name of the Most High, Noah simply uttered the prophetic curse upon Canaan, which is still in process of fulfilment. For long ages the utterer, or prophetic cause, has been sleeping in death's dust, while the predicted curse lives on in Ham's degraded, enslaved descendants.

Gen. xxvii. 27: And Isaac *blessed* Jacob and Esau—i. e., uttered in prophecy the future of these twin brothers and their posterity. In the simple utterance of the prediction consisted all the agency of the prophet. The blessing pronounced upon Jacob was according to the mind of God, but *opposed* to the mind of Isaac who uttered it.

So, when Balak called Balaam, the money-loving and fame-seeking prophet, to *curse* Israel, he *blessed* Israel altogether. And to the aggrieved, enraged king, the prophet said (Num. xxiv. 13:) "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, *to do* either good or bad of mine own mind; but what the Lord saith, that will I speak."

Here the prophet declares his utterances to be God-spoken prophecies; and that his *delivering* them, is, in the language of prophecy, his *doing* them. So, (Ezekiel xliii. 3,) "And it was according to the vision which I had when I came to destroy the city," viz., Jerusalem. Now all history unites with prophecy in declaring, that, neither Ezekiel, nor any other prophet, ever destroyed either Jerusalem, or any other city, in any other way than by predicting it. He laid not the weight of a destroying finger upon its walls; desired, to the last, its perpetuity and glory, and uttered its prophetic destruction with tears and groans. Yet, in simply *foretelling* its downfall by the Chaldeans, the prophet is said, in the language of prediction, to *do* it. The prophet's *predicting* is, then, the prophet's *doing*.

So the Lord said to Jeremiah, (i. 10,) "See, I have, this day, set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and throw down, and to build up, and to plant." Now, all history and facts unite in declaring that Jeremiah had no power over the nations and kingdoms, to root out, pull down, destroy, build, and plant, beyond his power as a prophet to predict the same. The prophetic facts, as he proclaimed them, and wrote them in his book, comprise the sum total of his agency—his efficiency. The guilty causes and agencies are to be found elsewhere. The *prophet's agency* is to utter the vision known faithfully. Yet, in predicting these things, he is said, in the language of prophecy, to *do* them.

So, in the passage of our text, Isaiah is said to *make* the heart of this people fat or insensible, and to make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes, when the meaning is this:— *Utter*, in the hearing of this people, what is, and will be, their fearfully obstinate and guilty state for the next seventy years—up to their captivity in Babylon. Tell them that their hearts have waxed gross or insensible as animal fat which is destitute of nerves. That they shut their eyes and close their ears against all the messages of God. And all this they will do, to prevent their conversion and healing. *They do* it, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed!

When the prophet has delivered his prediction, with a heart overwhelmed with sorrow, he has exhausted his agency. And yet, in uttering the prediction, he is said, in the language of prophecy, *to do* it.

This interpretation is illustrated, and rendered demonstrably true by the Apostle Paul—a master of both the Hebrew and Greek languages, and who spake by the inspiration of God. In quoting this passage, in Acts xxviii. 25–28, he drops the Jewish costume, and educing therefrom the true sentiment it contained, he expresses it most accurately, in the more copious, flexible, and precise language of the Greek, in the following words: “Well spake the Holy Ghost, by the prophet, to our fathers, saying, Go unto this people, and say unto them, Hearing, ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing, ye shall see, and shall not perceive.” Tell them the cause of this failure of the means. It is not in God, nor in the prophet, nor in the deficiency of the means used; but wholly owing to their own stubbornness and guilt. Tell them the reason is this: “Their heart is waxed gross, and they hear heavily, listlessly, with their ears, and their eyes *they* have closed. This they have done, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and I should heal them.” Thus backed by the wisdom and inspiration of the Apostle Paul, we feel confident of accuracy and great strength.

But we make our appeal, for the correctness of this interpretation, to one still higher than Paul—even Christ, the Lord

of Paul. Jesus, in assigning a reason why he spoke to the multitude in the simple picture language of parables, (Matth. xiii. 14, 15,) declares that he thus adapts his instructions to his dull and listless hearers. It is because, they, seeing, see not; and hearing, hear not. Greatly favored as they have been, with the means of wisdom, yet do they remain stupidly blind and wilfully obstinate. Therefore, I speak to them in the simple and winning language of parables; because their heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest they should see with their eyes, hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and I should heal them. These are the identical words which Paul copied from his divine Master, and illustrate and confirm the correctness of the interpretation we have given. The view that we have taken agrees most lucidly with the context, and produces the most perfect harmony between all the six places in which the text is written and quoted, and presents the text in the light of one of the most solemn appeals to the guilty heart contained in the Word of God.

1. This passage teaches us that God bestows his rich and abundant religious privileges upon mankind, to secure their spiritual illumination, conversion, and healing. When they fail to convince and convert, they fail to secure God's chief design in bestowing them upon man. The grand design of the gospel, written or preached, is to convince men of sin, and then to convert them *from* sin unto holiness and God, and thus heal all the sin-maladies of their souls. The cultivation of the intellect, improvement of the taste, and the feasting of the imagination, with all the social refinements, are matters of secondary importance. They are but the small leaves, and flowers, and fruit, borne by the heart, converted into the tree of life and divine love within us. But without soul-conviction and conversion to God, the means of grace have failed of their desired object—God is dishonored and the soul is unsaved! Such unconverted souls, arrayed in all *their* stately professions, and pompous ceremonies, are but moral corpses, clothed in the habiliments of state. They see not, they hear not, neither do they understand. They remain *dead* in trespasses and sins.

Again, secondly, we are taught, by this passage, why men, in the enjoyment of the written and preached word and ordinances of God's house, are not truly enlightened, converted, and healed. It is not because God, or the prophet, or the minister hardens their hearts; nor because the means of heaven's appointment are unadapted and inadequate with the Spirit's influence, to secure their illumination and conversion. Isaiah, Christ, and Paul unite in declaring the reason to be, *Because the heart is waxed gross*—stupidly insensible to moral truth by sinful indulgence; and to guard it more effectually against the assaults of truth, which is the sword of the Spirit, they hear heavily, listlessly, with their ears; and their eyes they have closed against all the spiritual teachings of God in his word, works, and providences. A leviathan heart, thus guarded and protected, bids defiance to all the assaults of truth—God's moral battery. Here the true and awful reason is assigned why men remain unconverted in the full enjoyment of gospel privileges. To withstand it, their hearts, and all their powers, are fully set, and actively engaged. They are daring self and soul destroyers. They *have hated knowledge*, and *would have none* of God's counsel, and *despised all his reproof*. It is no mystery that such remain unconverted; the mystery is, that they are out of perdition. How great is the mercy of God toward such, and how presumptuously wicked is their conduct toward Him!

We see, thirdly, how baseless, and antagonistic to this passage, is the doctrine that some great and good men have predicated upon it, viz., that God acts as efficiently in hardening the hearts of sinners as he does in their conviction and conversion. It is gone like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaving not a wreck behind.

Again, fourthly, we are here furnished with a clue to the correct interpretation of those frequent passages in Exodus, in which God is said to harden Pharaoh's heart, and the harmony of the same, with the declaration that Pharaoh hardened his own heart. In *every* instance, in which *God* is said to *harden* Pharaoh's heart, it will be found, on examination, that, *God foretold* to Moses that he would resist and refuse to let the

people go. Therefore, as the *prophet*, who foretells a fact, is said to do it, so *God*, who foretold the fact that Pharaoh would harden his heart, and would refuse to let the people go, is said, according to the language of prophecy, *to do it*; *i. e.*, simply predict it. While Pharaoh was the sole guilty agent in hardening his own heart, God foretold it, but the wicked king was the guilty executioner of the prediction.

ARTICLE V.

THE SCEPTRE OF JUDAH.*

ONE race the world cannot pass by, whose existence is eloquent evidence of God in history. Of them, God thus spoke, hundreds of years before the destruction of Jerusalem: "I will scatter you among the heathen. Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations whither the Lord thy God shall lead thee. Among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest."

These, and many other predictions, intimate the state of that mysterious race till the Shiloh came. All nations have homes in Jerusalem. The Jew has none. They have been sifted through all nations, and have taken root in none. They are the subjects of every dynasty; they have been the victims of every tyranny; the scoff of the infidel; the scorn of the great. From the Thames to the Tiber, and from the Tiber to the Ganges, and from the Ganges to the Missouri, they are found insulated from the sympathies of all men; indicating affinities with something above and before, but with nothing around. That once great nation has been poured down upon

* The author of this interpretation of one of the most interesting prophecies in Scripture, is, by birth, a Jew, though his faith is that of a Christian. The Editors have supposed that an Article on this subject, from such a source, would be of interest to their readers, though the Article is not to be understood as expressing their own views. It is published as worthy of study and consideration.—EDITORS.

the earth like quicksilver; it has split into innumerable scattered and disintegrated globules, which the hand of the great Proprietor will yet collect, and form into a mighty mass, that shall glow with imperishable splendor, and reflect his glory.

Many thousand years ago, God, in prophecy, pronounced the future dispersion and doom of the Jews, and God, in history, has kept them like the bush on Horeb—burning and not consumed—till that day come when the glory shall return from between the cherubim, and the dry bones rush together from a thousand lands, and the groans of creation, and the oppression of the Jews, and the travail of the Christian cease together.

Do you hear, every morning, that deep-toned voice in your streets? It is the echo of the voice of God in prophecy; evidence to a skeptic world that God's word is truth. No man can read the history of the Jews, and the prophecy of which that history is the shadow, projected into many years and lands, and not conclude that the prescience of God pronounced the predictions, and that the presence of God in history superintends its fulfilment.

The preservation of the Old Testament, in its uncorrupted purity, is evidence of God in history. The distinction of the twelve tribes gave each an interest in preserving their law in its integrity. Their kings had each to write out a copy of the law. The people, in order to obey God's command to teach it to their children, must also have had, or written out copies of it. The jealousy of Jews and Samaritans made the one a watch on the other. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek, and its dissemination throughout the world—the Chaldee paraphrase—the very superstitions of the Jews, who counted the letters and the paragraphs, and fixed the middle letter and middle word of each book, are all proofs of the presence of God disposing the good, and overruling the bad, to the preservation of the purity and safety of the sacred records. No part of the Old Testament is lost.

Josephus the historian, a Jew, sits down amid the *debris* of Jerusalem to write its history, and to praise, as he felt it expedient, his Roman master, and yet to cover as he could the sins and shame of his people, for whom his sympathies still glowed. These were his motives and ends. He writes his history, and

therein records, unconsciously and undesignedly on his part, the fulfilment of the remarkable prediction of Jacob, the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy, the fall of Jerusalem, the dismemberment of the body politic, their dispersion into all lands. So true is this, that if asked to produce a minute and detailed evidence of the strict and complete fulfilment of what is written in Matthew xxiv., and irresistible proof that Jesus is the Messiah, by a witness whom no one can suspect of partiality, or accuse of any leaning to Christianity, we would summon the Jew Josephus, the faithful chronicler of the downfall of his beloved Jerusalem; of the utter desolation of the temple and the country, and of the unparalleled sufferings of its guilty inhabitants; and, in all this, a witness that these wonderful predictions had received their accomplishment.

In the prophecy of Jacob the patriarch, (Gen. xlix. 8, 9 and 10th verses,) there was clearly predicted: the descent of the Messiah from the tribe of Judah; the time of his visible manifestation; the extraordinary circumstances associated with it, and the great design of such a personal manifestation to our world.

The prediction concerning Judah reads thus: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up; he stooped down, he crouched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the nations be. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes; his eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk." The first two and the last two verses are highly figurative, expressing, by striking images and emblems, the invincible force, the secure dignity and majesty, and the rich abundance to be enjoyed by the posterity of Judah. But the language of the 10th verse is plain and simple, announcing, first, the descent of the Messiah from the tribe of Judah, and, secondly, specifying the time of his first advent.

It is admitted that the Messiah was to descend from the favoured tribe of Judah—both Jews and Christians being perfectly agreed as to this fact. It is also evident, from the time predicted for his advent, that he was to come during the existence of the tribe of Judah—distinctly known by genealogy.

I. The Hebrew word שֵׁבֶט, translated *sceptre*, is not in use as a verb, and as a noun it signifies literally, *a tribe, a branch of a family, or a branch of a nation, or the ensign of tribunal jurisdiction*, exercised by the head of a tribe, because each tribe had its own rod, inscribed with its own name, which the princes of the tribes were wont to bear in their hands.* It is evident that the word in this passage has no reference to royal authority, and should not be translated by the word *sceptre*, for it could not, with any sort of propriety, be said that the *sceptre* should not depart from Judah, when Judah had no *sceptre*, nor was to have any for many ages afterwards. Besides, the royal authority departed from Judah about 500 years before the birth of Christ, in the days of Zedekiah, when the tribe was carried into captivity. The true legitimate meaning, therefore, of the word שֵׁבֶט is the *tribeship*, the same as in verses 16 and 28 of this very chapter, where it is said, “Dan shall judge his people as one of the *tribes* of Israel;” and again, “All these are the twelve *tribes* of Israel.”

הָן יֵרֵן עִמּוֹ בְּאַחֶר שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּל אֱלֹהֵי שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שָׁנִים עֶשֶׂר.

In Isaiah xlix. 6, we have this confirmed: “And he said, It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant, (the Messiah,) to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel. I will also give thee a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.”
וַיֹּאמֶר נָקֵל מִהֵי־תֵן לִי יַעֲבֹד לְהַקִּים אֶת שְׁבֵטִי יִקְרָב וּבְצֻרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהָשִׁיב וּבְתַתִּיךָ
לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לְהָיִיתׁ וְשִׁוְעֵתִי עַד קֵצָה הָאָרֶץ.

The import of this part of the prediction, therefore, is plainly this: that the tribe of Judah should not be scattered and confounded, as the rest of the tribes of Jacob would be, but that it should remain a distinct tribe, a body politic, known by genealogy, until the Shiloh (the Messiah) should have come.

* De Repub. Heb. lib. 1. c.

Hence, great care was taken by numbering this tribe more frequently, to preserve its genealogy. 1 Samuel xi. 8; 2 Samuel xxiv.; 2 Chronicles xii. 15 and xiii. 22.

This interpretation is given by Rabbi Abarbanel himself, of high authority among the Jews. According to him, the prophecy imports, that tribeship or distinct existence as a tribe, should not depart from Judah until Shiloh come; and he observes, that whereas the other tribes were carried away and dispersed, (alluding here to the king of Assyria, Shalmanazar,) Judah remained in the land; and when at length the tribe was carried away to Babylon, it was not dispersed, it did not lose its tribeship nor its genealogical order, but was brought back again.*

II. The next sentence, descriptive of the time of the first advent of the Messiah, is thus expressed:—"Nor a lawgiver from between his feet, or of his offspring."

The Hebrew word, קַדְשֵׁי a lawgiver, is variously translated.

The radical meaning is to *engrave*. Hence are derived *laws, statutes, rulers, leaders, tribes, and teachers*. It could not mean in this passage *a lawgiver*, for no tribe had a right to make any laws; for God himself was their lawgiver, and by his laws the king himself was to be governed. But each tribe had its prince or ruler, not to make laws, but, like magistrates, to judge the tribe by the laws of God; or, as the three Targums and other Jewish writers expound it, the scribes and teachers of the law—similar to the jurisdiction which existed in the days of the judges.

From what has been advanced, it is evident that Shiloh, the Messiah, was to appear while Judah was a distinct tribe, a body politic, having its genealogies, its magistrates, lawyers, and expounders of the law of God. Hence, when Titus destroyed Jerusalem, Judah was still distinct, it being a generation surviving the crucifixion of Christ. But it is an undeniable fact, that the tribe of Judah, as well as the Ten Tribes, has lost its genealogies for more than 1700 years, and, therefore, the Messiah must have come.

III. That by Shiloh is meant the Messiah, will appear if we will consider the occasion of this prophecy.

* Abr. in Prophet. Prior. fol. 95, col. 100.

Jacob, at the close of his life, was endowed with the spirit of prophecy, to foretell the most remarkable events that should befall his sons in succeeding ages; and it might reasonably be expected that the most remarkable of all events, the coming of the Messiah, and the precise time of his advent, would be included in them.

The signification of the word "Shiloh," shows that it refers to the Messiah. Jewish writers of the highest authority abound in the acknowledgment that Shiloh is the Messiah. For instance, *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, and the Jerusalem Targum, all explain the expression, "until Shiloh come," by "Until the time that King Messiah shall come." The Cabalists interpret it in the same manner.

In the Talmud, Code Sanhedrin, when Rabbi Johannan asks the name of the Messiah, they of the school of Rabbi Schila, answer: "His name is Shiloh, according to that which is written, 'until Shiloh come.'" Kimchi says, it signifies his Son; i. e., Judah's. Now, what son of Judah can it be but the famous and renowned son of his, called *Nagid*, the Prince Messiah who was to spring from this tribe, and from the family of David?

The renowned writer Jarchi, paraphrases the word Shiloh, *Whose it is*—i. e., the kingdom; and applies it to the Messiah; referring also to Ezekiel xxi. 17, I will overturn, overturn and overturn it, and it shall be no more until He come, whose right it is to reign, and I will give it him. *Abendani*, a distinguished Jewish theologian, applies the same passage to Messiah.

In *Bereshith Rabbah*, on this passage, it is said, "This is Messiah, the Son of David, who shall come to rule the kingdoms with a sceptre." In *Bereshith Katannah*, it says: Until Shiloh come; for it shall come to pass that the nations of the world shall bring their gifts unto the Messiah, the Son of David.

We copy the following curious account, without attaching any special importance to it, except as showing an ancient impression among the Jews as to the meaning of Shiloh:—Gaubil, a missionary from Rome to the Chinese, in the last century, when conversing with the Jews at Kae-fung-foo, and ex-

plaining to them, by way of interpretation, the Messiah's ineffable name, Shiloh, as implying a past, present, and future existence, was answered, that they had always perceived in it that signification. When asked by Gaubil for the meaning they attached to the word Shiloh, they remained silent for a time; but as soon as the visitor began to explain the sense attributed to it in the Christian church, a youth—an Israelite—who was present, very deferentially requested leave to speak. He stated that he recollected one of his great-uncles having formerly taught him that the word Shiloh contained a sacred mystery; written in this manner, the letters corresponding to the words:

ש = Great.

' = One.

י = Descending.

ה = Man.

This the lad remembered, but he knew no more on the subject.

Gaubil was delighted with this information, as it seemed to corroborate a curious discovery he had made shortly previous. Being at Han-Keow, he learned that the missionary there, Father Couteux, had under instruction a Chinese, learned in antique modes of writing, and feeling persuaded that the word Shiloh was a word of mysterious or sacramental import amongst ancient nations, he showed to the catechumen, who was totally ignorant of Hebrew, that the word in the perpendicular manner of Chinese writing, adopting the phonetic system required for foreign names—i. e., a sound or word for a letter, was to be thus explained:—

ש = Most High.

' = Lord.

י = One.

ה = Man.

This account is curious, if not the coinage of oriental reverie in latter times, for cabalistic Jews are accustomed to revel in such notes of deduction. The Jews, according to Gozani's account of the Teau-Kin-Keaow, in the capital of Honan, of "the sect that pluck out the sinew" from all their meat, is so interesting and graphic that it deserves to be preserved entire. We can only give the substance of it, however. He visited

their Li-pai-see, or synagogue, at Keaefung-fu, in 1704, and had a long conference with them. Unfortunately, however, he could neither speak nor read Hebrew, and they could only communicate with him in Chinese. "They showed me," he says, their *Kims* or sacred books, and permitted me to go into the most secret place, which they themselves are not allowed to enter, it being reserved solely for their Cham-Kiao, (or Chung-Keaow, or ruler,) who never enters but with the most profound reverence. On some tables there were thirteen kinds of tabernacles, with a veil before each of them; and within each of them a copy of the Kim-Mousa, or Pentateuch. Twelve of the tabernacles represented the twelve tribes, and the thirteenth, Moses. The Kims were written on long pieces of parchment, and rolled around sticks. Gozani prevailed with the ruler to let the curtain of one of the tabernacles be withdrawn, and one of the books unrolled; it seemed to be well written. There are also, in two other places of the synagogue, several old chests, containing Takim, or small tracts of parts of the law, which they use as prayer-books, and all are preserved with greater care than silver or gold.

These Jews told him that their ancestors came into China during the Han dynasty. Now this date embraces 206 years before the Christian era, and 220 years after it. Either period, however, gives the emigration great antiquity, and connects with it memorable events in the annals of China.

Dr. Buchanan received from the black Jews a list of sixty-five places in Northern India, Tartary, and China, in which small colonies of Jews reside; these Jews have probably penetrated the walls of the Celestial Empire, under Vouti, the 5th Emperor of the Han dynasty, whose conquests extended as far as Bengal and the Mogul country, where large bodies of the ten tribes were settled then. *Renaudot*, from his own inquiries, confirms the fact, that both in his time, and anciently, there were many Jews in several of the provinces of China. The accounts of Peristal, an Italian Jew, agree in the main view of the numbers of his co-religionists in China. Of the Lord Jesus Christ the Jews in China had never heard, only they expected the Messiah; it is, however, striking, and most remarkable, that within the walls of China they should have preserved

the doctrine of a Messiah to appear as the God-man, the humanity, and the divinity, in its mystery as interpreted by the Jewish youth, Most High, Lord, One, Man.

IV. That the Messiah is intended by Shiloh, is further evident from the sentence immediately following; *i. e.*, To him shall the gathering of the nations be; *i. e.*, nations of every clime, and of every color, and of every name under heaven, not of Jewish origin. This is also strongly confirmed throughout the prophecies of Isaiah, though all the prophets have more or less predicted the same.

In Isaiah xlii. 6, it is said: "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, לְכָרִית גִּם the Jews, for a light of the Gentiles." לְאוֹר גִּם. And again, Isaiah lii., 13-15: "Behold, my servant shall deal prudently; he shall be exalted, and extolled, and be very high. As many were astonished at thee, his visage was marred more than any man, and his form more than the sons of men. So shall he sprinkle many nations, גִּם מְלָכִים the kings of the Gentiles not excepted. In Isaiah xi. 11, it is distinctly stated, during the dispersion of the twelve tribes: There shall be a root of Jesse which shall stand as an ensign of the Gentile nations; to it shall the heathen seek, and his rest shall be glorious. Upon this passage, the Rabbi Abarbanel acknowledges that one of the characteristics of the Messiah was that the Gentiles should seek him.

The Mishna and Gemara, together called the Talmud, the former in six, and the latter in thirty-six books, began to be composed under the direction of Rabbi Judah Hannasi, in the year 3980 of the Creation, a short time before the birth of Christ. It contains records of events which have transpired among the Jews, and gives a correct account of Jesus of Nazareth; of the time when he appeared, his life and administration, the multitudes which became his followers, of his legal descent from the tribe of Judah and the family of David. (Josephus, p. 21.) Its testimony is similar to that of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny.

Josephus' History of the Jewish War, was published about A. D. 75, and his antiquities eighteen years later, in the thirteenth year of Domitian, A. D. 93. The former of his works

was held in great repute at Rome, and recommended by the Emperors Vespasian and Titus. Tacitus, the Roman historian, appears to have been acquainted with both of his works, and to have drawn largely from them in treating of Jewish affairs.

Now, Josephus says, "There was about this time Jesus a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was the Christ," is the simple testimony of the Jewish historian; "and when Pilate, at the suggestion of some among us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again on the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold; these, and ten thousand other wonderful things are related concerning him, and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day."* Josephus observes, (Antiq., 20, 22,) that the Jews give him the testimony of being a wise man, who is fully acquainted with our laws, and is able to interpret their meaning.

The late noted Judge Mordecai Noah, on the 28th of Oct., 1844, delivered, at the Tabernacle, in Broadway, N. Y., a lecture on the Restoration of the Jews. The house was well filled, and many Jews were present. We give *verbatim* his remarks on the advent of Christ.

He commenced by saying that, to comprehend and fully understand the peculiar situation of the Jewish people at that important crisis, we must endeavour, if possible, to place ourselves in their position. A nation once powerful, rich, and happy, prosperous and independent, the conquerors of every neighboring power, living in the midst of luxury and civilization, enjoying a happy and equitable code of laws, with wise kings, gallant warriors, a pious priesthood, and great national prosperity, suddenly assailed by powerful Pagan nations, allured by a love of gold, and tempted by the hope of plunder, contending, year after year, against fearful odds, their enemy strengthened by fresh levies, while their own resources were

* It is proper to mention that there is much reason to doubt the genuineness of this passage of Josephus.—EDITORS.

exhausted, finding themselves at length gradually sinking, a weak, decayed, defeated power, the once glorious and famed people, abandoned by hope, and almost deserted by Providence, their temple, their pride and glory, wrested from them, and the beams of the setting sun falling on the helmet of the Roman centurion, keeping guard near the Holy of Holies.

In this distracted position, and at this period of unexampled calamity, Jesus of Nazareth found the Jews at the commencement of his ministry. Corruptions, the natural consequences of great misfortune, had crept in amongst them; a portion of the priesthood forgot the obligations due to their high order; hypocrisy and intrigue had reached the high places, "and Jesus appeared amongst them, the most resolute of reformers."

Denouncing the priests and Pharisees, preaching against hypocrisy and vice, prophesying the downfall of the nation, he thus attracted followers and apostles by his extraordinary and gifted powers, he became formidable by his decision of character, his unceremonious expression of opinion, and the withering nature of his rebuke; he preached at all times, and at all places, in and out of the temple, with an eloquence which no mortal has since possessed; and to give the most powerful and absorbing interest to his mission, he proclaimed himself Son of God, and declared himself ordained by the Most High, to save a benighted and suffering people, as their Saviour and Redeemer.

The Jews were amazed, perplexed, and bewildered at all they saw and heard. "They knew Jesus from his birth—he was their neighbor; they knew his father Joseph, and Mary his mother, his brothers, James and Judas; he was in constant intercourse with his brethren in their domestic relations, and surrounded by their household gods; they remembered him a boy, disputing, as was the custom, most learnedly with the doctors in the temple; as a man pursuing to the age of thirty, the modest and laborious calling of his profession; and yet he proclaimed himself as the Son of God, and performed the most wonderful miracles; was surrounded by a number of his disciples, poor, but extraordinary gifted men, who sustained his doctrines, and had an abiding faith in his mission. He gathered strength and followers as he progressed, he denounced the whole nation, and prophesied its destruction, with their al-

tars and temples; he preached against whole cities, and proscribed their leaders with a force which, even at this day, would shake our social systems.

“The Jews became alarmed at his increasing power and influence, and the Sanhedrim resolved to become his accuser, and bring him to trial under the law as laid down in their code, Deut. 13th chapter.

“In reflecting deeply on all the circumstances of this the most remarkable trial and judgment in history, I am convinced, from the whole tenor of the proceedings, that the arrest, trial, and condemnation of Jesus of Nazareth, was conceived and executed under a decided panic. That he proclaimed himself Son of God, that he declared he had been delegated from the Father to enter upon his mediatorial character, that he was a prophet, and the promised Messiah, was understood and admitted by all his friends and disciples.”

The Judge closes this interesting testimony, by saying: “The Jews, my friends, were but the instruments of a higher power; and, in rejecting Jesus of Nazareth, we have great and overwhelming evidence of the infinite wisdom of the Almighty. Had they acknowledged Him as their Messiah at that fearful crisis, the whole nation would have been gradually sunk under the Roman yoke, and we should have had at this day paganism and idolatry, which, with all their train of terrible evils, and darkness, and desolation, would have spread over the earth. But the death of Jesus, was the birth of Christianity; the Gentile Church sprung from the ruins which surrounded its primitive existence; its march was onward, beset with darkness and difficulties, with oppression and persecution, until the Sun of Righteousness rose upon it, dissipating the clouds of darkness, which had obscured its beauties, and it shone forth with brightness, such as the ‘Great Master’ had originally designed it. Had not the event occurred, how would you have been saved from your sins?” The Jews in this did nothing but what God himself ordained; for you will find written, in the Acts of the Apostles: “And now, brethren, I know that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your fathers.”

In whatever sense the word sceptre be taken, it has departed from Judah. If it mean the regal sceptre, that has plainly

departed. If it mean the sceptre, or rod of the tribe, (2 Sam. vii. 7,) that has also departed, for the Jews are now scattered over the earth, and are no longer subject to one acknowledged tribunal head. Tribeship, or distinct union as a tribe, is no longer possessed by Judah; for the modern Jews are unable to say from what tribe they are descended. Hence, it is undeniable, that the sceptre, whether regal or tribunal, and with it the authorized lawgiver, has departed from Judah, and therefore the Messiah, the Shiloh, must have come.

Daniel, in his famous prophecy of seventy weeks, fixes the coming of the Messiah to a certain period to be calculated from the going forth of some decree to restore and to build Jerusalem; and he foretells, that after this advent of the Messiah, the sacrifice and oblation shall be caused to cease, that the end of the Jewish nation shall be with a flood, or agreeably to the language of prophecy, a hostile invasion, and that their land shall be laid utterly desolate. Therefore the Messiah must have come, because Daniel represents him as coming before all these events should take place. All these events have taken place, and more than 1700 years have elapsed, since the daily sacrifices in the temple of Jerusalem were abolished; since the Jewish polity was overturned by the hostile invasion of the Romans, and since the whole land of Judea was desolated by a most destructive war. These circumstances, as matters of fact, cannot be denied. And, moreover, Jewish writers themselves, such as Rabbi Solomon, and Jacchiades, own that the sufferings which the Jews experienced at the hand of Titus were foretold in this very prophecy. Josephus also acknowledges that Daniel foretold the destruction of the Jewish nation by the Romans.* And since Daniel places this advent of the Messiah before the occurrence of these events; and since all these events have long since occurred, the Messiah must long since have come. This conclusion cannot be avoided, if we allow Daniel to have been a true prophet.

Prejudice may shut the eyes against the clearest circumstantial evidence, and an Israelite be unable to discover, in the predictions, any thing that resembles the events detailed

* Joseph. Art., Jud. lib. 10, cap. ult.

in the history of him whom Christians and multitudes of Jews acknowledge as the Messiah, but the case is different with numerical evidence. Circumstantial evidence resembles moral truth; of which there may be an infinite variety of shades. Numerical evidence resembles mathematical truth, which admits of no shades—its boast is unity and perfection. The Jews, by owning that the latter part of the prophecy of the seventy weeks were accomplished in the days of Titus, as, indeed, plain matter of fact must compel any person to own it, and to deny the accomplishment of the former part in the advent of the Messiah, before the abolition of the temple sacrifice and the destruction of the Jewish polity, most incongruously make Daniel to be partly a true prophet and partly a false one. All goes to prove that the prophecies in regard to the sceptre, the tribeship, the lawgiver, the temple, the sacrifices, the holy city, and the dispersion of Judah, and the desolation of the whole land, according to both prophets in their denouncements, have literally been fulfilled, so that Jesus of Nazareth is the true and only Messiah through whose merits alone Jew and Gentile must be saved or eternally lost.

To every subterfuge—to every reply that can be painfully framed by a Hebrew writing, under the lash of incontrovertible evidence, the unbending rigidity of mathematical demonstration, still proclaims aloud, either the Messiah must have come—compute the seventy weeks as you will, divide them and subdivide them as you please, admit or reject intercalations, take solar years, or take lunar years, reckon from what edict you think proper, still it is proved that both the prophecies of Jacob and Daniel have had their fulfilment to the very letter, and at the very time when the Jews were in the expectancy of the event. These arguments are so convincing, that the time predicted for the coming of Christ is so far past, to the Jews in their perplexity, that their Rabbins have pronounced a curse on all that shall attempt the computation of the time.

Maimonides assigns this reason for it:—"It was," says he, "invented, because, upon the mistakes of their reckoning, or failing of their calculations, the people are apt to despond, and begin to suspect that the Messiah is already come." Yet this curse has not prevented the chief Rabbins them-

selves from calculating the time, so that the times fixed for his coming were the years 5263 and 5294 from the creation. Others computed the time for the year 5335, and others for the year 1298 of the Christian era; and lately the time had been fixed to 1843. Nothing appears more absurd to a reasonable man than the notion of Jewish writers, which makes the appearance of the Messiah to depend upon that of a constellation, which is to come after a certain number of years.

Abarbanel pretends that, when the Talmudists curse those who calculate the times, they mean such as are guided in their computations by the stars only, without having any regard to the prophetic records. But, after all the vain endeavors he has used in regulating his calculation according to the prophecies, he has added a computation by the course of the stars too; (see his work *Masmiah* on Ezekiel x.;) and according to this book, the Messiah expected to redeem Israel, must have appeared A.D. 1685. Yet this very book of disappointment has been reprinted. In confirmation of this assertion, he affirms that Jesus Christ, and his disciples after him, suffered death because he was born under Mars—one of the planetary bodies. He tells us that the Jews shall be redeemed under a certain constellation; (Isaiah lv. 17;) as they were at first redeemed from Egypt, and this he repeats on Jeremiah xxxiii., and on Ezekiel xlv. He specifies particularly in the month Nisan.

The same fancy he repeats on Hosea 1st and 3d chapters. But Abarbanel is not the only one who makes this use of astrology. He only follows the authority of his master. Is it then not evident proof that the Israelites have set aside the authority of Moses and the prophets, and have adopted the customs of the heathen?

But we come now to the point of the two Messiahs, a creed prevalent among the Jews, one of whom is to be the son of David, as the other shall be the son of Joseph, of the tribe of Ephraim. This is a late invention, which was never heard of before the Talmud. The Chaldee paraphrase of the prophets know nothing of it; but it is to be found in Onkelos. It is very likely that hereafter we shall be told, that, as the Messiah, the Son of David, is to have the souls of Adam and of David, so

the son of Joseph should have the souls of the patriarch, Joseph, and of Jeroboam.

The truth is, that this foolish notion is gathered from the prophecy of Obadiah, who speaks of the courage of the ten tribes after their return from Assyria, who, he says, were to be attacked by the kings of Syria, and afterwards should subdue the Amorites. But this prophecy was all fulfilled by the Hasmonæi, under the Assyrian kings, as is related by the most exact of the Jewish historians.

By the imagination of a two-fold Messiah, Jewish teachers have thought to serve a very considerable design; for they concluded that they should conceal from the readers of the Bible, the true meaning of these prophecies which speak of the death of the Messiah, the Son of David, by teaching that they should have their accomplishment in the person of the Messiah, the son of Joseph.

The last subterfuge of the Jews is the invention of fables concerning the legislators, which, they say, they still have; but, whatever they are, they certainly live incognito, for no one has ever seen them. To such wretched expedients are men driven who reject the plain teaching of Scripture!

Blindness is still upon Israel, but we rejoice that the true word of prophecy testifies that it is to be removed. We rejoice for them who are beloved for their fathers' sake; but we rejoice for ourselves also, for their deliverance from blindness is to be life from the dead for mankind.

ARTICLE VI.

THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO REFORMS.

THE societies, so remarkably distinguishing and adorning the present age, each of which has for its object the removal of some one form of injustice, or some single vice, are but the blessings "which Christianity scatters by the way on her sublime march to immortality." They are the offspring of religion. But the Reformers, as well as Christians, have often not known, or have forgotten this relationship, and have failed to consider; the former, that their love for the child should induce a respect for the parent; and the latter, that their affection for the parent should produce a regard for the child whom she has borne. But this failure, on the part of each of these two classes of human benefactors, to appreciate their obligations to sympathize with, and in proper ways, aid each other, has arisen partly from not perceiving in what way the Church ought to assist the Reformer, and why she is not required to aid him in those other methods in which he may desire her help. Just views of the obligations of the Church towards reform movements, would, by preventing exorbitant demands on the part of Reformers, and by enabling the Church to perceive how easily she can discharge these obligations, if she is only willing to perform her duty, tend to induce its performance, and to produce that reciprocal affection between Reformers and Christians which ought to exist. We shall, in this Article, state what we believe to be the precise duty of the Church towards Reforms.

The Church is not under obligation to become a direct or conspicuous agent in forwarding any reform. The great work committed to the Church is to be a co-worker with God in accomplishing his grand design to save sinners. It avails nothing to say that these various reforms tend to remove obstacles to the accomplishment of this design; and, in various ways, to promote its attainment. The Church is not required to pre-

pare men to receive the gospel under the most favorable circumstances. Her business is simply to proclaim it to them, not to those best fitted to receive it, but to all, even the vilest and most degraded. God has seen fit to provide salvation for men, and he has established a Church in the world to disseminate a knowledge of this salvation, and to urge all men to accept it, as well as to promote the sanctification of those who have accepted it. This body is not, as an organization, to engage in any other work, however important it may be. In the work of doing good, as truly as in any other work, division of labor is indispensable to the production of the greatest result. And where this division of labor exists, the effect which would follow, if any man should leave the particular employment assigned him, and engage in some other tending to the accomplishment of the general result, would be, that the product of the labors of all would be diminished. These obvious truths ought to govern us in the multifarious work of philanthropy. It is evidently fit, that the most important branch of this work—that which is devoted chiefly to the promotion of the eternal welfare of men, should be committed to a particular organization as its special and sole department of labor. And the effect would be injurious, should the attempt be made by means of this organization to accomplish some other work, should its members consider themselves required to use it in any other method of doing good, except the special one assigned it.

It is so obvious that it would be absurd to prove it, that many duties devolve upon members of the Church, which are not to be discharged through the medium of the Church. No Christian, in paying his debts, or in the secular instruction of his children, employs the Church organization. Why should it be supposed that the duties of benevolence, the obligation resting upon every Christian to seek the reformation of the intemperate and the immoral, and the removal of every form of injustice, ought to be discharged through the medium of the Church? This mistaken idea seems to have been imbibed, because, it being admitted that the Church is an organization for purely benevolent purposes, it has been hastily concluded, that its agency may properly be used in forwarding every benevolent enterprise.

Christians should do good in all ways—each in the particular way in which he can be most useful; but the Church as a church, is not required to do good in every way, but only in a particular and special one.

By thus limiting the sphere of the duties of the Church, we shall, doubtless, lessen her value in the view of some. But no one, who is impressed as he should be with the importance of the object which she does seek, will fail to consider her infinitely the most valuable of all the benevolent societies. And if any suppose, that besides seeking, in her own incomparable way, to benefit men, she might also lend her aid to every benevolent effort, we have only to say, that it is not merely important that the work of philanthropy should be carried forward, but also that it be prosecuted in the best way. Christians should engage in every benevolent enterprise, but it is by no means evidently desirable that the Church as a church, should engage in it.

What we mean, when we say that the Church as a church, should not be employed in forwarding the various reforms, is this:—When the Church meets as a church, it should not be to promote any reform. The ministers of religion, who are the agents employed by the Church to assist her in performing the work enjoined upon her, in the command, “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,” should feel that the special business committed to them is entirely different from that intrusted to the Reformer; so that, should the preacher perform in the pulpit the work of the Reformer, he would do not only what he is not required, but what he is forbidden to do there. We mean also that no member of a Christian church should regard this society as the medium through which he should discharge the duties devolving upon him in relation to the various reforms of the age.

To this statement of what the Church is not required to do, we add, that she should furnish conclusive evidence that she approves of all wise efforts to promote reform, and ardently desires their success. Though the Church has other business than aiding reform movements, she has a duty in respect to all such movements. This duty may be inferred from the fact, that she seeks the spiritual welfare of men, that she endeavors

to induce them to obey the dictates of conscience, to fear God and to forsake sin as sin, and not simply as folly. It is indispensable, if she would accomplish these objects, that she should furnish proof that she is not disposed to connive at any sin, that she is not even indifferent to it; more than this, that she is not unwilling or afraid to condemn it. She cannot induce men to hate sin as sin, unless they suppose that she is opposed to it for the same reason; and, accordingly, that she has a strong desire, which she is not afraid to express, that every practice which is manifestly sinful should be abandoned. A Reformer might strive to persuade men to forsake an evil habit merely because it is a foolish one. But the object of the Church is, so to purify the fountain whence all evil acts flow, that these acts shall no longer be performed, to induce such a hatred of sin, that whatever is sinful shall be shunned, because it is sinful. It is, therefore, evident, that if she permit her hostility to any practice, whose wickedness is obvious, to be doubted, she permits her hostility to sin itself to be doubted. Her influence, in producing hatred of sin as sin, must be, if not utterly destroyed, at least greatly diminished. In order that she may, most effectually, accomplish her own special end, there is, therefore, an absolute necessity, that it be not doubted, that every reformer, who wisely seeks to benefit his fellow men by persuading them to abandon any wrong practice, has her sympathy.

This necessity appears just as evident, when we consider that the proper work of the Church cannot be discharged in the best way, if at all, unless her motives are believed to be most benevolent. The conviction that the Church has an ardent love for them, and an earnest desire that their welfare may be promoted, fits men to listen to her instructions and exhortations in that state of mind in which they will be best benefited by them. Whatever, then, leads men to doubt the benevolence of the Church, tends to unfit them to be benefited by her. But if the Church fails, in all proper ways, to show that she desires the success of every benevolent enterprise, she will make her benevolence doubtful. She cannot love man, unless she desires that no wisely-directed effort to benefit him should be abortive. But, if she have this desire, there can be no good

reason that she should conceal it. The good men who are carrying on reform movements need to be encouraged by the assurance, that the Church approves their efforts, and rejoices when they succeed. Besides, as we have shown, the reputation of the Church for benevolence depends upon the evidence furnished by her that she possesses it, that she is not indifferent, much more that she is not hostile to any effort which is evidently fitted to benefit men. If any one inquires: Does not the Church furnish sufficient evidence of her regard for men, by seeking, in her own way, to benefit them? Why need she concern herself about the charges of indifference, or even hostility, to any reform which may be brought against her? The reply to such queries is, that her usefulness depends upon her furnishing proof that these charges are false. She is not required to furnish this proof in that way and measure in which many reformers may desire that it should be presented, but only such evidence as to every candid mind shall be conclusive. What, in our opinion, this evidence should be, we will state.

It is not, we believe, important that it should be abundant, but simply that it should be decisive. The Church should, we would say, endorse every reform; but, in endorsing, it is not necessary that the name of the endorser should be written many times on the back of the note. It is sufficient that it is written once. We have already said that we do not consider the Church required to engage in efforts for the promotion of any reform. If we did not thus believe, we might suppose that she should devote as much time to supplying this evidence, and to carrying forward reforms, as she ought to employ in those efforts which seek specially men's spiritual welfare. But, if we are right in supposing that these latter efforts are the only ones which she is required to make, then her single obligation, in respect to reforms, is to show that she is friendly to them. Her duty is to say, "God speed the reformer," so loudly and distinctly, that all may hear and understand, and not frequently to reiterate the encouraging words, or to engage in those labors in which he is employed.

How, then, ought the Church to show her sympathy with reformers? This will depend entirely upon circumstances. If

a reform be sustained by the vast majority of Christians, the least evidence would be sufficient that the Church as a society was in favor of it. When the members of a church, as they have opportunity, furnish satisfactory proof that they are friendly to any reform, the church composed of these various members, should she take no action in respect to this reform, would be presumed by all to approve of it, and to be restrained by no improper motives from expressing this approval. This remark includes the observation, that it ought not to be necessary for the Church to express her approbation of the labors of any reformers, however important may be the work in which they are engaged. If her members discharged their duty, in respect to these enterprises of benevolence, it would not be necessary that the Church should utter a word in regard to them. But the failure to perform their duty towards reformers, renders it necessary for the preservation of her influence and power for doing good, that she should, in some unequivocal manner, manifest her approval of them. The ways in which this approval may be exhibited, are various; and, when the Church desires that it may be manifested, she will easily find suitable opportunities and modes of showing it. When a particular society of Christians are assembled, or when representatives of many portions of the Church are collected, they may pass resolutions expressing this approval. The Church may resolve that it is the duty of her members to promote this reform, and urge them to perform this duty; or she may express her desire that those who are appointed to instruct her members, should teach them that they ought to forward this reform. As the principal object, however, of all such instructions is not so much to aid the reform, as to prove that the Church is in favor of it, these instructions should not be so frequent and abundant as to expose him who utters them to the charge, that he neglects the work of the preacher, and has assumed that of the reformer.

In respect to the propriety of requiring, as a requisite for admission to the Church, that the candidate should commit himself in favor of the various reforms, we would say, we do not believe that any man, however ignorant of his duty in respect to any reform, should be debarred the privilege of connecting himself with the Christian Church, if it be evident that

he loves God and desires to do his will. The Church must not require that all errors of opinion, springing from ignorance and prejudice, should be laid aside before a Christian shall be permitted to join her. If the attitude of the Church, in respect to any reform, be equivocal, a suspicion is cast upon the genuineness of her piety. But it may easily be believed that an individual, who has just been brought to the determination to perform his duties towards God and his fellow-men, may still be so ignorant of those duties, so under the influence of partial views, so accustomed to look only at the mistakes of reformers, and to hear only the arguments of the opponents of a reform that he does not yet clearly see his duty in respect to it.

And the same objection against requiring a testimony in favor of any reform, as a condition of church membership, would exist against disciplining any member of the Church, who would not give such a testimony. We cannot say that, in such a definite period, every Christian, however weak his faculties, however ignorant and biased he may have been, will certainly discover his duty in respect to every reform; so that, if, at the expiration of this period, any member of the Church fails to perform this duty, he proves that he is destitute of the fear and love of God, or is so deficient in these virtues, that he is a proper subject for church discipline.

If the Church have so failed to properly manifest her approbation of reforms, that the charges of hostility to them is frequently brought against her, and widely believed to be true, and especially if, which is possible, she may have become so corrupt that this charge is true, then her approval of such reforms should be exhibited not only in a decided manner, but in one suited to attract attention. She has a double obligation now resting upon her, that which always exists, the obligation to furnish proof that she occupies the right attitude in respect to reforms; and the new obligation, arising from the failure to discharge past duties, to remove the prevailing impression that she is not friendly to these reforms. That which ought never to have been her duty, has become her duty. Her ministers may be required to preach in behalf of reforms, and her members, when assembled as a Church, to pass strong resolves in favor of them, and even possibly to appoint those who shall be her agents, and labor as such for the promotion of reforms.

Should the Church have become so corrupted as to cherish hostility to any reform, then it is evident that the obligation to keep herself pure, requires that she should instantly change this hostility for an earnest desire that this reform may succeed. To induce her to do this, the ministers of religion and the members of the Church, and particular churches, may and should be, active in efforts to persuade all their Christian brethren, and every Church, to purge themselves from the sin of sustaining the wrong practice against which the reform is directed. The charge of neglecting their appropriate work to engage in other labors, cannot justly be preferred against the ministers of religion, and Christian churches, if they can truly say that these labors are needed and performed for the purification of the Church. We have shown that in order that the Church may possess fitness to accomplish the special work intrusted to her, she must be supposed to be hostile to every sin, and in favor of every benevolent enterprise; and, accordingly, whatever is wisely done to produce this fitness when it does not exist, should be considered as done in order that the special end which the Church should seek may be attained. She is not neglecting the preaching of the gospel to promote reforms, but is qualifying herself to preach the gospel. A man is not fitted to exhort his neighbor to forsake any sin, until he furnishes evidence that he has himself forsaken it. Purification is not needed to fit men to hear the gospel, but it may be needed to fit them to proclaim it. The Church is not required to labor with the reformer that she may prepare men to hear her message before she utters it to them, but she is required to fit herself to declare it. No one supposes that an unreasonable demand is made, when evidence of personal piety is required in every one who would preach the gospel, as an indispensable pre-requisite. May we not, then, properly say that the Church must exhibit evidence of personal piety, must show that she is hostile to every sin, and in favor of whatever tends to the welfare of men, before she is prepared to persuade them to embrace religion. It is not possible, then, to ascribe too much relative importance to any sin, and to labor too strenuously for its removal, when that sin entirely unfits the Church for the accomplishment of her special work, when it causes her piety

to be doubted, when it permits and induces the belief that she desires the continuance of some great evil, and wishes that the attempts of reformers to suppress it may fail.

If in saying that in our view the Church ought not to make direct efforts to produce any reform; that in all she does which tends to forward it, her main object should be to accomplish her own special work, or to so purify herself that she may be fitted to accomplish it, we seem to any one to represent the Church as of very little value to the reformer, it is because he does not consider that the Church may, and should, though indirectly, yet most efficiently, promote every reform. The indirect efforts of the Church to forward it may be, and often are, far more conducive to the success of the reformer, than would be any additional labor of the kind which he performs. The reformer seeks in various ways to advance the reform to which he has devoted himself. He aims to produce that state of public opinion which shall compel the abandonment of the evil whose removal he seeks. He also appeals to the self-love and to the consciences of those whom he would reform, and endeavors to impress them with the conviction that their conduct is both foolish and wrong. Now so far as that general reprobation of vice which causes its relinquishment springs from the testimony of conscience that it is wrong, and so far as the reformer appeals to the consciences of those whom he would benefit, it is evident that he cannot succeed unless men will regard the dictates of conscience. Whoever, then, exerts an influence in inducing them to heed these dictates, furnishes help to the reformer. But the grand object of all the preacher's exertions is to accomplish precisely this effect. He endeavors to so exhibit to men their guilt that conscience shall be aroused and condemn their conduct, and so punish them for their sins, and so urge them to the performance of duty, that they shall repent of their iniquities, and henceforth obey the injunctions of conscience, and seek the enjoyment to be found in its approval. The preacher's labors, then, all tend to prepare men to be influenced by the reformer, since they are all designed and suited to increase the influence and power of conscience, and thus to increase the probability that men will do any thing which the reformer would have them do, when he can satisfy them that they ought to do it.

It is very evident that this help which the preacher furnishes him, is often just that which the reformer most needs. He can oftentimes easily show how desirable it is that his efforts should be successful, and prove to men that they ought to give their influence to the furtherance of the cause for which he labors. But the grand object of all his efforts is not attained, because men will not perform disagreeable duties which they can neglect without injury to reputation, and which are such as many of the reputedly good do neglect. The reformer, if he see clearly what is needed in order that his efforts may succeed, must perceive that if he could by any exertions increase the power of conscience over those whose reformation he seeks, he would, by those exertions, in the most effectual manner promote the reform which he endeavors to advance. He would be performing a preliminary work, whose success would render his labors as a reformer far more probable than it could be while this preliminary work remained undone. If this be so, does not the preacher who devotes himself to this preliminary work, really, though in an indirect manner, yet most effectually, labor in behalf of every reform?

Whatever complaints, then, against the Church of failing to give him that help which he has a right to expect from her, any reformer may be disposed to make, are entirely groundless if it can be shown that the Church, while she commits herself in favor of reforms, is devoting all her efforts to the accomplishment of the single work of inducing men to comply with the terms of salvation; one of which is, that they should seek to ascertain what are the injunctions of conscience, in order that they may obey them. Such success as has already attended the labors of reformers, has been due to the fact that the preacher has prepared the way for those labors. Indeed, these labors themselves would probably never have been commenced, had it not been for the influence which preaching has, perhaps unconsciously and indirectly, exerted over those who engage in them. The fact that reformers most abound where preachers are most numerous, is evidence of the truth of this assertion.

But there is another way in which the reformer ought to be assisted in his work by the preacher. The labors of the preacher should not only make his work easier, but ought also to inspire

and strengthen him to perform it. A love for man ought to be the impelling motive in all the labors of the reformer. If he be actuated by a lower motive, he cannot, without hypocrisy, without pretending to be influenced by higher motives than do in fact govern him, exert much influence. If men believe that he is governed solely or chiefly by love of distinction, or of money, or by hatred of those who are profited by the evil against which his efforts are directed, he can do them but little good. But the truths taught from the pulpit are the very ones which are best calculated to produce and maintain a benevolent regard for all men. He who calls the attention of the reformer to these truths, who deduces and presents the encouragements to labor for man's welfare, which may be drawn from them, furnishes invaluable assistance to him. Nor can the fact, that it is discarded by him, render the assertion true, that the pulpit does not furnish the reformer help which is invaluable, and which is all that it ought to extend to him. The Church surely ought not to be blamed by any professed reformer, because the assistance which she proffers him is of a kind which he does not desire, because it is rendered in her own way, and not in that which he would choose; especially ought she not to be blamed, if her own way be the best way; that in which she can render the greatest assistance.

The Church prepares the reformer for his work, since she seeks to remove some of the greatest hinderances to his success. Many reformers fail to discover the reason, why such abundant efforts as they put forth in the benevolent enterprises in which they are engaged, are attended with no greater result. It is not because they who make them do not sufficiently exert themselves, or because they are deficient in intellectual power, or because the inevitable obstacles to the triumph of their efforts are so great that they cannot surmount them. Their ill success is due to the fact, that they have themselves placed obstacles in their own way, which they must remove before they can attain the object which they seek. As with a deep sense of the importance of the reform which he endeavors to advance, the reformer contemplates the conduct of those who oppose it, or of those, who, while professing to be benevolent, yet refuse to aid him, he feels an indignation, which he permits

to degenerate into a hatred of those whose conduct has aroused it. This hatred may at length come to be the principal motive that urges him to those efforts which he makes as a reformer. He exhibits the natural manifestations of the feeling which actuates him. These manifestations naturally excite a reciprocal antipathy in those who are the objects of his dislike. Thus do they become unfitted either to admit the duty of ceasing their opposition to his efforts, or of extending to him the assistance which he needs. Thus does he disqualify himself to be highly useful in the work in which he is engaged.

Now, the proclamation of the truths contained in the gospel is designated, and admirably suited to produce this very charity which is indispensable to the highest success of the reformer. The gospel teaches us that every man, even the best of men, is a great sinner, and that he should "judge not, if he would not be judged." It exhibits to him the unspeakable, long-suffering, compassion, and forgiving disposition of God; the love which he cherishes towards the greatest transgressors, notwithstanding the infinite abhorrence which he feels towards every sin. Thus does it present to him an example, the contemplation of which has a most powerful tendency to fit him for his work, to enable him to preserve that benevolent regard for every man which will qualify him to remove opposition or indifference, and to obtain the good will and assistance of all whose aid he may need. No reformer who appreciates the immense importance and difficulty of maintaining, in connexion with a most earnest desire for the success of the reform which he would promote, a love for those who render his efforts oftentimes entirely abortive, will, if he rightly estimates the help which the preacher gives him in preserving this benevolent regard, refuse to admit that he is an invaluable auxiliary. That the Church has often failed to perform her duty in respect to reforms, we do not deny or doubt; but we are also satisfied, that much injustice has been done her, because there has been a misconception of the obligation resting upon her in relation to reforms, and a neglect to appreciate and accept the assistance which she does proffer to the reformer.

ARTICLE VII.

1. *The History of Herodotus*.—A new English Version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the chief Results, historical and ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of cuneiform and hieroglyphical Discovery. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by COL. SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K. C. B., and SIR J. G. WILKINSON, F. R. S. In four volumes, with Maps and Illustrations. New York: Appletons, 1859. pp. 563, 514, 463, 465.

2. *The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records, stated anew*, with special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of modern Times. In Eight Lectures delivered in the Oxford University Pulpit in the year 1859, on the Bampton Foundation. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A. From the London Edition, with the notes translated by Rev. A. N. Arnold. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. pp. 454.

Dr. David Nelson, one of the ablest men yet produced in America, said that the infidelity of the vast mass of those who are skeptical, is produced by ignorance. Men with an ordinary acquaintance with history are accustomed to say with a force which shows how strong they regard their objection to be, that if Christianity were true there would be a thousand traces of it in secular works, and a thousand incidental confirmations of it in coins, medals, and inscriptions; in short, in all the memorials of past ages which have come down to us. They do not know enough to be aware that their demand is met, *that these very confirmations exist*, and that as severer and still severer tests are applied from the records of past ages, Christianity meets them all.

But skeptics are not all of this sort. There are those who need much more than the Apostle, the vehement reproof of Festus, "Much learning hath made thee mad." In other words,

there is a common sense method of receiving knowledge, and a recondite and false method. A subtle lawyer will twist the facts of a case and the precedents that bear on it, until a plain man is utterly confused. The same process which deludes others may deceive the unhappy votary of self-sufficient learning. He may refine and split hairs until he is incapable of perceiving the plain, manly truth. He may lay down canons of criticism, until he is buried up like the silk-worm in his own cocoons. He may sit in his study-chair, speculating, until the free air of heaven is an offence to him.

The tendency of historical criticism has been from faith to skepticism. F. A. Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer*,* seems to have done more than any one book to unsettle the faith of scholars, and through them of the world, in ancient records and settled facts. All faiths are kindred. The spirit of belief or unbelief reaches everything. If there never was any Homer, if Cincinnatus never held a plough, if the battle of Marathon is a myth, and Sennacherib never tumultuated over Asia—if the world has been moving for twenty centuries amid illusions as to the very elements of the past, and everything we learned at school about history has to be unlearned, it is very clear that this unsettling of faith will not stop with profane history. If men cease to believe in Xerxes, they will doubt Nebuchadnezzar; if there never was an Æschylus, men will not believe in an Isaiah. In other words, the German philosophers and critics, with their historical skepticism, struck a fearful blow at Christianity; the heaviest, to our thinking, ever aimed at it by mortal man.

It is not, however, the method of divine truth to stop investigation; thought, once alive and quickened, must go on to its goal. It is sheer pusillanimity to attempt to check it. We may mourn over the victims that may perish *pendente lite*, but the battle must be fought out, and the truth will be victorious.

Out of this skeptical group of historical critics, arose, as one of its immediate results, the finest school of historians, in some respects at least, ever known. History had ceased to be writ-

* See the matter discussed in Felton's *Homer*. Revised Edition, 418, sq.; and in Grote's *Greece*, Vol. II., 142, sq. Chap. XXI.

ten as when old Herodotus told us pleasant and confiding stories of early times. It has ceased to be written even as when Gibbon, not accurately sifting history, yet gave us magnificent pictures of the past. The very foundations of all truth in the past were assailed, and Niebuhr and Grote question everything. They place every conceivable authority on the witness stand, and cross-examine like lawyers at the old Bailey. Possessed of what facts they can gather, they proceed to pour through and around them the light of analysis and philosophy; they bring them before us as conceivable; they glorify them with poetry; they introduce us to their very life, and in fine they produce books as vivid as the most captivating fiction, delights of the human race. To write a successful history now is to possess the highest grade of human intellect.

But the taint of unbelief is still over much of the finest of this writing. Even Grote, greatly as we admire and delight in him, seems hardly to be certain of any thing, and leaves his votary a thoughtful lover of the glories of the past, but a smiling doubter of most of men's beliefs as though they were pleasant illusions. It is a most seductive and dangerous form of human thought. Meanwhile, the vast learning of Germany had for fifty years been flowing out like molten lava, and hardening into skeptical forms. In every department of human thought sneers and smiles were destroying faith. The peril was extreme. It was, in a word, *dignus vindice nodus*.

The Almighty "doth not make haste." He intervened at the right moment in a wonderful way. He had covered up in the ground at ancient Nineveh, and caused to be written in strange, and hitherto indecipherable characters, in Egypt and Persia, the evidence of the truth of ancient events. These evidences were not formally such as to establish these truths that were in danger of dying out. They were vastly better than this, they were coincidences, undesigned by their authors, embodying a hundred incidental facts and allusions to events existing in the time of the builders and writers. Was there, indeed, no Sennacherib? What could a skeptic say when Layard uncovered his palace? Was there no Nebuchadnezzar? A hundred thousand bricks lie to-day at Babylon, every one inscribed by his name, as every bar of iron which comes from

Pittsburgh has stamped upon it the brand of the maker. Was there no Marathon, no Salamis, no Plataea? But here is the tomb of Xerxes with inscriptions graven on it by his own order, and here, in the hippodrome at Constantinople, has been read on the very pillar erected by the Greeks themselves at Delphi, the names of the tribes who saved Greece and the liberties of the world.

Every one has heard of these things. But very few are aware of their peculiar force, how very satisfying they are to the careful inquirer. Their evidence is cumulative. A thousand minute points are established. The Scripture writers and old Herodotus throw out facts boldly and simply which they knew to be true, as is the wont of truth. A thousand suspicions and probabilities are raised against them, when suddenly an inscription is read, or a mound is uncovered, and the old truth is put in a clear and certain light. It is *established*.

It is the object of this Article to gather up the evidence that has been thus recently furnished to the truth of ancient, and especially Scripture history, that our readers, very many of whom will not find time to travel through the works on the subject, may see something of the facts in the case. It is a severe task to accomplish, for beside the labor of reading so much recondite matter, the mind, if passive, will gather up very much error, the speculations of the discoverers and authors mingled with the truths they have evolved.

The Rev. George Rawlinson is a brother of Sir Henry Rawlinson the discoverer, an Oxford man. He has gathered up carefully every thing yet known of these discoveries, and ingrafted them upon two works—a new translation of Herodotus, and certain Bampton lectures. He has been assisted by Col. Rawlinson and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, the Egyptian explorer. These books, therefore, are authentic and *thesauri* of the matters in question.

The first thing that meets us prominently, is the clashing authorities of Ctesias and Herodotus. Let us state that question so that our readers may precisely understand it, and let us go to the foundation that there may be no confusion from any forgotten or unknown region in their minds.

Ctesias was a Greek physician and historian, contemporary

of Xenophon, born at Cnidus, in Caria. Strabo says that he lived for seventeen years in Persia, at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as physician to the king.* Diodorus says that he derived his information as to those events of which he was not an eye-witness, from the Persian archives. He wrote in the Ionic dialect in twenty-three books. The work was called *Persia*, and contained what he called the history of Persia down to his own time. All that is now extant is a meagre abridgment in Photius, and a number of fragments which are preserved in Diodorus, Athenæus, Plutarch, and others. Ctesias wrote also a book called *Indica*, and three or four others.

Every body knows something of Herodotus. His history is the most readable of any such works, perhaps, ever translated. The object of the book is the Persian war of invasion. In writing this, however, he, fortunately for us, discusses almost every thing. He begins with the mythical ages, gives a full history of Lydia and Cræsus, the rise of the Persian monarchy, the subjugation of Asia Minor and Babylon, the Egyptians, the Scythians, Cyrene and Lybia, and then the Greek States, the Ionians and Dorians. We come at last to the glorious fight for freedom and the deliverance of Greece. He breaks off somewhat abruptly. All this is extant in good Ionic Greek in nine books, called after the Muses, and may be as easily read as Motley's History of the Dutch Republic. As to the time of Herodotus, he tells us that he conversed with a man who fought at the battle of Plataea. "What follows was recounted to me by Thersander, a native of Orchomenus, a man of the first rank in that city. Thersander told me, that he was himself among those invited to the feast, (which preceded "old Plataea's day,) &c."† He was, therefore, a little nearer to the Persian fight, than Bancroft is to the Revolutionary war.

Now Ctesias and Herodotus differ materially, and historians have vainly labored to reconcile them. Christian writers, too, have labored to bring Ctesias into harmony with Scripture, not very successfully. But now the excavations and inscriptions every where go against Ctesias, and sustain Herodotus and

* See Anthon's Greek Lit. Smith's Dict. Biog.

† Book IX., 16.

Scripture. Falsehood had here a long run, some 2200 years, but it is earthed at last. "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Herodotus was doubted a thousand times, but he comes out like silver seven times tried. As an English writer said, "The bones of the old Greek must have moved with delight in his grave."

There is no such contradiction by the Scripture writers of each other, nor of Herodotus. The discoveries, as far as they go, confirm them all. The reason is that the Bible and Herodotus are true. There is, indeed, a distinction to be taken between different parts of Herodotus. He relates marvels at times, which are manifestly impossible, and at times states matters on the faith of others. But in both these cases he distinguishes. He gives his authority, so that we know on what ground the statement is made. Where he relates anything as within his own knowledge, or as based on proper evidence, he is one of the most truthful of men.

The principal purpose of our Article, as we said, is to bring out in some consecutive form the evidence that has been furnished for the truth of ancient history and the Scripture records. We shall not confine ourselves strictly to this, but we state it as our normal idea. We may mention here that the authority of Berossus is much strengthened by the recent discoveries. He was a priest of the temple of Belus, 276 B. C., and wrote a history of Chaldea. Fragments only remain, which are quoted by various ancient writers. As this is a matter of importance, we quote from Sir Henry Rawlinson, certainly a very competent witness: "Each succeeding discovery has tended to authenticate the chronology of Berossus, and to throw discredit upon the tales of Ctesias and his followers. The chronology which we obtain from the cuneiform inscriptions for this early empire, (Babylonia,) harmonizes perfectly with the numbers given in the scheme of Berossus." Berossus gives for the beginning of the Chaldean or Babylonian Empire 2234 B. C., and for the Median, preceding it, 2458 B. C.

Manetho, too, the Egyptian historian, turns out to be very trustworthy. When his chronology comes to be examined, we find, first, a statement, on the authority of Syncellus, that the 5000 years of Manetho's dynastic lists were reduced by him-

self to 3555 years; no doubt because he was aware that his lists contained contemporary dynasties in some cases; in others, contemporary kings in the same dynasty. The difference between his scheme and that of Scripture being about 2000 years, this would reduce it to only a discrepancy of a few hundred years. If the authority of Syncellus be not admitted, still the fact is, that the dynasties of Manetho were sometimes contemporaneous, *as is proved by the Egyptian monuments*. The latest conclusions of Sir Gardner Wilkinson make the date of Menes, the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy 2690 B.C.* The Hebrew date of the deluge is about 350 years later than this, and the Septuagint about 600 years earlier. So that the chronological difficulties are not sustained, when carefully examined. The whole Egyptian scheme, as made out from Manetho and the monuments, depends entirely upon the arrangement of the dynasties of kings as consecutive or contemporaneous, and this is so uncertain that it cannot be depended upon.

We shall not enter here upon the explanation of the discovery of the method of reading the arrow-headed characters, nor upon the proof that they have been read correctly. It is quite settled among all men pretending to oriental learning, that the general results are trustworthy. There are slight differences in the methods of the different investigations, but they are not sufficient to affect at all the general conclusions.

The great inscription at Behistun occupies twenty-three octavo pages. "Behistun is situated on the western frontier of the ancient Media, upon the road from Babylon to the southern Ecbatana, the great thoroughfare between the eastern and the western provinces of the ancient Persia. The precipitous rock, 1700 feet high, on which the writing is inscribed, forms a portion of the great plain of Zagros, which separates the high plateau of Iran from the vast plain watered by the two streams of the Tigris and Euphrates. The inscription is engraved at the height of 300 feet from the base of the rock, and can only be reached with much exertion and difficulty. It is trilingual: one transcript is in the ancient Persian,

* Mr. Stuart Poole, *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, and Rask, *Egyptian Chronology*, hold similar views.

one in Babylonian, the third in a Scythic or Tatar dialect. Col. Rawlinson gathers from the monument itself that it was executed in the fifth year of the reign of Darius, B. C. 516. The subjoined is the Persian transcript, as deciphered by Col. R., Roman letters being substituted for the original cuneiform. Col. R.'s translation is also given. The numbers are added for convenience of reference."

We copy two paragraphs as a specimen of the inscription:—

"COLUMN 1.

"Par. 1. (1) Adam Dárayavush, (2) Khsháyathiya vasarka, (3) Khsháyathiya khsháyathiyanám, (4) Khsháyathiya Pársiya, (5) Khsháyathiya dahyaunám, (6) Vishtáspahyá putra, (7) Arshámahya napá, (8) Hakhámanishiya.

(1) I (am) Darius, (2) the great king, (3) the king of kings, (4) the king of Persia, (5) the king of the (dependent) provinces, (6) the son of Hystaspes, (7) the grandson of Arsames, (8) the Achæmenian.

"Par. 14. (We omit the arrow-heads.) "Says Darius the king: There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would dispossess that Gomates the Magian of the crown. The State feared him exceedingly. He slew many people, who had known the old Bardes; for that reason he slew them, 'lest they should recognise me, that I am not Bardes, [called in Greek history Smerdis,] the son of Cyrus.' No one dared to say any thing concerning Gomates the Magian, until I arrived. Then I prayed to Ormazd; Ormazd brought help to me. On the tenth day of the month Bagayadish, then it was, with my faithful men, I slew that Gomates the Magian, and those who were his chief followers. The fort named Sictachotes, in the district of Media, called Nisæa, there I slew him. I dispossessed him of the empire. By the grace of Ormazd, I became king; Ormazd granted me the sceptre."

How this inscription, agreeing with other evidence, confirms Herodotus, may be seen by the following: "The length of the reign of Cambyses is confirmed by the Canon of Ptolemy; the fact that Darius became king in his father's lifetime (iii. 72) by the Behistun inscription; the revolt of the Medes from Darius (i. 130) by the same document; the conquest of India in the reign of Darius, by a comparison of the list of provinces,

in the inscriptions of Behistun and Persepolis; the Scythian expedition by the tomb-inscription Nakhsh-i-Rustam; the length of Darius' reign by the Canon and by Manetho. The *order* of the chief events in the reign of Darius is confirmed by a comparison of the three inscriptions above mentioned, of which the Behistun is clearly the earliest, and the tomb-inscription the latest."

The inscriptions confirm the descent of the Greeks from Javan. (Heb. Yavan.) Gen. x. 2. They are first mentioned in the inscriptions by Sargon. He received tribute in Babylon from the Greek colonists of Cyprus about B.C. 709—a date which well corresponds with other ascertained facts, and speaks of them as "the seven kings of the *Yahu* tribes of the country *Yavnan*, (or Yúnan,) who dwelt in an island in the midst of the Northern Sea, at the distance of seven days from the coast, and the name of whose country had never been heard by my ancestors, the kings of Assyria and Chaldæa, from the remotest times." In the Behistun inscription Greece is called *Yuna*.

"The name of the principal Persian tribe was Pasargadæ, and this was also the name of the ancient capital. Stephen of Byzantium translates the name 'the encampment of the Persians.' According to Anaximenes, Cyrus founded Pasargadæ. There seems to be no doubt that it was the Persian capital of both Cyrus and Cambyzes, Persepolis being founded by Darius. Cyrus was buried there, as we learn from the doubtful authority of Ctesias. It was afterwards the place where the kings were inaugurated.

"It seems tolerably certain that the modern Murgaub is the site of Pasargadæ. It is the only place in Persia at which inscriptions of the age of Cyrus have been discovered. Aristobulus, one of the companions of Alexander, reported by Arrian, and by Strabo, declared that the tomb of Cyrus existed at Pasargadæ. There is much reason to believe that this tomb still exists at Murgaub. On a square base, composed of immense blocks of beautiful white marble, rising in steps, stands a structure so closely resembling the description of Arrian, that it seems scarcely possible to doubt that it is the tomb, which, in Alexander's time, contained the body of Cyrus. It is a quadrangular house, or rather chamber, built of large blocks

of marble, five feet thick, which are shaped at the top into a sloping roof. Internally, the chamber is 10 feet long, 7 wide, and 8 high. There are holes in the marble floor that seem to have admitted the fastenings of a sarcophagus. The tomb stands in an area marked out by pillars, whereon occurs repeatedly the inscription, (written both in Persian and in the so-called Median,) "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmænian." "Adam Kurush, Khshâyathiya, Hakhâmanishiya."

Herodotus says that the Persians counted it the most disgraceful thing in the world to tell a lie; the next worse, to owe a debt, because, among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies. The inscriptions of Darius are remarkable on this point. In the Behistun inscription, he mentions it as the great calamity of the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, that "then the lie became abounding in the land." Darius is favored by Ormazd, "because he was not a heretic, nor a liar, nor a tyrant." His successors are exhorted to cast into utter perdition "the man who may be a liar." His great fear is lest it may be thought that any part of the record which he has set up has been "falsely related," and he even abstains from narrating certain events of his reign, "lest to him who may hereafter peruse the tablet, the many deeds that have been done by him may seem to be falsely recorded."

; The speculations both of Col. Rawlinson and his brother, on philology and ethnology, are not always entirely reliable, and are at times somewhat confused. It is not very surprising that they should not be entirely clear, as parts of this subject are but advancing confusedly out of the mist of ages, and their forms can hardly yet be distinctly seen. There are, however, very valuable suggestions, and most of them in the direction of the truth.

Light is thrown upon the connexion between the races of Ham in Africa and Asia; a point which has been too much neglected, and which there has seemed to be a tendency to deny. The truth about the Hamitic races is, that they were originally highly enlightened, and, indeed, among the most learned of men. But the tendency to degenerate, which exists, more or less, in all fallen human nature, seems to have been a special characteristic of the Hamitic race. They showed

a settled disinclination to accept the true religion, which is the only certain preserver of men.

The history of mankind lies mainly in the predictions of Noah in regard to his three children, and upon these the discoveries throw much light. Why the children of Japheth show in general, a constant tendency to improvement; those of Shem to remain stationary in character, and even to pass away rather than change, and why the children of Ham degenerate, are questions which we do not attempt to answer. Comparative philology points more and more to three great families of languages, and these tend constantly more and more to identify themselves scientifically with the sons of Noah. We must suppose an original difference in the sons of Noah, illustrated by the history in Genesis, and ever tending to develop itself in their posterity.

The world was, after the deluge, "of one language, and of one speech," which was "confounded" at Babel. There are traditions of this in Abydenus, quoted by Eusebius, in Plato, and in "The Sibyl," according to Josephus. The speculations on this event are not very pellucid. We could give our readers the opinions that have been maintained, but they would not prove quite satisfactory. The confusion resulted in this, that they did not "understand one another's speech," (Gen. xi. 7,) and the language "of the whole earth" was there confounded, and the Lord scattered the people abroad "upon the face of all the earth." This appears to have taken place in the days of Peleg, who was the fifth from Shem. Peleg was born in the year 101 after the flood,* and lived 239 years. If "in his days" indicates that Peleg was known at the time as a man of distinction, then the event may be placed, say at the close of the third century after the flood. Whatever the confusion means precisely, we do not suppose that it need be taken to imply a destruction of the special characteristics of the descendants of Noah through his three sons. They were thrown off, perhaps, from the original language, or, at least, all but one branch was so thrown off, and the others created other tongues, but in creating them, no doubt, followed their peculiar idiosyncrasies.

* Kurtz' Old Covenant.

If the original language was Hebrew, then this may have continued in the line of Shem, branching out, as we know Shemitism did, into the other languages of that stock, and Japheth and Ham may have been then thrown on their own resources, with such assistance as Providence saw fit to afford, to form their own language.

It is curious that Ham seems to have developed earliest, and apparently with most brilliancy. He burst forth in tropical splendor to decay as signally. Like the prodigal son, he went forth sumptuously, but soon to exhaust himself. Egypt, and Babylonia—Thebes, and Babylon,—the early and splendid kingdoms of the human race were Hamitic. Rawlinson argues the question with considerable earnestness, whether the Phœnicians were not Shemitic instead of Hamitic. Herodotus, Strabo, Trogus Pompeius, and others state that the Phœnicians emigrated, at a very early time, from the Persian Gulf or Indian Ocean, and settled on the shores of the Mediterranean. "This nation," says Herodotus, "according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythræan Sea, but crossing thence, they fixed themselves upon the sea-coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria, and all the region extending hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine."* Mr. Rawlinson labors to show that this was a comparatively modern emigration, which superinduced a Shemitish people upon the original Hamitic one. He gives the arguments fairly on both sides. His principal grounds for their Shemitic origin are, that they seem to have had a Shemitic, and not a Hamitic character, and that there were other Shemitic movements from that quarter. These arguments are not of much weight against what we know of other Hamitic nations in early times. No doubt they were the latest, and, in some respects, the most brilliant of these descendants of Ham. Mr. R. does not set aside the positive arguments against him, which are such as these: Sidon is the first born of Canaan; "the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon," and Aradus, Arca, and Simyra seem to be represented by "the Arvadite, the Arkite, and the Zemarite." Gen. x. 15-19. Then in Joshua we have "Great

Zidon," and in Judges x. 12: "The Zidonians did oppress you," and, in the same book, the children of Dan, when there was no king in Israel, destroyed Laish which had no deliverer, "because it was far from Zidon." So it goes on, and presently Hiram, king of Tyre, is an intimate friend of Solomon, and highly civilized, and after a while their merchants are princes. Where now did the Semite invasion come in? We can conceive of the Canaanites coming by way of the Persian Gulf to Palestine, for they did not originate on the Mediterranean; they must have come from somewhere; but that the Phœnicians were any thing else than Canaanites is not easy of belief. The Hellenistic Jews again, use the terms Canaan, Phœnicia, and so of the people, indifferently.* Sanchoniathan identifies Canaan (*Χνᾶ*) and Phoenix, the mythic *eponymus* of Phœnicia, and Eupolemus (ap. Euseb.) makes Canaan the father of the Phœnicians. Augustine says that the rustics, in his part of Africa, "being asked what they are, answer *Punicé, Chanani*," and there is a coin of Laodicea upon which the legend has been read and explained by Gesenius, "*Laodiceæ matris in Canaan.*" That Phœnicia and Carthage had not a Hamitic character, is not so clear. Jézebel was sufficiently Hamitic, and their religion had in it many cruel and licentious elements. Moreover, both in Phœnicia and Carthage, the characteristic Hamitic gods were worshipped.

Per contra, however, Dr. Thomson informs us that a sarcophagus was discovered at Sidon, about four years ago, containing an inscription in twenty-two lines, which is *unique* in Phœnician remains. It is an inscription of "Ashmunazer, king of the Sidonians, son of Tabnith." It was carried to France. "Many of the letters," he says, "so closely resemble those of our own alphabet, that one can scarcely be mistaken in tracing ours up through the Romaic and Greek to that of Phœnicia. It further appears that the language of the two peoples, as well as their alphabet, were identical. And this, too, accords with our most ancient history. In all the incidental notices of

* The Septuagint in several places. Compare Matth. xv. 22 with Mark vii. 26, where the woman "out of the coasts of Canaan, is a Greek—a Syro-Phœnician by nation."

intercourse between the patriarchs and their descendants, and the inhabitants of Palestine, this fact is assumed or necessarily implied. It is, perhaps, not necessary to suppose that either borrowed from the other, but that both inherited from their common ancestor."* This seems to go to establish the Semitic character of the Phœnicians. But the reader will perceive how loose it is. We are not told any thing of the structure of the language, and are informed that all the inhabitants of Palestine learned a common language from their common ancestor. But the Hebrews and Canaanites had no common ancestor except Noah. For it is just as certain that they could talk familiarly with the children of Heth, the son of Canaan, and the Philistines, children of Mizraim, the son of Ham, as with the Phœnicians. Suppose a Philistine or Hittite monument were discovered, what language would it be, and what alphabet? Would it not be one that *seems* would read as resembling Hebrew? Augustine, himself a native Carthaginian, said that "the Hebrew and Carthaginian languages differ but little. The Hebrew, Carthaginian, and Phœnician languages are of one origin and character." So Hieronymus: "The Carthaginian language is, to a great extent, allied with the Hebrew; and is said, indeed, to flow forth from the fountain of the Hebrew." Gesenius adds that "this is to be thoroughly maintained, that the Phœnician language, in the main, and, indeed, as to almost every thing, agrees with the Hebrew, whether you consider their roots or the mode of forming and inflecting their words." *Gesenii Monumenta*. § 3.†

The truth is stronger than theories. There seems an intermixture of Hamitic and Semitic elements in the character, language, and history of the Phœnicians. This intermixture, probably, took place in different times and ways. More susceptible and valuable than the Philistines and children of Heth, they embraced the civilization of the Hebrews, intermingling it with the old Sidonian elements noted in Homer. Seated on the sea, and with a maritime disposition, they learned from various quarters; and there is, therefore, every thing in favor of the tradition that Cadmus brought letters from Phœ-

* Land and the Book i. 202

† Quoted in Dwight's Mod. Phil.

nicia into Greece. We must remember that the first ascertained date in Greece is 776 B.C. The date of the Exodus is fixed by Usher at 1491 B.C. and by the Septuagint 1614 B.C. Here are about 800 years within which the mythical Cadmus may have gone to Bœotia. Solomon's temple was built about 1000 B.C.; and, at that time, Judæa and Phœnicia were almost as closely connected as England and America. Of course, accuracy is impossible in the date of a myth, but there is room for Cadmus to have become imbued with Hebrew ideas, received Phœnician-wise at any time between, say 1000 and 1400 B.C. The earliest date that Liddell and Scott venture to put down for any Greek author is 700 B.C. If we conjecture the age of Homer as contemporary with Solomon, still there are several hundred years within which Cadmus may have gone to Greece after Joshua brought the Jews, enriched with the learning of Egypt, into Palestine. Niebuhr, Thirlwall, Kenrick, and Bähr all declare in favor of the tradition. Grote, of course, is non-committal. Rawlinson's arguments are as follows:— 1. The unanimous tradition. 2. The fact that there was a race called Cadmeians at Thebes, from very early times, claiming a Phœnician descent. Mr. R. thinks Cadmus means קדם "the East." 3. The fact that the early worship at Thebes was that of Phœnician deities. 4. The occurrence of a number of Semitic words in the provincial dialect of Bœotia. Herod. ii. 17.

The student, who is looking for clear ideas in comparative philology, will find himself greatly perplexed by a mass of nations whom the philologists call *Turanian*. He will find descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japheth—and "*Turanian*." Who are they? At p. 342, Vol. I., Mr. Rawlinson says, "Ham, the great progenitor of the Turanians or Allophylans." This seems clear enough. But on p. 526, we read, that in the earliest times "there seems to have been spread over Western Asia a *Scythic or Turanian* population." Max Müller says, "The third family is the Turanian. It comprises all languages not included under the Arian or Semitic families, with the exception, perhaps, of the Chinese and its dialects. This is, indeed, a very wide range; and the characteristic marks of union ascertained for this immense variety of languages are as yet very vague and general, if compared with the definite ties of rela-

tionship which severally unite the Semitic and the Arian." Again, Rawlinson says: "The original occupation of Turanian races is generally admitted; the peopling of Europe in primeval times by tribes having a similar form of speech, which yielded every where to the Indo-European races, and were either absorbed or driven into holes or corners, is apparent from the position of the Lapps, Finns, Esths, and Basques, whose dialects are of the Turanian type. The early Babylonian language, in its affinity with the Susianian, the second column of the cuneiform trilingual inscriptions, the Armenian cuneiform, and the Mantchoo Tâtar, on the one hand, with the Galla, the Greek, and the ancient Egyptian on the other, may be cited as a proof of the original unity between the languages of Africa and Asia; a unity sufficiently shadowed out in Gen. x. 6-20, and confirmed by the manifold traditions concerning the two Ethiopias, the Cushites above Egypt, and the Cushites of the Persian Gulf." Mr. Rawlinson's theory seems to be that Hamitism was the first developed speech, and that the others grew out of it. He adds: "Hamitism, then, although no doubt the form of speech out of which Semitism was developed, is itself rather Turanian than Semitic, *and the triple division corresponding to the sons of Noah, which the earlier ethnologists adopted, may still be retained*, the Turanian being classed with the Hamitic, of which it is an earlier stage."*

How extensively these Turanians were spread abroad appears from the following: "The primitive form of the tongue, crystallizing among the less civilized hordes, has remained from the early times of which we are speaking, to the present day, the language of four-fifths of Asia, and of many of the remote parts of Europe. It is spoken by the Finns and Lapps, the Turks and Hungarians, the Ostiaks and Samoides, the Tartars and Thibetians, the Mongols, Uzbeks, Turcomen, Mantchous, Kirghis, Nogais, &c.; by all the various races which wander over the vast steppes of Northern Asia and Eastern Europe; by the hill-tribes of India, and by many nations of the Eastern Archipelago."† The reader will find occasion for receiving this with many grains of allowance, and for perceiving

* Herod. i. 525.

† Ib. i. 526.

that comparative philology has some too hasty generalizers. It is said that "Rask, Castren, and Gabelentz, the great investigators of the Turanian languages, all unite in testifying that they are bound together by ties of far less strength than the Indo-European, while they also maintain with equal firmness that they all belong fundamentally to one race."* Castren was a very interesting man, who devoted himself to the literature of Finland. He made long journeys through the north of Europe and Asia. He was made first professor of Finnish at the University of Helsingfors.* Gabelentz was a German of Altenburg. He has written a Mantchou grammar and other philological works.† Rask has had the honor of high praise from Bopp.

On the question of the Hamitic or Japhethian origin of the Tartars we submit the following: The reader will hardly believe us, after examining Mr. Rawlinson almost *passim*, and finding that he is in the habit of saying "Scythic or Turanian," when we remark that he has an elaborate essay to prove that the Scyths of Herodotus were Indo-European. And that there are serious grounds for this, the reader will hardly hesitate in believing, when we state that Jacob Grimm has shown by an elaborate examination of ancient Scythic words that there are the strongest grounds for relying upon it. Donaldson has adopted this view. Rawlinson gives the words, which make out a strong case. He then proceeds to deny that the Scyths were Tartars, and professes his inability to say what tribe they were, or whether they had any connexions or descendants. But Eichhoff says, in his general division of the Persian languages: "Um sie her leben, mehr oder minder entfernt, verschiedne rohe Sprachen, das Afghanische im Reiche Kabul, das Balutschi an den Grenzen Indiens, das Kurdische bei den Gebirgsbewohnern Persiens und das bei einem Stamme des Kaukasus erhaltene Ossetische, ein altes Ueberbleibsel aus der Zeit der grossen Wanderung der indischen Völker nach Europa."‡ Ritter has some very interesting information on this point. He says there are six tribes or divisions of "Indo-Germanischen blauäugigen Volkern," whose country is East-

* Dwight's Mod. Phil., 17.

† See Enc. Amer. in Voc.

‡ Vergleichung der Sprachen von Europa und Indien, p. 23.

Turkistan, and they appear, according to this most distinguished of geographers, to have ranged from the frontiers of Persia to China; one tribe of them, according to a Chinese fragment which comes through a Romish missionary, having entered into close relations with the *Chinese government* about the time of the Advent. This curious document is given by Ritter at length.*

The following interesting remarks, relate to the general subject which we are considering: "There was not, perhaps, in the very earliest ages that essential linguistic difference between Hamitic and Semitic nations which would enable an inquirer at the present day, from a mere examination of their monumental records, to determine positively to which family certain races respectively belonged. We must be cautious, therefore, in drawing direct ethnological inferences from the linguistic indications of a very early age. It will be far safer, at any rate, in these early times to follow the general scheme of ethnic affiliation, which is given in the tenth chapter of Genesis. One of the most remarkable results arising from an analysis of the Hamitic cuneiform alphabet, is the evidence of an Arian element in the vocabulary of the very earliest period, thus showing either that in that remote age there must have been an Arian race dwelling on the Euphrates among the Hamitic tribes, or that, (as I myself think more probable,) the distinction between Arian, Semitic, and Turanian tongues had not been developed when picture-writing was first used in Chaldæa, but that the words then in use passed indifferently at a subsequent period, and under certain modifications, into the three great families among which the languages of the world are divided." We may remark here, that it is the opinion of some sensible men that the confusion of tongues was partial, for a specific purpose, and confined, perhaps, to one race. A suggestion of Mr. Rawlinson is, derived from a close study of the whole subject, that "perhaps if the Hamitic languages really came from Ethiopia, they bifurcated at the mouth of the Euphrates; the Western branch as it passed through Babylonia merging into Semitism, while the Eastern branch spread into

* Erdkunde, Berlin. Vol. VIII., pp. 604, sq.

Central Asia through Susiana, and became developed into the various dialects of the Turanian family."

In regard to the Chaldeans, so often mentioned in Scripture, the name *Kaldai* is first met with in the Assyrian inscriptions, which date from the early part of the ninth century, B. C.

Herodotus mentions that Sennacherib was "king of the Arabians and Assyrians," and calls his army, in one place, simply "the host of the Arabians." It is striking, that there are at least *thirty* distinct tribes of this race named in the Assyrian inscriptions, among the dwellers upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; and under the later kings of Nineveh, they appear to have been scarcely inferior to the Chaldeans themselves in strength and numbers.*

Tiglath-Pileser II., is mentioned five times in the Bible. On the *Kileh-Shergat* cylinder are the names of five kings, the earliest document of a purely historical character which has as yet been recovered by the researches in Mesopotamia. Tiglath-Pileser I., is the fifth in the series. He gives his genealogy and records the annals of five years of his reign. By a rock inscription, set up by Sennacherib at Bavian, the date of this monarch is settled at about B. C. 1123. The lists go on, with some interruptions, until they reach Tiglath-Pileser II., who records that he defeated Rezin, King of Damascus, and received tribute from the King of Samaria, whom he calls Menahem.

Our readers will recollect Benhadad, killed by Hazael. His name was recognised on the inscriptions independently, both by Dr. Hincks and Col. Rawlinson. The Septuagint has the name *Βεν-Ἡδὰδ*, for Ben-Hadad, (compare Hadadezer or Hadarezer, *d* and *r* being frequently confounded.) The name in the inscription, as read by Dr. Hincks, is *Ben-idri*. The same inscription contains an account of the confederacy of the *Khatti* or Hittites. It will be remembered that the Hittites are the children of Heth. (□□)

The *black obelisk* is a most interesting monument. One of five epigraphs on it, records the tribute brought to Shalmanubar, who was cotemporary with Hazael, by *Yahua the son of*

* Herod. I., 356.

Khumri, i. e., Jehu, the son of Omri, consisting almost entirely of gold and silver, and articles manufactured from gold. Jehu, we know, was really the son of Jehoshaphat, and grandson of Nimshi. The Assyrians called Samaria, (see the Nimrod obelisk,) *Beth-Omri*. The title, then, son of Omri, may have meant, as claimed by Jehu, king of Samaria, the city which Omri built; or he may have been descended from Omri on the mother's side.

There is one place where the Scriptures and Herodotus do not agree. From the Scriptures we gather that the kingdom of Assyria was very flourishing in the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmunezer, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon. This contradicts Herodotus, *but exactly accords with the monuments*.

A seal impression of one of the Sabacos of Egypt, was found at Koyunjik, and had most probably been affixed to a treaty. *Sabaco* is called *So* in the Bible. (S') With points it would read *Seveh*, and Manetho, in fact, has *Sevechus*. Sargon states that he took Samaria in his first year, and carried into captivity 27,280 families.

The annals of Sennacherib hitherto discovered, only extend to his sixth year. Among other things, he states that on his way back from the conquest of Babylon, he ravaged the lands of the Aramæan tribes upon the Tigris and Euphrates, among whom are mentioned the *Nabatu*, (Nabateans,) and the *Hagaranu*, (Hagarenes.) He then proceeds to relate his expedition, which is briefly recorded in 2 Kings xvii., 13-16, which the reader will please examine and compare with the account which Sennacherib has inscribed in the strange characters which we now read. After recording his expedition into Syria, and his successful attack upon Ascalon and Joppa, &c., he goes on to state that he took Lachish and Libnah, and afterwards proceeded against Hezekiah. He invaded Judea, where he took forty-six fenced cities, and carried off as captives 200,000 people. After this he laid siege to Jerusalem, which he endeavored to capture by means of mounds. Hereupon Hezekiah submitted, consenting to pay a tribute of three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. The second expedition is not recorded in his annals. But there is a very curious story

in the text of Herodotus,* which he says he heard in Egypt. He states: "When Sennacherib, King of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors (of the King of Egypt,) one and all refused to come to his aid. On this the monarch, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and before the image of the god, bewailed the fate which impended over him. As he wept he fell asleep and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him be of good cheer and go boldly forth and meet the Arabian host, which would do him no hurt, as he himself would send those who should help him. Sethôs then, relying on his dream, collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artizans, and market people; and with these marched to Pelusium, which commands the entrance into Egypt, and there pitched his camp. As the two armies lay here, opposite one another, there came in the night a multitude of field-mice, which devoured all the quivers and bow-strings of the enemy, and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning they commenced their flight, and great multitudes fell, as they had no arms with which to defend themselves. There stands to this day, in the temple of Vulcan, a stone statue of Sethôs with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: 'Look on me, and learn to reverence the gods.'" Here is a trace of the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army. The people of Troas are said to have revered mice, because they gnawed the bow-strings of their enemies, and Apollo, who was called Smintheus, (from *σμήθος*, a mouse,) was represented on coins of Alexandria Troas with a mouse in his hand.†

Ashur appears as a god exclusively in the Assyrian Pantheon. His name is written in the inscriptions indifferently as A-shur and As-shur; and, on the bricks which are found in the ruins of *Kileh Shergat*, he is called Ashit. His name occurs as part of the name of several of the kings; as Ashshur-dani-pal or Sardanapalus, &c. There seems no reason to doubt that this is the Ashur of Gen. x. 11, the son of Shem.

The only title of Egypt on the monuments is *Chemî*, the land of Ham. (See Psal. lxxviii. 51, &c.)

* II., 141.

† Muller Anc. Art. s. 361. 5.

Herodotus, in relating the story of the founding of the oracles of Ammon and Dodôna, says that he was told that two of the sacred women were once carried off from Thebes by the Phœnicians, and that one was sold into Libya, and the other into Greece; and so they founded the oracles. We mention this that the reader may compare Joel x. 3-6, where the *Tyrians* are said to have sold Jewish children to the *Greeks*. (Beni-Ionim.)

Here is a curious and interesting coincidence. Herodotus says (ii. 158) that an Egyptian king, called Necôs, was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea; "a work," he adds, "*completed afterwards by Darius the Persian.*" Now there is an inscription of Darius in the Persian cuneiform character, engraved upon the Suez stone, near the mouth of the ancient canal. It reads: "Daryavush naqa wazarka," "Darius the great king."*

Herodotus says that the Egyptian king, Necôs, "made war by land upon the Syrians, and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolus, after which he made himself master of Cadytis, a large city of Syria." Magdolus seems to be Megiddo. Cadytis may be the Greek form of Jerusalem, Kadesh, or Kadusha, *the holy*, as the Arabs now say El-kuds, though most of the later critics make it Gaza. The Bible states, 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 34, that Pharaoh-Nechoh slew Josiah at Megiddo as he was going up against the king of Assyria; on his return, he carried Jehoahaz with him, and did other acts which imply the possession of Jerusalem.

That the Egyptians had a week of seven days is probable. Dion Cassius states that the seven days were first referred to the seven planets by the Egyptians. The feast of Apis was seven days in length. Lucian says the head took seven days to float from Byblus to Egypt. *The seven days' mourning* for the dead was 10×7 , and the time of mortification imposed on the priests was from seven to forty-two days. In regard to the question of the great age of Egypt, we may add, that not only does Manetho say that there were cotemporary kings of Egypt, but the monuments decide this point by the mention of

* Behistun Memoir, Vol. I., p. 313.

the years of one king's reign corresponding with those of another; by the representation of one king meeting another, generally as his superior, as well as by various statements in papyri and other documents. The conclusion of Rawlinson is the only one warranted by the facts, that the Egyptian chronology is altogether uncertain.

It is very striking, too,—as altogether destructive of the modern idea that nations worked up from the savage state—that *very early art* in Egypt shows high civilization. “It is certain, that, in the 4th dynasty, *about two centuries after Menes*, the blocks in the pyramids, (of Geezeh,) many of which were brought from the cataracts of the Syene, were put together with a precision unsurpassed by any masonry of ancient or modern times. In the tombs of the pyramid-period are represented the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on papyrus, the same boats, the same music and drawing, the same *glass-blowers* and cabinet-makers, and the painted sculptures are both in relief and intaglio. The figures on the early monuments are even better than those in the 18th and 19th dynasties, considered the best period. “Thus no signs are found, on the earliest monuments, of a progress from infancy to the more advanced stages of art.”

The first Pharaoh of the 22d dynasty was Sheshonk I., the cotemporary of Solomon, called Shishak in the Bible. In 1 Chron. xii. 3, 4, is recorded his invasion of Palestine. The record of this campaign still remains on the outside of the great temple of Karnak. Among the long list of captured districts and towns put up by Sheshonk to commemorate his success, is to be found, as first read by Champollion, *Yuda Melchi*, “the kingdom of Judah.”

In the time of Darius Hystaspes in the cuneiform inscriptions, the term *Gimiri* occurs as the Semitic equivalent of the Arian name *Σάρα*, which seems to be the name for the Scyths, and is, perhaps, identical with Gomer or the Cimmerians, Cymbri or Celts.

A very curious confirmation of Herodotus is thus noted: In Book V., sec. 16, “The manner of living,” he says, “of the dwellers on Lake Prasius is the following:—Platforms, supported upon tall piles, stand in the middle of the lake,

which are approached from the land by a high narrow bridge. Each has his own hut, wherein he dwells, upon one of the platforms, and each has also a trap-door giving access to the lake beneath." These were Pæonians. Recently, in the lakes of Central Europe, particularly those of Switzerland, discoveries have been made of similar piles and quantities of pottery, bones, &c., beneath the places where the platforms were extended, and in one place remains of one of the bridges. These discoveries were announced in German and French publications in 1854-7.

"Susā was probably built originally by the Scythic people, whose language is found on all the most ancient of its remains; but it was, no doubt, beautified and enlarged when Darius transferred to it the seat of empire. The ruins seem, at present, to be confined within a circumference of seven miles. The magnificent palace which had so great a fame in antiquity, and of which the best account is to be found in the book of Esther, occupied the northern portion of the great mound; an irregular rectangle, two sides of which measure 1200 feet, while the remaining two fall somewhat short of 1000 feet. *It has been recently exhumed in a great measure by Sir W. Williams and Mr. Loftus*, and is found to have consisted of a great hall of stone pillars, of the same size, and on the same plan as that of Persepolis, and of a number of inferior buildings behind the hall, the material of which is brick. The pillars are arranged into a central group of 36, standing in six rows of six each, so as to form an exact square, 145 feet, nearly, each way; and into three outlying groups or porticoes, flanking the central group on three sides. It appears, by a trilingual inscription upon four of the pillars, that the palace was commenced by Darius and finished by Artaxerxes Mne-mon." Susā appears, in Æschylus and Herodotus, as in Scripture, to be the ordinary residence of the court.

Herodotus says that Sardinia is the biggest island in the world; meaning, of course, in the Mediterranean Sea. All commentators pronounced this to be mistaken, Sicily being larger. But Admiral Smyth, of the British Navy, has ascertained that Sardinia is really a little larger than Sicily.

In Gen. x., Meshech and Tubal are joined together as sons

of Japheth, and they are generally united in Scripture. The children of Meshech occur as *Muskai* in many of the Assyrian inscriptions. In the flourishing period of Assyria, they were the principal people of northern Syria, Taurus, and Cappadocia; and, in this last named place, their name long continued in the appellation of the city *Mazaca*, which was the capital of the province. The great Arian invasion, which introduced the Cappadocians into these parts about B. C. 700-650, seems to have driven them northward into the country immediately below the Caucasus, and perhaps across the Caucasus into the steppes. At any rate there is reason to believe that they ultimately found a refuge in the steppe country, where they became known as *Muskovs*, and gave their name to the old capital of Russia.

"The Tibareni always accompany the Moschi in Herodotus, [just as Meshech and Tubal are always united in Scripture,] and are fairly enough identified with the *Tuplari* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and the Tubal of Scripture. They are first found in Lower Cappadocia on the southern flanks of Taurus. They were gradually pushed back to the north. They received the Ten Thousand hospitably on their return from Cunaxa."*

The land of Shinar is represented in Scripture as the first residence of the human race after the flood. Col. Rawlinson remarks: "The more the cuneiform inscriptions are studied, the more it becomes evident that Babylon, or 'the land of Shinar,' was the real cradle of early civilization. It could only have been from this central position that the names of 'before' and 'behind,' or east and west, could have been applied to the respective countries of Susiana and Phœnicia. Such, however, are undoubtedly the signification of *Nuva* and *Martu* in Hamite-Scythic, and of *Elam* and *Akir* in Semitic."

The facts concerning the Greek triumphal tripod are these: Herodotus says, "When all the booty had been brought together, a tenth of the whole was set apart for the Delphian god; and hence was made the golden tripod, which stands on the bronze serpent with the three heads, quite close to the altar. Upon this tripod Pausanias placed the inscription, which was one of the first indications of his ambitious aims:

* Herod. iii. 184.

“Pausanias, Grecia’s chief, the Mede o’erthrow,
And gave Apollo that which here ye view.”

“See Thucyd. i. 132; Dem. adv. Neær, p. 1401. The Lacedæmonians caused this inscription to be erased, and substituted a list of the States which had taken part in the war. (Herod. viii., Thuc. l. s. c.) The golden portion of the tripod was plundered by the Phœnicians in the sacred war; (Pausan. xiii. § 5;) the bronze stand, which remained at Delphi to the time of Pausanias, was carried to Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine, and placed in the Hippodrome (*Atmeidon*) (Zosim. ii. 31 ed. Bekker; Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 54, p. 144; Scholiast. ad. Thuc. i. 132, &c.,) where it continues to the present day. When seen by Spon and Wheeler, in 1675, it is said to have been still perfect; and the representation which they give of it (Journey into Greece, p. 185) exhibits the three heads of the serpent; but it has suffered great damage since their time. The heads are gone, and all that remains is a certain proportion of the triple twist, as figured by Mr. Dawson Turner in 1852. The height of this fragment is 16 feet. One of the heads is preserved in the armory of the church of St. Irene in Constantinople. It has a crest along the top, which is *flattened* apparently in order to support more steadily the golden tripod of which Herodotus speaks.

“During the recent occupation of Constantinople by the Western Powers, not only were excavations made, and the serpent laid bare to its base, but by the application of chemical solvents, the inscription was almost entirely recovered. The form of the letters is irregular, and in some cases remarkable. The dialect may be regarded as Doric, though there are various forms which are peculiar.

“It was questioned at first, whether the existing serpent was the veritable stand of the original tripod, or whether it was not rather a Byzantine work which Constantine had caused to be made when he brought the tripod itself to Constantinople, and on which he had caused to be engraved a copy of the original inscription. The un-Grecian form of the serpent, the irregularity of the orthography, and the slowness (*Flüchtigkeit*,) of the writing, were urged in support of this view; but it will scarcely now approve itself to many scholars or archæologists.

Dr. Otto Frick, who originally suggested the doubts, has since retracted them, and pronounces himself convinced that the identity of the newly discovered memorial, with the Delphic offering, is established '*beyond all question.*' Since the chemical solvents have been applied so skilfully, the characters appear to have been well and deeply cut; the orthography has proved to be regular; and the form of the pedestal is recognised as stately and appropriate. Further, *the serpent exhibits traces of that erasure which Thucydides mentions in his first book,** a disfigurement which not even a Byzantine artist would have thought of imitating."

We are sorry that the statement of the "traces of erasure" is not given more clearly and fully, for this would be, indeed, demonstration.

"The list at present recovered consists of thirty names. These are the Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Eginetans, Megareans, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Plateans, Thespians, Misceneans, Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Eretrians, Chalcidians, Styreans, Eleans, Potidæans, Leucadians, Anactorians, Cythnians, Siphnians, Ambraciots, and Lepreats. A blank occurs in the first line, before the name of the Athenians, in which we may be sure that the Lacedæmonians commemorated their own patriotism. Three other blanks are thought to occur, which it is proposed to fill up with the names of the Paleans, the Mantineans, and the Seriphians. These additions are, however, purely conjectural; and in one case only does it appear to be certain that an omission occurs—where 'Mantineans' would come in. The intention evidently was to commemorate, not those Greeks only who fought at Plataea, but rather all who came into hostile collision with the Persians throughout the war. Herodotus mentions Greeks from thirty-six States, as having taken part at Thermopylae, Salamis, or Plataea. These thirty-six *include every name as yet found upon the monument*, while they only add to the catalogue six names not hitherto recovered. Of these, the Lacedæmonians

* Thuc. I., 122. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖτον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξέκο-
λαφαν εὐθὺς τότε τοῦ τριπόδος τοῦτο.

certainly, and the Mantineans probably, formed a part of the inscription."

Herodotus also states that "portions of the spoil, (after Plataea,) were set apart for the gods of Olympia, from which was made a bronze Jupiter, ten cubits high. On the base" of this statue were engraved the list of States which took part in the war. Pausanias saw this statue, with its inscription, still perfect, at the distance of nearly seven centuries. (Pausanias fl., 160 A. D.) It stood in the space between the great temple and the council house. This inscription agrees very closely with that on the tripod as now existing. "Pausanias omits a few names, which may either have been wanting from the first, or have been illegible when he visited Olympia, but he adds no name at all, and he only very slightly varies from the order of the Delphic monument. Out of his twenty-seven nations, five only are placed differently in his list from their position in the recovered inscription. The authenticity of his account is thus strongly confirmed. We gather from it that the inscription at Delphi was not an exact duplicate of that at Olympia. but that being composed about the same time, and under the influence of the same ideas, it contained nearly the same names, in nearly the same order."

Several persons can now read the arrow-headed inscriptions. The four following gentlemen have translated the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I., King of Assyria, B. C. 1151:—Sir Henry Rawlinson, Fox Talbot, Esq., Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert. It was published by the Royal Asiatic Society, in 1857.

Niebuhr is the most conspicuous and best known of the historians of the severely critical school. He is not always consistent, as where he gives up the Book of Esther as only poetical, and not historical; and yet he gives this noble testimony: "In my opinion," thus he wrote in 1818, "he is not a Protestant Christian who does not receive the facts of Christ's early life in their literal acceptation, with all their miracles, as equally authentic with any event recorded in history, and whose belief in them is not as firm and tranquil as his belief in the latter; who has not the most absolute faith in the articles of the Apostles' Creed, taken in their grammatical sense; who does not consider every doctrine and every precept in the

New Testament as undoubted divine revelation. Moreover, a Christianity after the fashion of the modern philosophers and pantheists, without a personal God, without immortality, without human individuality, without historical faith, is no Christianity at all to me, although it may be a very intellectual, very ingenious philosophy. I have often said that I do not know what to do with a metaphysical god, and that I will have none but the God of the Bible, who is heart to heart with us.”*

The sooner it is understood by all sound Christians the better, that the Chevalier Bunsen's principles and views unsettle all true faith in Scripture. His writings are exceedingly dangerous. He states, for example, that the “sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of Genesis are to be rejected as to their literal meaning; that the flood was only partial; that Ham is not a person, but the symbolical representation of Egypt; that Canaan is the son of Ham “must be interpreted geographically.” Nimrod was no more a Cushite by blood than Canaan was an Egyptian; he is called a Cushite because the people represented by him came from the part of Africa called Cush or Ethiopia, which they had held as conquerors, back into Asia, and there established an empire.” Again, Bunsen says: “The family tree of Abraham is an historical representation of the great and lengthened migrations of the primitive Asiatic race of man, from the mountains of Armenia and Chaldæa, through Mesopotamia, to the north-east frontier of Egypt, as far as Amalek and Edom. It represents the connexion between nations and their tribes, *not personal connexion between father and son*; and records, consequently, epochs, *not real human pedigrees*. The early Scriptures are devoid altogether of an historical chronology. When the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt is said to have been 430 years, the number must be regarded as ‘conventional and unhistorical.’ The Jewish tradition, in proportion as its antiquity is thrown back, bear on its face less of a chronological character,” so that “no light is to be gleaned from it” for present purposes. “Even in the comparatively recent times of David and Solomon, there is no coherent or reliable chronology; the round number forty

* Life and Letters of Niebuhr, II., 123.

being still met with, which is taken to be an indubitable sign of arbitrary and artificial arrangement."* We hope that this is enough of this skimble skamble stuff, and that the chevalier Bunsen will be put in his proper place among the semi-infidels.

What the end of it all is, Strauss has shown us: "Little by little, the New Testament was given up as a historical book, as well as the Old, till at last, the whole came to be resolved into pure myth and legend, and the historical Christ being annihilated, the world was told to console itself with a 'God-man, eternally incarnate, not an individual, but an idea;' which on examination turns out to be no God at all, but mere man—man perfected by nineteenth century enlightenment—dominant over nature by the railroad and the telegraph; and over himself by the regation of the merely natural and sensual life, and the substitution of the intellectual, or—in the nomenclature of the school—the spiritual."

We quote a passage from Strauss, that our readers may see all that he leaves of Christianity: "In an individual," says this teacher of wisdom, "the properties which the Church ascribes to Christ contradict themselves; in the *idea of the race* they perfectly agree. *Humankind* is the union of the two natures. God became man, the infinite manifesting itself in the finite, and the finite spirit remembering its infinitude; it is the child of the visible mother and the invisible Father, Nature and Spirit; it is the worker of miracles, in so far as in the course of human history the spirit more and more completely subjugates nature, both within and around men, until it lies before him in the inert matter on which he exercises his active power; it is the sinless existence, for the cause of its development is a blameless one; pollution cleaves to the individual only, and does not touch the race or its history. It is *Humankind* that dies, rises, and ascends to heaven; for from the negation of its phenomenal life there ever proceeds a higher spiritual life; from the suppression of its mortality as a personal, national, and terrestrial spirit, arises its union with the infinite spirit of the heavens. *By faith in this Christ*, especially in

* Bunsen's *Philosophy of Universal History, and Egypt*, quoted in Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*.

his death and resurrection, man is justified before God; that is, by the kindling within him of the idea of Humanity, the individual man partakes of the divinely human life of the species."* When such trash is preached to men as the gospel, is it any wonder that we have such an immigration from Germany as the Sunday theatre population of our cities?

In regard to the stress which infidels lay upon Egyptology, we copy the following remarks: "The only remains of ancient literature which are even supposed to reach as high as the age of Moses, are certain hieratic papyri found in Egypt, belonging to the nineteenth, or even to earlier dynasties. Two of these have been translated by the Vicomte de Rougé, and several others by the Rev. J. D. Heath.† But it is very doubtful whether these translations give much real insight into the originals. As Mr. Goodwin observes, (Cambridge Essays, 1858, p. 229,) 'Egyptian philology is yet in its infancy. Champollion got little further than the accident of the language; and since his time not much has been done in the investigation of the syntax. . . . With an incomplete knowledge of the syntax, and a slender vocabulary, translation becomes guesswork, and the misconception of a single word or phrase may completely confound the sense.' Hence Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Heath often differ as to the entire subject and bearing of a document."

Ur or Uur, the modern Mugheir, from whence Abraham came, has furnished some of the most ancient of the Babylonian inscriptions.‡ "It seems to have been the primeval capital of Chaldaea. The inscriptions, which are either on bricks or on clay cylinders, and which are somewhat rudely executed, have been assigned to about the 22nd century B. C., which is three centuries before Abraham."

"Attempts have been made to determine the questions whence and when the Hebrews obtained their alphabet. (See Hävernick *Einführung*, § 44.) It is considerably different from both that of Egypt and that of Babylon, while it is almost identical

* *Leben Jesu*, 437-8.

† *Revue Archeologique*, May 1852. *Revue Contemporaine*, 1856. *Erodus Papyri*, London, 1855. See Bampton Lectures.

‡ Herod. I., 435, and Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, Ch. xii., 130.

with that of Phœnicia;" whence it is affirmed by those who are always ready to decide against the Bible, that the Hebrews learned it from the Phœnicians. Now Eupolemus says, "that Moses was the first wise man, and that he first taught the Jews letters; *that the Phœnicians received them from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phœnicians*; and also that Moses was the first who wrote laws for the Jews." "Eupolemus is by some thought to have been a Jew; but the liberties which he takes with Scripture seem to mark him for a heathen. Josephus evidently considers him such, since he couples him with Demetrius Phalareus, and speaks of him as unable to follow exactly the sense of the Jewish Scriptures. (Contr. Apion, i., 23.) He lived in the latter half of the second century B. C., and wrote a work in Greek on the history of the Jews, which was largely quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, the contemporary of Sylla. (See Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*)"*

In regard to the great antiquity claimed for several nations, it is to be observed that when we examine the annals which seem at first blush to run back for hundreds of thousands of years, we find first a mythical element, or conjectural age of gods or heroes, or both; and that the real claim for their actual *historical* annals is usually comparatively moderate. It is so in Egypt, India, and Chaldæa; and as to China, Mr. Rawlinson remarks: "The Chinese, like the Hindoos, carry back the history of the world for several hundred thousand years. Their own history, however, as a nation, does not profess to commence till about B. C. 2600; and authentic accounts, according to the views of those who regard their early literature with most favor, go back only to the 22nd century B. C. (See Remusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I., 65.) 'The history of China runs back with certainty to the 22nd century before our era, and some *respectable traditions* permit us to carry back the point of departure four centuries earlier, to the year 2637 B. C.' (Compare Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*; Grosier's Discours Préliminaire, prefixed to his *Description de la Chine*, and Bunsen's Egypt.) I confess, however, that I put little faith in the conclusions of modern French antiquarians, and that I in-

cline to look with suspicion on all Chinese history earlier than the time of Confucius, B. C. 550—480, when it is admitted these contemporary records commence." (See Pritchard's *Physical History of Mankind*, and compare *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii., p. 370.")

The following will give an idea of the baseless fabric built by infidels upon the alleged antiquity of Egypt and Chaldæa, ascertained in Manetho and Berosus.

The following is Manetho's chronological scheme according to Eusebius:—

	YEARS.
Reign of Gods, ...	13,900
“ Heroes, ...	1,255
“ Kings, ...	1,817
“ 30 Memphite Kings, ...	1,790
“ 10 Thinite Kings, ...	350
“ Manes and Heroes, ...	5,813
Thirty dynasties of kings, about	5,000
Age of the world, ...	29,925

The following was the scheme of Berosus, if we may trust Eusebius:—

	YEARS.
1. Ten kings from Alorus to Xisuthrus reigned,	432,000
2. Eighty-six kings from Xisuthrus to the Median Conquest, reigned, ...	33,080
3. Eight Median kings, ...	224
4. Eleven kings, (in the margin and doubtful,)	48
5. Thirty-nine Chaldæan kings, ...	458
6. Nine Arabian kings, ...	245
7. Forty-five kings down to Pul, ...	526
	466,581

By such moonshine it is attempted to overthrow the Bible! It is obvious that the large numbers are mere myths, and that the historians give only the smaller numbers, or later numbers, as ordinary history. Bunsen, who seemed to be badly off for weapons of attack against Christianity, accuses Eusebius of having changed the order of Manetho's numbers, and by an attempted transposition he adds to the human or post-mythical period, a space of nearly 4,000 years. Thus:—

	YEARS.
1. Reign of Gods, ...	13,900
2. " Heroes, ...	1,255
3. " Heroes and Manes together, ...	5,813
	20,968

The human period he represents thus:—

1. Kings, (no capital mentioned,)	1,817
2. Memphite, ...	1,790
3. Thinite, ...	390
4. Thirty-six dynasties, (say,)	5,000
	8,947

It is in this way he gets 9,000 years for the age of the world! But there is no ground beyond mere conjecture for this change, for then the ghosts of mortals must have existed 5,000 years or so, before there were any mortals. We have before explained that if the authority of Syncellus is reliable, the date of Manetho, for ordinary or human history, is only 3,555 years.

In order further to show the rashness and unreliability of the chevalier Bunsen, we copy the following: "Geographically, then, and historically, it is true that Canaan was the son of Egypt, for the Canaanite tribes which inherited historical Canaan, came from Egypt. *In the same sense*, Nimrod is called a Kushite, which means a man of the land of Kush. The Bible mentions but one Kush, Ethiopia; *an Asiatic Kush exists only in the imagination of the interpreters*, and is the child of their despair. Now, *Nimrod was no more a Kushite by blood*, than Canaan was an Egyptian; but the Turanian, (Transoxanian,) tribe, represented by him, came as a devastating people, which had previously conquered that part of Africa, back into Asia, and there established the first great empire." (*Philosophy of Univ. Hist.*, I., 191.) But in 1858, Sir Henry Rawlinson, having obtained a number of Babylonian documents more ancient than any previously discovered, was able to declare authoritatively, that the early inhabitants of Southern Babylonia "were of a cognate race with the primitive colonists both of Arabia and of the African-Ethiopia." He found their vocabulary to be "*undoubtedly Cushite or Ethiopian*," belonging

to that stock of tongues which in the sequel were every where more or less mixed up with the Semitic languages, but of which we have the finest modern specimens in the *Mahra* of Southern Arabia, and the *Galla of Abyssinia*. He found also that 'the traditions both of Babylonia and Assyria pointed to a connexion in very early times between Ethiopia, Southern Arabia, and the cities on the Lower Euphrates.' He, therefore, adopted the term Cushite as the most proper title by which to distinguish the earlier from the later Babylonians; and reestablished, beyond all doubt or question, the fact of 'an Asiatic Ethiopia,' which probably no one would be now hardy enough to deny."

The Egyptian words in the Bible involve one of those undesigned coincidences which are so satisfactory to careful and candid observers. Light has been thrown upon them by recent discoveries. *Pharaoh*, Sir J. G. Wilkinson* says, is *Phrah*, the Sun, the emblem of the god of light, as his authority proceeded directly from the gods. The Hebrew, without points, is still nearer to *Phrah*, פִּרְיָה. *Potiphar* or *Potipherah*, is *Petephre*, "belonging to the sun," a name common upon the monuments,† and specially appropriate to a priest of On or Heliopolis, "the city of the sun." According to Chæremón, *Peteseeph*, "belonging to Seb," (*Chronos*,) was the Egyptian name of Joseph. *Asenath*, the wife of Joseph, is, according to Gesenius, *As-neith*, "quæ Neithæ, (est,)" "belonging to Neith." As every thing is doubted now, a question has been raised whether Neith was worshipped so early, but as Bunsen makes her a primitive deity of Lower Egypt, we need hardly hesitate about that. (*Egypt's Place*, I., 389.) Her name forms an element in that of Nitocris, (*Neith-akri*,) a queen of the sixth dynasty.‡ *Zaphnath-Paneah*, the name which Pharaoh gave to Joseph, is best explained through the Septuagint, Psonthomphanech which closely corresponds to the Coptic *Psont-mfanek*, "sustainer of the age;" or, as Jerome says a little freely, "salvator mundi." (Gesenius, Thesaurus.) *Moses*. "Mou," is still "water," in Coptic. According to Jablonsky *oushe* in Coptic is to save.

* *Anc. Egypt*, I. 301.

† Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.*, I. 117. Champollion *Precis*. Table Generale, p. 23.

‡ Wilkinson.

The power of Og, king of Bashan, and his three-score cities all fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwalled towns a great many, in such a country as that to the east of the sea of Galilee, seemed to be very improbable. But modern research has found in this very country a large number of walled cities still standing.*

There is a very curious inscription, which confirms Scripture in a remarkable way. "Moses of Chorône, the Armenian historian, Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, and Suidas, the lexicographer, related that there existed in their day at Tingis, (or Tangiers,) in Africa, an ancient inscription to the effect that the inhabitants were the descendants of the fugitives who were driven from the land of Canaan by Joshua, the son of Nun, the plunderer." The language of Procopius is very precise. "There stand," he says, "two pillars of white marble near the great fountain in the city of Tigisis, bearing an inscription in *Phœnician* characters and in the *Phœnician* language, which reads as follows: 'We are they who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun.'" Procopius accompanied Belisarius to Africa. Suidas says: "And there are up to the present time, such slabs in Numidia, containing the following inscription: 'We are Canaanites, whom Joshua the robber drove out.'"

"The following minute points of agreement with Scripture, have been brought to light by recent researches: 1. The position of the Hagarenes to the east of the land of Gilead, towards or upon the Euphrates, (1 Chron. v., 9, 10:) which is the exact locality where they are found three or four centuries later, in an inscription of Sennacherib. 2. The existence of female sovereigns among the Arabs about this period, which is shown by the mention of certain 'queens of the Arabs,' in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser, and others. 3. The continued importance of the Moabites and Ammonites, which appears by the occurrence of their names in the inscriptions among the enemies of Assyria. Moab appears as *Mahab*, Ammon as Beth-Ammon, which is probably the chief city, the Rabbah or Rabbath-Ammon of Scripture."

* Travels of Cyril Graham, Cambridge Essays for 1858.

"The Assyrians ordinarily governed Babylon through native viceroys. But Esarhaddon appears to have reigned there in his own person. Bricks found on the site of Babylon, show that he repaired temples and built himself a palace there. Consequently, in the authentic list of Babylonian kings preserved by Ptolemy, his name occurs under the Greek form of Asaridinus. A Babylonian tablet has been found, dated by the year of his reign, a sure indication that he was the actual ruler of the country. No similar facts can be proved of any other Assyrian monarch."*

2 Kings, xix. 32: "Therefore, thus saith the Lord, concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come into the city, *nor shoot an arrow there, &c.*" The use of bows appears sufficiently in the Assyrian sculptures, but it is shown more strikingly still in the language of the inscriptions, where the phrase which is translated "killed in battle," is constantly "*killed with arrows.*"

We are very sorry to see Mr. Rawlinson apparently giving way at one point, after standing up so bravely for the literal truth of Scripture. He is discussing the statement of Ezekiel respecting Noah, Daniel, and Job, and inquires why Daniel should precede Job. Instead of answering that the order is merely casual, as a sensible man ought, he says, as we regret to state, "Perhaps because Daniel and Noah are actual men, while Job is not?" It is curious that in this most unsatisfactory suggestion, which is precisely contradictory to Ezekiel, Mr. R. puts Daniel before Noah! Why? "Perhaps because Daniel was an actual man and Noah not?" The suggestion is as good in one place as in the other.

Among the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, one is especially interesting, as it *may* refer to his remarkable affliction. Sir H. Rawlinson reads it thus: "Four years? . . . the seat of my kingdom in the city . . . which . . . did not rejoice my heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power; the precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for myself, and for the honor of my kingdom, I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach my lord, the joy of my heart (?) in Babylon, the city of his sove-

* Bampton Lectures, 331.

reignty, and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises, (?) and I did not furnish his altars, (with victims,) nor did I not clear out the canals." Other negative clauses follow. Only two or three words here are doubtful. "This is the only example in the arrow-headed literature of a king recording his own inaction."

The successor of Evil Merodach is Neriglissar. Among the "princes of the king of Babylon," by whom Nebuchadnezzar was accompanied in his last siege of Jerusalem, is Nergal-shar-ezar. But among the kings whose remains are found on the site of Babylon is one whose name in the inscriptions is read as *Nergal-shar-uzur*. This corresponds exactly to the Hebrew form in the Bible. The Greek renderings of the name are much inferior. Berosus called him Neriglissoor, Polyhistor, Neglissar, Abydenus, Niglissar or Neriglissar, Ptolemy, Neri-gassolassar. He was brother-in-law to Evil-Merodach. But what is very curious and interesting, the title of *Rab-mag* is given to him in Jeremiah. Now in the brick legends of this monarch at Babylon, this identical title is attached to his name. In the Babylonian vocalization it is *Rubu-emgi*; the consonants are all the same. Gesenius thought the title meant "chief of the magi," but Col. Rawlinson thinks there is no reference to the Magi, but that it means "chief priest."

There is an interesting discovery made by Col. R. in relation to Belshazzar. There had been a chronic difficulty as to where to place him, and who he was. The last native king of Babylon in the Canon, was Nabinnidochus, Nabonnedus, or Labyne-tus. But there was no such name in the Bible; and the names there found usually bear a close resemblance to the names on the monuments. The Rationalists began to say that the whole story of Belshazzar was an invention of the prophet, with their usual rashness and unreliability. Sir Isaac Newton had recourse to two falls of Babylon, and different authors identified Belshazzar with different native kings. Now the discovery of Col. R. was that Nabonadius, the last king of the Canon, associated with him his son, *Bil-shar-uzur*, and allowed him the royal title. This discovery was made in 1854, from documents obtained at Mugheir, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees. Nabonadius was absent at Borsippa when the city was

taken. Belshazzar is, indeed, represented as the son of Nebuchadnezzar. But it is known that son is often used for grandson or descendant. His father may have married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Nothing is more common than for usurpers to strengthen themselves by such an alliance with the royal family. "An additional reason for suspecting such a marriage is, that Nabonadius adopted the name of Nebuchadnezzar among his family names. That he had a son so called, is proved by the rise of two pretenders in the reign of Darius, who each proclaimed himself to be Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonadius." (*Behistun Insc.*)

The religious character of the proclamations attributed to oriental kings in the Bible, must have struck every reader as remarkable. Something has already been said on this topic, in a previous part of this Article. "The Lord God of heaven," said Cyrus, "hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him a house in Jerusalem which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (he is the God,) which is in Jerusalem." "I make a decree," says Darius, "that these men be not hindered; . . . that which they have need of for the burnt-offerings, of the God of heaven, &c." "Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, &c." Now all this is wonderfully confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions. Never was there any thing more religious, and the unity of God appears every where. Any one of the inscriptions might be taken almost at random. Thus at Bihistun: "By the grace of Ormazd I am king; Ormazd has granted me the empire. By the grace of Ormazd (these kingdoms) have become subject to me. Ormazd brought help to me, so that I gained this empire. By the grace of Ormazd I crossed the Tigris. There I slew many. By the grace of Ormazd the troops of Hydarnes entirely defeated that rebel army. By the grace of Ormazd Intaphres took Babylon. By the grace of Ormazd I achieved the performance of the whole. If thou conceal this edict, and tell it not to the country, may Ormazd be thine enemy, and mayst thou have no offspring."

We quote the following as illustrative of the account given in the Acts of the Apostles, of Ephesus: "1. The great goddess Diana is found to have borne that as her *usual title*, both from an inscription, (Boeckh., *Corpus Inscript.*, 2963 C.,) and from Xenophon, (Ephes. i., p. 15.) 'I invoke an ancestral god, the great Diana of the Ephesians.' 2. The 'Asiarchs' are mentioned on various coins and inscriptions. 3. The 'town-clerk,' (*γραμματεὺς*), of Ephesus is likewise mentioned in inscriptions, (Boeckh, No. 2963 C., No. 2966, and No. 2990.) 4. The curious word *λεωκόροϛ*, (Acts xix., 35,) literally 'sweeper' of the temple, is also found in inscriptions and on coins as an epithet of the Ephesian people. (Boeckh, No. 2966.)"

On the Apostle's account of Athens, we quote: St. Paul says, *κατείδωλος*, "full of idols." Xenophon, *πόλεις διὰ βαρὺς διὰ θύρα θεοῖς καὶ ἀνάθημα*. Livy, "Athenæ simulachra deorum hominumque habentes, omni genere et materiæ et artium insignia." *Attractive to strangers*. See in Cicero, Germanicus, Pausanias, &c. (Cony. & How. I., 398, 9.) *Novelty*. Demosth. *Philipp.* i. 43. "Do you wish to go about asking each other in the market place, What is the news? &c." *Very religious*. Pausan. i., 24, § 3. "The Athenians are more zealous than others in the worship of the gods." Joseph. *Contra. Ap.*, ii. 11. "All say that the Athenians are the most religious of the Greeks." See Grote's Greece also.

The following, though like some other things we have mentioned, not new, we quote as striking. It illustrates the particular phase of things *just at the time the Gospels were written*. Latinisms and Hebraisms are curiously united in the Gospels, and both are curiously turned into Greek. Thus: Centurio, *κεντυρίων*; legio, *λεγεών*; prætorium, *πραιτώριον*; custodia, *κουστωδία*; census, *χῆλσος*; quadrans, *κοδράντης*; denarius, *δηάριον*; assarius, *ἀσσάριον*; speculator, *σπεκουλάτωρ*; "when he had scourged," a participle of a verb formed from the Latin flagellare or flagellum, *φραγελλώσας*. Then of Hebrew: *κορυβαν*, *κρυβαν*, *δύο δυο*, "two, two;" that is "by two and two;" *πρασινά*, *πρασινά*, literally, "onion beds, onion beds;" that is, in squares, like a garden plot, "by companies."

So many freedmen were Jews, that we are told in Acts xvi. 13, that there was "a synagogue of the Libertines." But

Philo speaks of Transtiberine Rome as *κατεχομένην καὶ διακουμένην πρὸς Ἰουδαίων*, and then adds, *Ῥωμαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευθερωθέντες*. And Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 85, says: "The question of banishing the sacred rites of the Egyptians and of the Jews was also determined; a decree was made by the Fathers that four thousand *of the class of freedmen*, who were tainted with that superstition, those being selected that were of suitable age, should be transported to the island of Sardinia."

There are some interesting things about Gallio. One is, the minute accuracy of the sacred writer as to his title. One historian, (Dio Cassius,) says that Achaia was at first an imperial province, and therefore governed by pro-consuls; another, (Tacitus,) that it was afterwards transferred to the Senate, which would cause it to be governed by a prætor; but a third, (Suetonius,) records its restoration to the Emperor before the time of these events, so that the title is perfectly correct.* The picture drawn by St. Luke is wonderfully Roman and lifelike. The expression "Gallio cared for none of these things," does not quite express the shade of meaning. It is rather, "Gallio did not trouble himself much about such things." It is well known that he was the brother-in-law of Seneca, who says of him: "I used to say to you that my brother Gallio, whom every body loves as much as I do, and nobody can love him more, while he was free from all other vices, had a special hatred of this." And again: "No other mortal is so dear to any one, as he to us all." Statius says: "This is more than to have given Seneca to the world, or to have been the parent of dear Gallio."†

Here we rest. In this Article we claim no special originality. We have supposed that some one who was sufficiently patient to study out and bring together these remarkable confirmations of history and Scripture would do a good work. We think there are those, whose opportunities do not enable them to do this, who will thank us for it. And if the faith of any man be strengthened by it, we shall not have labored in vain.

* Alexander on Acts in loc.

† Bampton Lectures.

ARTICLE VIII.

History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent, to the Synod of Dort. With a full view of the English-Dutch struggle against Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spanish Armada. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL. D., D. C. L. In two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861. pp. 532, 563.

The history of the Rise of the Dutch Republic and of the United Netherlands, is very encouraging to the American people in the present condition of the country. No one can trace the progress of civil and religious liberty, amidst the thousand perils which ever threatened their destruction, without gathering strength to fight their battles in every contingency. William the Silent was environed by every danger, and yet with most insufficient means, he bore his beloved Netherlands through them all.

We are not of the number of those who despair of our Republic. No one can be more professedly impressed than we are by the dangers that surround us, but there is a tendency in such circumstances, to forget the lessons of history. Men feel as though our case were altogether peculiar, and because there is much danger and excitement imagine that all is lost. But how many revolutions and conquests have nations survived and still remained great, or have grown greater through them. The original Gaul, inhabited by its Celtic race, was conquered by enemies from across the Rhine, and became France. Successive families of kings were superseded by others, the boundaries of the nation were extended to include Germany and Italy, and again contracted. The war of the League, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, the disorders of the Fronde, succeeded, but France still remained powerful. The corruption of the Court and the oppression of the people, culminated in the Revolution, and this was succeeded by the wars of Napoleon the First. The boundaries again expanded,

and were again contracted. Bourbon succeeded Bonaparte, and Orleans succeeded Bourbon, and finally Napoleon the Third, Orleans, and still France remains a first class power in Europe.

The same historical survey in regard to our mother country may encourage us. The original Celtic population—if they were the first—were conquered by the Roman. To the Roman succeeded the Saxon, driving the Celts northward and westward to the mountains. Against the Saxon tumultuated the Dane, and all at last were subjugated by the Norman. But even then the country was by no means settled. The conflicts of York and Lancaster rent the nation for several reigns—civil war of the worst kind, county divided against county, and family marshalled against family. The wars of the Commonwealth again led brother to imbrue his hand in the blood of brother, and for many years persecution added its horrors to the other causes which seemed about to destroy England. Yet she rose from all these conflicts, and grew ever stronger and stronger.

These volumes teach us the same lesson from the fens of Holland; and in this respect they come most opportunely, impressing as they do almost the whole nation. The scale, indeed, of the working is small compared with our vast territory, but the lesson is the same. Liberty, intelligence, religion—these are vital forces, and all the power of despotism cannot restrain them. England and Holland stood against the world and were victorious. This half-drowned land, rescued from the sea, became the watchword of liberty, and a model of a confederate republic.

The question in all such cases lies mainly, not in the character or fortunes of the government, but in the spirit of the people. It is remarkable that the nature of the government attempted by the "Confederate States" resembles so very closely that of the Union. Their flag is very nearly our own, after all the canvassing over endless emblems that were proposed. Some "amendments," indeed, were made, but most of them are real improvements. The tendency in Americans to create a constitutional government is irresistible. Indeed, if every vestige

of a government were destroyed to-day, the Anglo-Saxon constructiveness and horror of confusion, would begin at once to create one. If each state is sound, in some form we will have a representative Republic.

Besides, it is evident that nothing but slavery can divide this Union. The principle of union, in other words, is stronger than every thing but slavery. It is, indeed, grievous to see the attempt to construct a nation, whose liberty, learning, virtue and religion, shall rest upon the basis of slavery. It is very plain that it cannot last. But the fact itself of the potency of union, is full of hope. Already Territories are formed about equal to the number of States that have attempted to secede, and there is in the national domain room for very many more. This is but a phase of our great history. We have, we trust, a long and brilliant future before us.

Mr. Motley's own biography is full of encouragement to those who feel that they have in them latent power. He was born, April 15th, 1814. He is described as having entered Harvard College as a handsome boy, of a good family at Dorchester, Mass., and with strong imaginative tastes. He graduated at the early age of seventeen. He then spent a year each at the Universities of Göttingen and Berlin, after which he travelled for some time in the south of Europe, chiefly in Italy. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar; but he showed little taste for the practice of the profession. It was prophesied of him, we are told, that he would be a *litterateur*, never accomplishing any thing practical. His early efforts at authorship seemed to confirm the prophecy. He wrote some Reviews which, however, made but little impression. One on De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," and another on "Goethe and his Writings," appeared in the New York Review. Another, said to be of "very striking character," on Peter the Great, appended in the North American Review, in October, 1845. In his twenty-fifth year he tried fiction. He published a novel called, "Morton's Hope, or the Memoirs of a Young Provincial." The next year, he was appointed Secretary of Legation to the American Embassy in Russia, a post which he held but eight months. Ten years after his first novel, in 1849, he produced another historical fiction called, "Merry Mount, a

Romance of the Massachusetts Colony." It could hardly be possible that these productions could be otherwise than "well written, and giving abundant evidence of talent," and they are so described, yet probably no one of our readers ever even heard their names. They were utter failures, so far as the securing of public attention was concerned.*

An ordinary man would have given up. But, like many other men of genius who had at first failed to find their true sphere, he felt that the power was in him. He became interested in the history of Holland, and wrote two volumes upon it; but feeling that he had not sufficient authorities to go on reliably, he went to Europe with his family, in 1851. The further he went in the examination of authorities there, the more dissatisfied he became with his work, and he finally destroyed it, and began anew. It was bold, but wise. "The Rise of the Dutch Republic" was published in 1856. Mr. Motley was forty-two, and unknown. So long had he waited patiently for recognition. We remember well when we received the Harpers' beautiful edition of this work, our perplexity in regard to the author. Who was John Lothrop Motley? We had never, by any chance, heard the name. It is more difficult than our readers may imagine to do justice to so pretentious a work, when the author is utterly unknown—when one does not know his character, circumstances, State, culture, relations, age, or aught else, but that which appears in the book. However, we read it every word, and were greatly pleased. We saw some faults, but we recognised a master hand. The book was a splendid success. The author leaped into fame at a single bound. The true centre was found. He was ensphered.

But it is not to be supposed that all that he had done previously was in vain. It is the method of Providence often to keep leading men back until comparatively late in life. Cromwell was forty-six before he left Huntingdonshire, or made his appearance in Parliament. Mohammed was upwards of fifty at the Hegira. Paul was sent three years to Arabia before he began to preach, and Moses spent forty years feeding Jethro's flocks, after having before spent the same time learning the wisdom of the Egyptians.

* Enc. Amer. in Voc.

Mr. Motley had been learning wisdom and practical skill during those forty-one years of obscurity. The work was reprinted in English at Amsterdam, and translated into Dutch, German, and French. Upwards of 22,000 copies were sold, and Mr. Motley was elected Member of the Institute of France, in place of Mr. Prescott, and received the degree of LL. D. from Harvard College, and D. C. L. from the University of Oxford.

The History of the United Netherlands is to be completed in four volumes, from the death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort. "After this epoch," Mr. Motley says, "the Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany; and it is my wish, at a future day, to retrace the history of that eventful struggle, and to combine with it the civil and military events in Holland, down to the epoch when the Thirty Years' War, and the Eighty Years' War of the Netherlands, were both brought to a close by the Peace of Westphalia."

Two volumes of the History of the Netherlands are published. They include but six years. The materials are almost all—strange to say—new. Mr. Motley declares that no personage is made to write or speak any words save those which, on the best historical evidence, he is known to have written and spoken." Besides all published histories and chronicles, the author had access to the most important and valuable unpublished sources. They are to be found in the State Paper Office and the MS. department of the British Museum, which, he thinks, ought to be brought into one collection; the royal archives of Holland; a portion of the archives of Simancas, the originals of which are in the Archives dé l'Empire in Paris, and the whole correspondence of Philip II., with his ministers and lieutenants, which had been copied from the originals at Simancas for the use of the Belgian government.

These volumes include many most interesting points. They touch upon the League and Henry of Navarre. They dwell at length, and with much interest, on Alexander of Parma. They detail, at length, and in such manner that the reader hangs over the page with breathless interest, the siege of Antwerp. They discuss the career and character of Sainte Aldegonde and Olden Barneveldt. They dwell on Elizabeth, Burghley, Walsingham, Leicester, and the gentle Sir Philip Sidney. They paint

to the life the spider of the Escorial, Philip the Second, and his perpetual intrigues, down to the building of the great Spanish Armada.

While the style of these volumes is not more lively and picturesque than that of the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," there is more dignity in their manner. The quaint titles which displeased us in the former, and which have too clear traces of Carlyle, are omitted. The narrative, while it is constructed with all the fine art of the greatest dramatist, novelist, or historian, yet goes straight to its goal in a business-like manner. Everything looks to some end; there does not seem to be fine writing for its own sake, but only as appropriate in its position. It is almost superfluous to say that a first-class history, in our time, requires talent and learning of very high grade. The voice both of the critics and the public has recognised Mr. Motley as possessing these qualifications. His position is generally a lofty one. His ideal is that of liberty, intelligence, and virtue. He recognises a progress in human history, a great pervading spirit, a wise and steady aim. He tries every character by a severe standard of honor and integrity.

It was with much pain that we came across the following passage in the sketch of Olden Barneveldt, a favorite hero of the author. We had hoped that in writing the Rise and History of the Dutch Republic, the very source of its greatness would not be the object of the sneer of a man like Mr. Motley.

Here, in the head-quarters of German Calvinism, his youthful mind had long pondered the dread themes of fore-knowledge, judgment, absolute free-will and predestination. To believe it worth the while of a rational and intelligent Deity to create annually several millions of thinking beings, who were to struggle for a brief period on earth, and to consume in perpetual brimstone afterwards, while others were predestined to perpetual enjoyment, seemed to him an indifferent exchange for the faith in the purgatory and paradise of Rome. Perplexed in the extreme, the youthful John bethought himself of an inscription over the gateway of his famous, but questionable, great-grandfather's house at Amesfort—*nil scire tutissima fides*. He resolved thenceforth to adopt a system of ignorance upon matters beyond the flaming walls of the world; to do the work before him manfully and faithfully while he walked the earth, and to trust that a benevolent Creator would devote neither him nor any other man to eternal hell-fire. In brief, he was a liberal Christian, both in theory and

practice, and he nobly confronted, in consequence, the wrath of bigots on both sides.

We are to remember that William the Silent was a thorough Calvinist, and that Mr. Motley, through three large volumes, exhausts eulogy upon him. We are to remember that William the Third, the hero of Macaulay's history, was a thorough Calvinist, and that his greatness flowed from this same fountain. We are to remember that Carlyle's hero, Cromwell, was a thorough Calvinist, and that his grand career rested entirely on this basis. We are to remember that Mr. Motley everywhere represents the civil liberty of Holland as resting entirely upon religious liberty, and the passion for religious liberty sprang from the settled determination to support this same Calvinism at which Mr. Motley scoffs. The heroism of France and of Scotland sprang from the very same source. We confess our amazement and regret at this shallowness of so keen a writer. The illogical inconsistency of the sneering is something curious. A man devotes himself to the work of eulogizing heroic nations and individuals, and then makes himself ridiculous by scoffing at the very element of their greatness, and the very hidings of their power!

Macaulay was more logical, if as inconsistent as Mr. Motley. *He traced the greatness of the Puritans distinctly to their Calvinism*, and if he made statements afterwards not in accordance with this idea, that will not undo his magnificent eulogy. Bancroft is both logical and consistent. He gives Calvinism its place at the foundation of liberty, learning, and stern morals, and always speaks with profound respect of the principles which wrought out so vast and grand results. But rationalism is shallow; Mr. Motley should eschew it. This fling will be the most unpopular paragraph in his book.

We will make an extract here and there from these volumes for the delight of the reader.

Here is a daguerreotype of Alexander Farnese:

Alexander rose with the difficulty and responsibility of his situation. His vivid, almost poetic intellect formed its schemes with perfect distinctness. Every episode in his great and, as he himself termed it, "heroic enterprise," was traced out beforehand with the tranquil vision of creative genius; and he was prepared to convert his concep-

tions into reality, with the aid of an iron nature that never knew fatigue or fear.

Yet Alexander was never more truly heroic than in this position of vast entanglement. Untiring, uncomplaining, thoughtful of others, prodigal of himself, generous, modest, brave; with so much intellect and so much devotion to what he considered his duty, he deserved to be a patriot and a champion of the right, rather than an instrument of despotism.

And thus he paused for a moment—with much work already accomplished, but his hardest life-task before him; still in the noon of manhood, a fine martial figure, standing, spear in hand, full in the sunlight, though all the scene around him was wrapped in gloom—a noble, commanding shape, entitled to the admiration which the energetic display of great powers, however unscrupulous, must always command. A dark, meridional physiognomy, a quick, alert, imposing head; jet black, close-clipped hair; a bold eagle's face, with full, bright, restless eye; a man rarely reposing, always ready, never alarmed; living in the saddle, with harness on his back—such was the Prince of Parma; matured and mellowed, but still unharmed by time.

This is the description of the explosion of the fire-ships at the siege of Antwerp.

The Scheldt yawned to its lowest depth, and then cast its waters across the dykes, deep into the forts, and far over the land. The earth shook as with the throb of a volcano. A wild glare lighted up the scene for one moment, and was then succeeded by pitchy darkness. Houses were toppled down miles away, and not a living thing, even in remote places, could keep its feet. The air was filled with a rain of plough-shares, grave-stones, and marble balls, intermixed with the heads, limbs, and bodies, of what had been human beings. Slabs of granite, vomited by the flaming ship, were found afterwards at a league's distance, and buried deep in the earth. A thousand soldiers were destroyed in a second of time; many of them being torn to shreds, beyond even the semblance of humanity.

Richebourg disappeared, and was not found until several days later, when his body was discovered, doubled round an iron chain, which hung from one of the bridge-boats in the centre of the river. The veteran Robles, Seigneur de Billy, a Portuguese officer of eminent service and high military rank, was also destroyed. Months afterwards, his body was discovered adhering to the timber-work of the bridge, upon the ultimate removal of that structure, and was only recognized by a peculiar gold chain which he habitually wore. Parma himself was thrown to the ground, stunned by a blow on the shoulder from a flying stake. The page, who was behind him, carrying his helmet, fell dead without a wound, killed by the concussion of the air.

Several strange and less tragical incidents occurred. The Viscomte de Bruxelles was blown out of a boat on the Flemish side, and descended safe and sound into another in the centre of the stream. Captain Tucci, clad in complete armor, was whirled out of a fort, shot perpen-

dicularly into the air, and then fell back into the river. Being of a cool temperament, a good swimmer, and very pious, he skilfully divested himself of cuirass and helmet, recommended himself to the Blessed Virgin, and swam safely ashore. Another young officer of Parma's body-guard, François de Liege by name, standing on the Kalloo end of the bridge, rose like a feather into the clouds, and flying quite across the river, alighted on the opposite bank with no further harm than a confused shoulder. He imagined himself, (he said afterwards,) to have been changed into a cannon-ball, as he rushed through the pitchy atmosphere, propelled by a blast of irresistible fury.

The deed was done. A breach two hundred feet in width was made. Had the most skilful pilot in Zeeland held the helm of the 'Hope,' with a crew obedient to his orders, he could not have guided her more carefully than she had been directed by wind and tide. Avoiding the raft which lay in her way, she had, as it were, with the intelligence of a living creature, fulfilled the wishes of the daring genius that had created her, and laid herself alongside the bridge, exactly at the most telling point. She had then destroyed herself, precisely at the right moment. All the effects, and more than all, that had been predicted by the Mantuan wizard had come to pass. The famous bridge was cleft through and through, and a thousand picked men—Parma's very "daintiest"—were blown out of existence. The Governor-General himself was lying stark and stiff upon the bridge which he said should be his triumphal monument or his tomb. His most distinguished officers were dead, and all the survivors were dumb and blind with astonishment at the unheard-of convulsion. The passage was open for the fleet, and the fleet lay below with sails spread, and oars in the rowlocks, only waiting for the signal to bear up at once to the scene of action, to smite out of existence all that remained of the splendid structure, and to carry relief and triumph into Antwerp.

We only add the death of Sir Philip Sidney:

Sir Philip Sidney, on coming to the field, having met Sir William Pelham, the veteran lord marshal, lightly armed, had with chivalrous extravagance thrown off his own cuishes, and now rode to the battle with no armour but his cuirass. At the second charge his horse was shot under him, but, mounting another, he was seen everywhere in the thick of the fight, behaving himself with a gallantry which extorted admiration even from the enemy.

On the last charge, he rode quite through the enemy's ranks till he came upon their intrenchments, when a musket-ball from the camp struck him upon the thigh, three inches above the knee. Although desperately wounded in a part which should have been protected by the cuishes which he had thrown aside, he was not inclined to leave the field; but his own horse had been shot under him at the beginning of the action, and the one upon which he was now mounted became too restive for him, thus crippled, to control. He turned reluctantly away, and rode a mile and a half back to the intrenchments, suffering extreme pain, for his leg was dreadfully shattered. As he passed along the edge of the battle-field his attendants

brought him a bottle of water to quench his raging thirst. At that moment a wounded English soldier, "who had eaten his last at the same feast," looked up wistfully in his face, when Sidney instantly handed him the flask, exclaiming, "Thy necessity is greater than mine." He then pledged his dying comrade in a draught, and was soon afterwards met by his uncle. "Oh, Philip," cried Leicester, in despair, "I am truly grieved to see thee in this plight." But Sidney comforted him with manful words, and assured him that death was sweet in the cause of his queen and country. Sir William Russell, too, all blood-stained from the fight, threw his arms around his friend, wept like a child and kissing his hand, exclaimed, "Oh! noble Sir Philip, never did man attain hurt so honourably or serve so valiantly as you." Sir William Pelham declared "that Sidney's noble courage in the face of our enemies had won him a name of continuing honour."

For many days the result was doubtful, and messages were sent day by day to England that he was convalescent—intelligence that was hailed by the queen and people as a matter not of private, but of public rejoicing. He soon began to fail, however. Count Hohenlo was badly wounded a few days later before the great fort of Zutphen. A musket-ball entered his mouth, and passed through his cheek, carrying off a jewel which hung in his ear. Notwithstanding his own critical condition, however, Hohenlo sent his surgeon, Adrian van den Spiegel, a man of great skill, to wait upon Sir Philip, but Adrian soon felt that the case was hopeless. Meantime fever and gangrene attacked the count himself; and those in attendance upon him, fearing for his life, sent for his surgeon. Leicester refused to allow Adrian to depart, and Hohenlo very generously acquiescing in the decree, but, also requiring the surgeon's personal care, caused himself to be transported in a litter to Arnheim.

Sidney was first to recognise the symptoms of mortification, which made a fatal result inevitable. His demeanour during his sickness, and upon his death-bed was as beautiful as his life. He discoursed with his friends concerning the immortality of the soul, comparing the doctrines of Plato and of other ancient philosophers, whose writings were so familiar to him, with the revelations of Scripture and with the dictates of natural religion. He made his will with minute and elaborate provisions, leaving bequests, remembrances, and rings, to all his friends. Then he indulged himself with music, and listened particularly to a strange song which he had himself composed during his illness, and which he had entitled '*La cuisse rompue*.' He took leave of the friends around him with perfect calmness, saying to his brother Robert, "Love my memory. Cherish my friends. Above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator; in me beholding the end of this world with all her vanities."

And thus his gentle and heroic spirit took its flight.

We willingly add our cordial eulogy to that of the civilized world, of these fascinating volumes. We only hope that Mr.

Motley may live and prosper until he carries us with him to the Peace of Westphalia. But when he comes to Gustavus Adolphus, we trust that he will not make a glorious hero of him, and then sneer at the very principles that were the cause of all his greatness.

LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

The following new Books are announced:

The Great Sahara,—describing wanderings south of the Atlas Mountains, by H. B. Tristram. Maps and illustrations.

Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa, by F. P. Valdez. Two vols., illustrated.

The Diary and Correspondence of Lord Colchester, Speaker of the House of Commons from 1802 to 1817, edited by his Son.

There are nearly seven hundred periodicals in London, varying in price from a halfpenny to ten shillings, of which the weeklies and dailies are about two hundred and thirty, the monthlies more than three hundred and fifty.

The Tragedy of Life: being Records of Remarkable Phases in Lunacy. 2 vols.

The Polar Regions, by Sir J. Richardson, with a map.

The Headship of Christ and Rights of the Christian People, by Hugh Miller.

Mr. Bohn is publishing a new series of works monthly, called, The English Gentleman's Library. It began with Mr. Peter Cunningham's edition of the Entire Correspondence of Horace Walpole. Among these works are Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters and Works, from the original MSS., with a new Memoir and Notes by W. May Thomas, including the whole contents of Lord Wharnccliffe's edition, with large additions.

The Latitudinarians, a chapter in Church History, from the Death of Archbishop Tillotson, in 1691, to that of Archdeacon Blackburne, in 1787, by Archdeacon Chanton.

Historical Memoirs of the Successors of St. Patrick and Archbishops of Armagh, by Dr. Todd, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

The Churches of the East, by the Rev. George Williams, B. D., Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

We copy the following from an English publication:—

“Readers of Mr. Motley's great History know how often he refers to the Simancas MSS. They will, therefore, learn with interest that, in addition to that portion of the papers which Mr. Motley consulted at Paris, a very large quantity have recently been discovered at Si-

manca itself; and it is believed that these form the portion which were restored to Spain by the Allies after the overthrow of Napoleon, and that those at Paris were left behind by mistake. The gentleman who communicates this important fact, writes from Simancas in a letter to *The Athenæum*:

“‘I am at present doing a very laborious, but highly interesting, piece of work. In the archives of Simancas there is an old chest of exquisite workmanship and rich gilding. It would fetch a good price in Wardour street, even if its history were not known. It was once the property of Charles the Fifth, who had inherited it from his pious grandmother, Isabella the Catholic. When, during the war of the Comuneros, the correspondence of the kings of Spain was in danger of falling into the hands of the rebels, a portion of the most secret papers was put into this box, and carried to the Convent of ———, in Burgos, where it remained till the Archives of Simancas were formed. It has, in the time of Napoleon the First, been in Paris, and after its restoration to its former place, some students, Pidal and Cavrà, have opened it before me. However, its contents remain still unpublished; and a considerable portion which is written in cipher, and of which no translations are published, is, I think, still unread.

“‘I have seen no despatches written in cipher of an earlier date than 1480. A new system was added in 1496. There remains a whole bundle of despatches, written in the most complicated style, over which I hope, but cannot yet promise, that I shall triumph.’”

T. D. Gregg. *The Way, the Truth, and the Life; a Series of Discourses on Scriptural Subjects; with an appendix on Christian Philosophy.*

The 5th and 6th vols. of the Works of Rev. J. A. James.

William Palmer. *Egyptian Chronicles, with a Harmony of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology, and an Appendix of Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities.* 2 vols.

Tebinovnick's *Sketches of Provincial Life.* Translated, with Notes, from the Russian, by Frederick Aston. With a chapter on the Emancipation of the Serfs.

A new, enlarged edition of *Kitto's Encyclopædia.* Edited by William Lindsay Alexander, D. D., with the assistance of other scholars and divines.

The Life of the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M. P.

The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India, by E. Arnold, M. A., University College, Oxford.

History of the Church of England from the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time, by the Rev. G. G. Perry, Rector of Waddington, and late Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford. 3 vols.

The Castle and the Cottage in Spain, by Lady Wallace.

On Ancient Law: its Connexion with the Early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas. By H. Sumner Maine.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon's Personal History of Lord Bacon. An edition is to appear at Leipsic in English, and M. Louis Blanc is translating it into French.

The Bampton Lectures for 1860 are on Sunday: its Origin, History, and Present Obligations. By Rev. Dr. Hessey.

Jutland, the Danish Isles and Copenhagen. By Horace Marryat. Curious Things of the Outward World. (On the Rosierucians.) By Hargrave Jennings.

English and Scotch Ballads. Edited by F. J. Child. Eight volumes. New Edition.

Sketches of Paul Rabaut and the French Protestants of the Eighteenth Century, by M. Bridel. From the French, with Appendix containing portions of his writings now first published.

Duke of Buckingham. Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria, from Original Family Documents. 2 vols.

R. S. Candlish. The Atonement; its Reality, Completeness, and Extent. pp. 400.

Churches and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland; Middle Ages. Vol. 2. Edited by Frank Scott Haydon, B. A.

Life of the Earl of Dundonald, by Joseph Allen. pp. 360.

G. W. Gyll. A Tractate on Language. 2d Edition. pp. 400.

Memoir of Abraham Lincoln, President Elect, &c. pp. 126.

Rev. H. Newland on the Epistle to the Philippians. pp. 230.

Notes and Queries. 2d Series. Vol. 10.

Francis Badfield Harper. Exposition of the Revelation. 2 vols. pp. 1092.

Sir John Richardson. The Polar Regions. pp. 400.

Spurgeon's Sermons. Vol. 6.

Private Diary of Gen. Sir Robert Wilson. Campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814. Edited by his Nephew and Son-in-law, the Rev. Herbert Randolph. 2 vols. pp. 960.

Elis Wyn. The Sleeping Bard; or Visions of the World, Death, and Hell. Translated from the Cambrian-British by George Barrow. pp. 130.

Mr. Lewis' Manual, issued by our Publication Committee, is announced in London.

Carruthers and Chambers' Household Shakspeare. So arranged as to be capable of being read in families, and otherwise unaltered.

The Fifth Volume of Macaulay's History of England. To the death of William III. Edited by his Sister, Lady Trevelyan.

Essays and Reviews. 5th Edition.

A New Edition of Dr. Barrow's Works, in Nine Volumes, with materials hitherto unpublished. By A. Napier, M. A., of Trinity College, Vicar of Holkham, Norfolk, at Cambridge.

Patronymica Britannica; a Dictionary of Family Names. By M. A. Lower, author of English Surnames. pp. 500.

Athenæ Cantabrigienses. By C. H. Cooper, F. S. A., and T. Cooper, F. S. A. Vol. 2. 1586—1609.

The Fourth Volume, Part 2, of Dr. Alford's Greek Testament, has been published, completing the work.

Vincenzo Gioberti. Essay on the Beautiful, &c., or Elements of Æsthetic Philosophy. Translated from the Italian by Edward Thomas. 2d Edition. pp. 540.

Richard Grattan. Considerations on the Human Mind; its Present State and Future Destinies. pp. 336.

The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele, with Memoirs and Tales. By the Rev. Alexander Dyce.

The Fourth Volume of Arthur Helps' Spanish Conquest in America, completing the Work. pp. 510.

Rev. John Kennedy. The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire. pp. 260.

Wm. Lockhart. The Medical Missionary in China; a Narrative of Twenty Years' Experience. pp. 410.

Life of M. Olier, Founder of the Seminary of S. Sulpice. By Edward W. Thompson.

Ploughing and Sowing. Annals of an Evening School in a Yorkshire Village, and the Work that grew out of it; from Letters and Private Notes, by a Clergyman's Daughter. Edited by the Rev. F. Digby Legard. pp. 268.

The Recreations of a Country Pastor. 2d Series. pp. 370.

Robert Vaughan. Revolutions in English History. Vol. 2. Revolutions in Religion. pp. 670.

Introduction to the Pentateuch. By the Rev. Donald Macdonald, M. A., author of "Creation and the Fall." 2 vols.

It is said that the Religious Monthly, "Good Words," prints 40,000 copies.

"The Cottager," of the Religious Tract Society; a new periodical, especially for the less educated classes, is well spoken of.

Liber Albus: the White Book of the City of London. Compiled A. D. 1419, by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London, and Executor of Richard Whittington, Mayor. Translated from the Original Latin and Anglo-Norman, with Annotations, by Henry Thomas Riley, M. A., Cambridge.

Beautés de la Poésie Anglaise. Par le Chevalier de Chatelain. 2 vols.

Memoirs of Bulstrode Whitelocke, (the Ambassador in the time of the Commonwealth.) By Robert Whitelocke, Professor Royal, of Wurtemberg.

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A History of the Recent Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ. By C. T. Newton, Esq., M. A.; being the Results of an Expedition sent to Asia Minor by the Government in October, 1856.

Life of Mrs. Cameron, author of "The Two Lambs," &c. Edited by her son, the Rev. Charles Cameron, M. A.

Two Years in Switzerland and Italy. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols.

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Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from Richard II., to Henry VIII., (or the Perpendicular Style.) By the Editor of the "Glossary of Architecture." With 140 Engravings of Existing Specimens, &c. 2 vols.

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Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart, Second and Third Marquesses of Londonderry. From the Original Papers of the Family, and other Sources. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart.

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A Second Volume of Memoirs of Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury. Edited by W. D. Christie, Esq.

The Life of Robert Stephenson, F. R. S. By John Cordy Jeaffresan and William Pole.

The Life of Sir M. J. Brunel, C. E. By Richard Beamish, F. R. S.

The Life of Richard Porson, M. A. By the Rev. John Selby Watson, M. A.

Songs of the Covenant Times. By an Ayrshire Minister.

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Results of a Scientific Mission to India and High Asia. For the East India Company. By H. A. and R. de Schlagintweit. Vol. I. Atlas.

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Sketches of Early Scottish History, by Cosmo Innes, F. S. A., Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh.

Popular Tales of the West Highlands. 2 vols. By J. F. Campbell. Aemona; or Notes on an Oratory in the Island of Incheolme. By J. Y. Simpson, M. D., Vice President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Diary of Thomas Somerville, D. D., Minister of Jedburgh from 1741 to 1813.

History of the Venitian Republic; her Rise, her Greatness, and her Civilization. By W. Carew Hazlitt, of the Inner Temple. 4 vols. Maps.

FRANCE.

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Translation from the Journal of Amélie Sieveking, Founder of the Society of Friends of the Poor of Hamburg. By Dr. Wichern.

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De Tocqueville. Works and Correspondence hitherto inedited. With a Notice by Gustave de Beaumont. 2 vols.

Ad. Bertz. The great French Renaissance Architects; P. Lescot, Ph. de l'Orme, J. Goujon, J. Bullant, les Du Cerceau, les Métézau, les Chambiges. 284 Illustrations.

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Maurice de Guérin. *Reliquiæ.* Published by M. G. S. Trébutien, with a biographic and literary *étude* by M. Sainte Beuve. 2 vols.

Seneca. *Complete Works*, a new Translation with notes, by J. Baillard.

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V. Langlois. *Journey into Cilicia and the Mountains of Taurus*, in 1852-3. Plans and Map.

J. Lelewel. *History of Lithuania and Rutheoria up to their definitive Union with Poland in 1569*, translated by Rykoczewski, with notes of the Translator.

V. A. Malte-Brun. *The River Amoor.* New Russian acquisitions.

Molins de Saint Yon. *History of the Counts of Tholouse.* Vols. 3 & 4. Maps and Plans.

Prescott's Philip II. Translated by G. Renson and P. Ithier. 5 vols.

E. A. Sagetan. *Sixtus V. and Henry IV.* Introduction of Protestantism into France.

F. de Smitt. *Frederick II., Catharine and the Partition of Poland*, from Authentic Documents.

Saint Simon's *Principal Works*, new edition. 3 vols.

Japanese Grammar. By J. H. Donken Curtius. Numerous Additions by Dr. Hoffman. From the Dutch by Léon Pagès. 20 fr.

GERMANY.

The Transactions of the various Academies, and Classes in the Academies of Germany, constitute a large and expensive part of the regular issues of the German press. In the January Bulletin of Mr. Leyboldt, we find four extensive quartos of these transactions, embracing the Historical, Mathematico-physical and Philosophico-philological classes of the Royal Academy of Bavaria, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. The topics discussed are such as the Albanian Element in Greece; the North-west of Bavaria in the First part of the Ninth Century; Description of the West Coast of Africa; Molecular Changes in the Substance of the Nerves; Fossil Cuttlefishes in the Jura, and Certain classes of Plants in the Berlin Herbarium; Parthanogenesis of Plants; Tides in the Baltic, &c. Encke contributes a paper upon the Comet of Pons, in the last named collection of Transactions. Scientific men and librarians will find these Transactions of great value.

A Volume of Correspondence between Leibnitz and Christian Wolf, from MSS. found in the Royal Library of Hanover, has been published in 188 pp. 8vo., by Schmidt in Halle. C. L. Gerhardt is the Editor.

The entire works of F. W. Jos. von Schelling, have reached the seventh volume of the first division, which embraces his writings from 1805—1810. Stuttgart, 8vo. 568 pp.

Kayser's Complete Lexicon of Books published in Germany and adjoining countries, from the year 1750 to the end of 1858, has now very nearly reached its conclusion, the second number of the fourteenth volume in quarto having just appeared. This volume, when completed, will embrace the years 1853—'58. Published at Leipzig.

The Life and Select Writings of the Fathers and Founders of the Reformation, the work of Hagenbach and a number of other scholars, has reached its ninth part, first half, an 8vo. of 312 pages; each half is published at a subscription price of 20 new groschen. The present issue comprises John a Lasco, Leo Juda, Lambert of Avignon, Farel and Viret.

The Life and Teaching of John Scotus Erigena, viewed in connexion both with the preceding and the later schools of Philosophy and Theology, by Theodore Christlieb, is published by Besser, of Gotha, in an 8vo. of 480 pages. Doubtless a work of profound interest to the metaphysician.

The Complete Works of the theologian Oetinger, who has been an object of considerable regard and interest recently in Germany, have reached the third edition. This is the first complete and faithful edition. Steinkopf, at Stuttgart, publisher. 8vo. pp. 577.

Heeren and Ukert's History of the European States is announced as having reached the thirty-second number, second part. This is the sixth volume of the History of the Russian State, with the more particular title of Russia's Foreign Relations from 1775—1792. It is an 8vo. of over 600 pages. Published by Perthes, at 2 thalers per vol. by subscription, somewhat higher when bought separately.

The following is the title in full of a new edition of the Septuagint issued by Tischendorf, in which, as will be observed, reference has been made to the newly discovered Sinaitic MS.:—*Vetus Testamentum græce juxta LXX interpretes. Textum Vaticanum romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos Novi Testamenti parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephræmi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subjunxit, prolegomenis et epilogomenis instruxit Const. Tischendorf. Editio III., ratione etiam habita thesauri Sinaitici nuper inventi et editionis Maianæ codicis Vaticani. 2 tomi. Leipzig, 1860. Brockhaus. 8°. CVI, 1300 pp.*

A History of French Calvinism to the National Assembly of 1789, by v. Polenz, published by Perthes, of Gotha, has reached the second part of the third volume. This part of the work presents the Idea and the Literature of what the author terms, "Political, French Calvinism," and embraces the period extending from the Insurrection of Amboise, 1560, to the Edict of Nismes, 1629. It is an 8vo. of 496 pages.

A History of Slavery in the United States, has appeared from the pen of Meissner, in Hamburg, by F. Kapp. It is a 12mo. of 528 pages.

The Medical Science of the Ancient Israelites, drawn from the Bible

and the Talmud, by J. Wunderbar, is appearing in issues of about forty pages each, both in Riga and Leipzig. The latest issues refer to medical Jurisprudence and Police.

A certain Herbert Rau has run wild over Alexander Humboldt. He is publishing a work in seven volumes, in which the biography of the philosopher is treated as a sort of æsthetico-historical romance. The last three volumes have just appeared at Leipzig under the title of "The Star of the Century, Alexander von Humboldt." 8vo. 875 pages.

The following recent issues appear worthy of notice in their several departments:—

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Church and State. Braun, J. Bapt. Das kirchliche Vermögen von der ältesten Zeit bis auf Justinian I. mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Verwaltung desselben gegenüber dem Staate. *Giessen*, 1860. *Ferber*. 8°. VIII, 80 pp.

Eschatology. Cremer, Hm. Die eschatologische Rede Jesu Christi Matthæi 24. 25. Versuch einer exegetischen Erörterung derselben. *Stuttgart*, 1860. *J. F. Steinkopf*. 8°. VIII, 256 pp.

Moral Theology. Friedhoff, Fr. Allgemeine Moralthologie. *Regensburg*, 1860. *Manz*. 8°. 516 pp.

The theological School of Basle. Hagenbach, K. Rdf. Die theologische Schule Basels und ihre Lehrer von Stiftung der Hochschule 1460 bis zu De Wette's Tod 1849. *Basel*, 1860. 4°. 75 pp.

Church History in the Middle Ages. Hagenbach, K. Rdf. Vorlesungen über die Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters. 1. Thl. Von Gregors des Gr. Tod bis auf Innocenz III. *Leipzig*, 1860. *Hirzel*. 8°. XI, 334 pp.

Commentary on Ecclesiastes. Hahn, H. A. Commentar über das Predigerbuch Salomo's. *Leipzig*, 1860. *Dörffling & Franke*. 8°.

The Physiology of the Church. Pilgram, F. Physiologie der Kirche. Forschungen über die geistigen Gesetze, in denen die Kirche nach ihrer natürlichen Seite besteht. *Mainz*, 1860. *Kirchheim*. 8°. VIII, 484 pp.

Bleek's Introduction to the Scriptures. Bleek, F. Einleitung in die heilige Schrift. 1. Thl. Hrsg. von J. F. Bleek u. Adf. Kamphausen. Mit Vorwort von C. Imm Nitzsch. *Berlin*, 1860. *G. Reimer*. 8°. XX, 834 pp.

Kant's Resurrection. Noack, L. Immanuel Kant's Auferstehung aus dem Grabe. Die Lehre der Alten vom Königsberge. Urkundlich dargestellt. *Leipzig*, 1861. *O. Wigand*. 8°. IV, 272 pp.

Jacob Böhme. Peip, Alb. Jakob Böhme, der deutsche Philosoph, der Vorläufer christlicher Wissenschaft. *Leipzig*, 1860. *Hirschfeld*. 8°. III, 269 pp.

Prize Essay on the Early Treatment of Mental Disorders. Erlenmeyer, A. Wie sind die Seelenstörungen in ihrem Beginne zu behandeln? Eine von der deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychiatrie und gerichtliche Psychologie gekrönte Abhandlung. 2. verm. u. verb. Aufl. *Neuwied*, 1861. *Heuser*. 8°. VII. 102 pp.

Doctrine of Right and of the State as Affected by Theology. Thilo, Christfried Alb. Die theologisirende Rechts- und Staatslehre. Eine historisch-kritische und thetische Untersuchung über die Principien der Rechtsphilosophie und die damit zusammenhängenden philosophischen Disciplinen, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Rechtsansichten Stahls. *Leipzig*, 1861. *Pernitzsch*. 8°. VIII, 394 pp.

Genetic Development of the Platonic Philosophy. Susemihl, Fr. Die genetische Entwicklung der Platonischen Philosophie einleitend dargestellt. 2. Thl. 2. Hälfte. *Leipzig*, 1860. *Teubner*. 8°. XXVIII, p. 313—696.

Manual of the History of Greco-Roman Philosophy. Brandis, Ch. A. Handbuch der Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Philosophie. 3. Thl. 1. Abth. A. u. d. T.: Uebersicht über das Aristotelische Lehrgebäude und Erörterung der Lehren seiner nächsten Nachfolger, als Uebergang zur dritten Entwicklungsperiode der Griechischen Philosophie. *Berlin*, 1860. *G. Reimer*. 8°. XII, 411 pp.

NATURAL SCIENCE.

The Tree. Schacht, Hm. Der Baum. Studien über Bau und Leben der höheren Gewächse. 2., umgearb. u. verm. Aufl. Mit 575 Abbildgn. auf 4 lith. Taf. u. 227 in den Text gedr. Holzschn. *Berlin*, 1860. *G. W. F. Müller*. 8°. VIII, 378 pp.

Immutability of Species. Kostlin, O. Ueber die Unveränderlichkeit der organischen Species. *Stuttgart*, 1860 [*Tübingen*, *Fues' Sort.*] 4°. 37 pp.

Biographical and Literary Dictionary of the Exact Sciences. Pogendorf, J. C. Biographisch-literarisches Handwörterbuch zur Geschichte der exacten Wissenschaften, enth. Nachweisungen über Lebensverhältnisse und Leistungen von Mathematikern, Astronomen, Physikern, Chemikern, Mineralogen, Geologen, u. s. w. aller Völker und Zeiten. 4 Lfg. *Leipzig*, 1860. *Barth*. 8°. 2. Bd. Sp. 1—576.

ART.

Costumes. Die Trachten der Völker vom Beginn der Geschichte bis zum 19. Jahrh. Von Alb. Kretschmer u. C. Rohrbach. 1. u. 2. Lfg. *Leipzig*, 1860. *Bach*. 4°. p. 1—24. Mit je 10 Chromolith.

Style of Early Church Edifices. Hübsch, H. Die altchristlichen Kirchen nach den Baudenkmalen und älteren Beschreibungen und der Einfluss des altchristlichen Baustyls auf den Kirchenbau aller späteren Perioden. Dargestellt u. hrsg. für Architekten, Archäologen, Geistliche und Kunstfreunde. 6. u. 7. Lfg. *Carlsruhe*, 1860. *Veith*. Fol. Sp. 39—60. Mit 12 Steintaf.

Monuments of German Art. Forster, E. Denkmale deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei und Malerei von Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die neueste Zeit. 144.—147. Lfg. *Leipzig*, 1860. *T. O. Weigel*. 4°. 6. Stahlst mit je 4 pp. Text u. eingedr. Holzschn. Jede Lfg. 20 Ngr.

History of Ornamentation. Guilmar, D. Geschichte der Ornamentik. Die wichtigsten Ornamente der verschiedenen Baustyle vom Beginn des christlichen Zeitalters bis auf die Gegenwart. 42 Tafeln

mit reicher Auswahl an Vorlagen der Architectur, Ornamentik, Möbel, Kunst- und Industrie-Gegenstände, etc., nebst kurzea Beschreibung. *Berlin*, 1860. *Th. Grieben*. Fol. 8 pp.

Albert Dürer. v. Eye, A. Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürer's. *Nördlingen*, 1860. *Beck*. 8°. VI, 526 pp. *Mit 1 Tab.*

HISTORY.

The Last 120 Years. Menzel, Wolfg. Die letzten 120 Jahre der Weltgeschichte, [1740—1860.] *Stuttgart*, 1860. *Krabbe*, 8°. 5. u. 6. Bd. VIII, 478 u. VIII, 488 pp.

Rome in the Middle Ages. Gregorovius, Fd. Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter. Vom 5. Jahrh bis zum 16. Jahrh. 3. Bd. *Stuttgart*, 1860. *Cotta*. 8°. XII, 584 pp.

Cheops and his Successors. Knötel, A. Cheops der Pyramidenerbauer und seine Nachfolger. Nochmalige, gründliche und allseitige Erörterung der Fragen; was es mit dem Einfalle der Hirten in Aegypten, dem Pyramidenbau; der Glaubwürdigkeit Manetho's, etc., für eine Bewandniss habe. *Leipzig*, 1861. *Dyk*. 8°. X. 130 pp.

Europe in Transition from the Middle to the Later Ages. Geschichte Europa's im Uebergange vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit, von F. Kortüm und K. Alb. v. Reichlin-Meldegg. 1. Bd. *Leipzig*, 1861. *T. O. Weigel*. 8°. XXIV, 503 pp.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

- I. A NEW DIGEST OF THE ACTS AND DELIVERANCES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. Compiled by the Order and Authority of the General Assembly. By Rev. WILLIAM E. MOORE. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publication Committee. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1861. pp. 647.

It is with no common pleasure that we announce this work. The qualifications which go to the making of a good Digest are possessed by few, and the Publication Committee have been most fortunate in securing Mr. Moore. He has wrought with a patience, a skill, and a pleasure in his work that could only flow from a love for the Church which could not have been bought at any earthly price. He has gathered up affectionately and reverently the noble deeds of our fathers, and he has set every thing in the purest and best light. As a committee of the Academy of Fine Arts admiring, loving and revering works of the Old Masters and placing each one in the best position for view, Mr. Moore has so brought out these old Acts and Deliverances from the dust of the past as that even he that runs may read.

No one can make a good Digest who is not methodical and business-like, and these qualities may be emphatically affirmed of the Bishop of Westchester. He can tolerate no chaos. Method is a necessity of his nature; he is a natural Stated Clerk. Inorganic masses arrange themselves in lucid order around him, and his merit is in danger of being forgotten, because by his method every confused mind is so helped that it imagines itself the architect of this order, when it is only walking easily and pleasantly through the corridors which have been constructed by quite another hand.

We must not omit to mention that Mr. Dulles has been consulted throughout this publication. Much of the excellence of the printing, the beauty of the form and the arrangement of the whole, is owing to the quickness of his eye and the soundness of his judgment.

There have been three Digests of the Acts of the Assembly previous to the present. The first was prepared by a Committee consisting of Drs. Janeway, Neill and Ely, and published in 1820. It was very useful but imperfect, though it pioneered the way. About 1850—no date upon the title page—the Board of Publication of the other branch of our Church published a second Digest which was compiled by the Rev. Richard Webster of Mauch Chunk, Pa. It proved, however, unsatisfactory both as to fulness and method. Mr. Webster was remarkable for his antiquarian tastes, for his patience and lore, and was in many another respect a most interesting man, but he was deficient both in the comprehensiveness and peculiar business talent which is needed by the compiler of a Digest. A wonderful amount of mechanical skill which is concealed goes to the making of a powerful and beautiful locomotive. It is no disparagement to a poet, a biographer, an antiquarian, a pastor, that he is not a Baldwin.

More recently still the Board of Publication of the same branch of our Church have issued a third Digest, compiled by the Rev. Samuel J. Baird, D. D., of Woodbury, N. J. This was very far in advance of any thing yet done in the Church. It is very much fuller than the two Digests which preceded it, and there is a vast improvement in the way of order. We begin in this Digest to feel our way. There is a possibility of finding the thing of which one is in search. This work, however, is marred by two faults. The one is contained potentially in the statement of Mr. Dulles' Preface, that Mr. Moore has "rigidly adhered to the preparation of a *Digest*." He has; and it is high praise to give to one whose opinions are so decided on almost every point adjudicated, and who passed over the entire period of our history and every act of our highest judicatory with an ideal of Presbyterianism ever present to his mind. Yet he has scru-

pulously abstained from writing a History of the Church or a Review of its proceedings. He has religiously refused to give a coloring to its action; where issues were even inconsistent, from the successive prevalence of parties in the Church, he has calmly given the one action and then the other. Nor can we find a trace of an attempt to eulogize or to depress any man; to insert or to omit a name. The book seems to us as impartial as human nature could be expected to make it.

We regret that we cannot say all these things in eulogy of Dr. Baird's Digest. That his motives are pure we do not question. That he is a warm, devoted, zealous Presbyterian, according to his ideal of Presbyterianism, we have no doubt. But he has been so anxious that every thing should be "right," that he has endeavored to mould the action of the Assembly into accordance with his own views by interspersing such an amount of explanation and commentary as deprives us of the "white light" of the Assembly's own action. A commissioner on the floor of the Assembly, a historian of its action, a critic in a Quarterly Review,—these have different offices to perform from that of a man who professes to make a Digest. In that case we want the *minimum* of the Digester and the *maximum* of the Assembly itself. In this respect Mr. Moore contrasts very favorably with Dr. Baird.

We said that there is another fault in Dr. Baird's Digest. It is an incapacity to do justice to our branch of the common Church. We call it an incapacity, for we charge no design of misrepresentation. We do not blame Dr. Baird for his conception of Presbyterianism; we know that he came by it most honestly, and that he would almost deem a more liberal one faithlessness to his most cherished and venerable associations. Yet he still *is* unfair. We should be rather placid in this Review, if a charge were brought against us of want of blueness in our Presbyterianism; we do not feel very vulnerable on that side. Our theory has never been set forth more admirably, than in this Digest now issued by our Publication Committee. It begins with the Adopting Act, which is undoubtedly the organic basis of the Presbyterian Church in America, and it traces throughout a strong, even stern, attachment to Calvinism and Presbyterianism, but this always wonderfully modified by a large-hearted, catholic liberality. Dr. Baird's theory is that of the excising parties of 1741 and 1837, not that of the Adopting Act of 1729, of the Act of Reunion of 1758, of the formers of the Constitution of 1789, who earnestly laboured to bring into one great and noble Presbyterian Church all branches of the same in America, before they formed a General Assembly—an effort that was frustrated by the narrowness of the Associate Reformed and Dutch

Reformed Churches. There is no trace of unfairness or littleness on the part of Mr. Moore towards the other branch of our Church. The whole record, in regard to the Division, is given at length, with the protests, circular letters, and all other ecclesiastical documents and the legal opinions on both sides, from which a careful and candid reader can make up his own opinion. Those legal opinions, which are not matters of record in the Minutes—the opinions of Judge Gibson in the General Case, and in the York Case, and the Lane Seminary Decision, are given in an Appendix.

A most essential element in a Digest, is the indexing. In this book it is admirably done. First, every separate topic is given in the Contents, at the beginning, in no less than twenty-one pages. This table follows the logical connexion on which the book is based. At the end, again, there is an alphabetical Index of thirteen pages, made also full, so that any topic may be found in that way. The order is logical and lucid. It begins with, I. The Church—1. Its Standards. 2. The Principles of the Particular Church. 3. The Constituent parts; the Members. Chap. II. The Officers. 1. Deacons; 2. Ruling Elders; 3. Pastors; 4. Ministers without charge. Chap. III. Candidates; 1. Before Licensure. Licentiates; 2. Ordination. IV. The Sacraments; 1. Baptism; 2. The Lord's Supper. V. Courts; 1. The Session; 2. Presbytery; 3. Synod; 4. General Assembly. VI. Discipline; 1. General Principles; 2. Appeals; 3. Complaints. VII. Moral Questions; 1. Marriage; 2. The Sabbath; 3. Intemperance; 4. Theatre and Dancing; 5. Gambling, Lotteries and Betting; 6. Duelling; 7. Slavery. VIII. Deliverances on Doctrines. IX. Modes of Evangelization (Seven Heads.) X. The Permanent Committees, with a clear history of the character of each; 1. Preliminary Action; 2. The Church Extension Committee; 3. Church Erection; 4. Publication; 5. Presbyterian House; 6. Education; 7. Foreign Missions. XI. Correspondence with other Churches. XII. Plan of Union and Division. XIII. Miscellaneous, for which but little is left. It includes, however, the Secession of the Southern Churches and the Amendments made or attempted in the Constitution. The Appendix contains, as we stated, legal documents.

We are glad to see this remark, one of the few made by the compiler: "The amendments [to the Constitution] made or proposed, have never affected the Confession of Faith proper, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, or the Directory for Worship. These remain, word for word and letter for letter, as they were adopted at the formation of the Assembly in 1788." The alterations, of course, therefore, merely regard administrative matters not at all affecting the faith,

order or discipline of the Church. In all essential respects, Presbyterianism in all its principal bodies, the world over, is the same. The divisions are on minor and unessential points which ought not to keep them apart, but which have been magnified by prejudice and often misunderstood by good men.

We thank the Publication Committee very heartily for this volume. We have constantly rejoiced in that Committee and prophesied good things of it. They are beginning to appear. Ten years ago we could not buy a Shorter Catechism except from strangers not under the control of the Church. Now we have editions of the Confession, Form of Government, Catechism and the same annotated, our own Psalm and Hymn Book, a Presbyterian Manual, a Tune Book, a Sabbath School Hymn Book, Forms for Presbyteries, and a constantly increasing literature, both denominational and of a more general religious nature. If any one has been narrowed in his feelings or made sectarian by thus seeing to the wants of our own family, we certainly have not perceived it. Every truth and duty in its own order. Every thing is beautiful in its time. "This ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone." We are getting to be, not *the Church*, but a *Church* of Christ, with the organs and functions of a Church. Whenever we see any narrowness, or bigotry, or sectarianism springing out of the present attention to an imperative duty, we will let our readers know, faithfully.

II. BIBLICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN, in continuation of the work of Olshausen, with an Appendix on the Catholic Epistles and an Introductory Essay on the Life and Writings of St. John. By DR. JOHN H. A. EBRARD. Translated by REV. W. B. POPE. Manchester. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co., 1860. pp. 423.

Dr. Ebrard is a Bavarian by birth and education, but a Huguenot by descent.* He studied at Erlangen and commenced his academic career there as *Privat docent*. Olshausen and Krafft were his favorite teachers. He then became theological professor at Zürich. About 1849 he returned to Erlangen as successor to Dr. Krafft. It was the only Reformed professorship, all the others (Thomasius, Delitzsch, Hofmann, Hamack, Höfling until his death) being Lutheran. Erlangen is considered the most flourishing school of orthodox Lutheranism in Germany. In 1853, Ebrard was removed by the government to Speyer (Spire) as *Consistorialrath*. This is the capital of Rhenish Bavaria and well known as the place where the name Protestant was first given. Ebrard is a devoted member of the

* See for these facts Dr. Schaff's Germany, &c.

German Reformed Church, but is in favor of keeping up the Evangelical or United Church where it exists, after the model of Prussia.

He is but forty-three or four years old, yet he has written amazingly. Amongst other works are his *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*; *Christliche Dogmatik*; a History of the Lord's Supper; a collection of Reformed Liturgies; Lectures on Practical Theology; Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Revelation. He writes for the *Studien und Kritiken* and for Herzog's *Encyclopædia*. He is evangelical after the Melancthonian type of theology.

Four hundred and twenty-three pages of Commentary on seven chapters of Scripture may seem large measure. There are sixty-one pages of Introduction, besides eight of Appendix on the Catholic Epistles, with a few pages of Index; the remainder is all exposition. Ebrard thinks the First Epistle was by the Apostle John, and the Second and Third, though canonical, by a presbyter John, a different man, an opinion which will hardly make many converts. He thinks 1 John v: 7, spurious, so far as we have light at present to decide the question, and accordingly omits it. Dr. Schaff gives the following view of Ebrard: "He is too hasty in judgment; his tone is too confident and at times arrogant, but he generally masters his subject, shrinks from no difficulty, penetrates into the heart of things, is rich and happy in illustration, often profound, always independent, fresh, vigorous and interesting." We must add that he is too prolix, and anxious to go deep whether he has any deep thoughts or not.

III. THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES

II. By Lord Macaulay. Vol. V. Edited by his Sister, Lady Trevelyan. With a Complete Index to the entire Work. New York: Harpers. Philadelphia: for sale by J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1861. pp. 293.

We copy what is so gracefully said in the Preface as to the state in which the History was left: "I have thought it right to publish that portion of the continuation of the 'History of England,' which was fairly transcribed and revised by Lord Macaulay. It is given to the world precisely as it was left; no connecting links have been added; no authority sought for or examined. It would, indeed, have been possible, with the help I might have obtained from his friends, to have supplied much that is wanting; but I preferred, and I believe the public will prefer, that the last thoughts of the great mind passed away from among us, should be preserved sacred from any touch but his own. Besides the revised manuscript, a few pages containing the first rough sketch of the last two months of William's reign are all that is left. From this I have, with some difficulty, deciphered the

account of the death of William. No attempt has been made to join it on to the preceding part, nor to supply the connexions which would have been given by the improving hand of the author. But, imperfect as it must be, I believe it will be received with pleasure and interest as a fit conclusion to the life of his great hero."

The civilized world will regret that Macaulay could not have written the History of England to our times. We have, in a former Review, entered our protest against the injustice of the distinguished author towards Scotland and Presbyterianism, but there would have been few intellectual pleasures compared with that of following his path as he traced the progress of that great country of our ancestors, especially as its history became more and more involved with our own. This volume includes but four years, and those not perfectly gone over. Still, there is here the same clear narrative, the same picturesque power that has always characterized this great writer. We give some extracts from the sketch of the death of William, which closes the whole:

Heinsius was at that time suffering from indisposition, which was indeed a trifle when compared with the maladies under which William was sinking. But in the nature of William there was none of that selfishness which is the too common vice of invalids. On the twentieth of February he sent to Heinsius a letter in which he did not even allude to his own suffering and infirmities. "I am," he said, "infinitely concerned to learn that your health is not quite re-established. May God be pleased to grant you a speedy recovery. I am unalterably your good friend, William." Those were the last lines of that long correspondence.

* * * *

The king, meanwhile, was sinking fast. Albemarle had arrived at Kensington from the Hague, exhausted by rapid traveling. His master kindly bade him go to rest for some hours, and then summoned him to make his report. That report was in all respects satisfactory. The States-General were in the best temper; the troops, the provisions, the magazines were in the best order. Everything was in readiness for an early campaign. William received the intelligence with the calmness of a man whose work was done. He was under no illusion as to his danger. "I am fast drawing," he said, "to my end." His end was worthy of his life. His intellect was not for a moment clouded. His fortitude was the more admirable because he was not willing to die. He had very lately said to one of those whom he most loved, "You know that I never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished it; but, now that this great new prospect is opening before me, I do wish to stay here a little longer." Yet no weakness, no querulousness, disgraced the noble close of that noble career. To the physician the king returned his thanks graciously and gently. "I know that you have done all that

skill and learning could do for me; but the case is beyond your art, and I submit." From the words which escaped him he seemed to be frequently engaged in mental prayer. Burnet and Tenison remained many hours in the sick-room. He professed to them his firm belief in the truth of the Christian religion, and received the sacrament from their hands with great seriousness. The antechambers were crowded all night with lords and privy councillors. He ordered several of them to be called in, and exerted himself to take leave of them with a few kind and cheerful words. Among the English who were admitted to his bedside were Devonshire and Ormond. But there were in the crowd those who felt as no Englishmen could feel—friends of his youth who had been true to him, and to whom he had been true, through all vicissitudes of fortune; who had served him with unalterable fidelity when his secretaries of State, his Treasury, and his Admiralty had betrayed him; who had never, on any field of battle, or in an atmosphere tainted with loathsome and deadly disease, shrunk from placing their own lives in jeopardy to save his, and whose truth he had at the cost of his own popularity rewarded with his bounteous munificence. He strained his feeble voice to thank Auverquerque for the affectionate and loyal services of thirty years. To Albemarle he gave the keys of his closet and of his private drawers. "You know," he said, "what to do with them." By this time he could scarcely breathe. "Can this," he said to the physicians, "last long?" He was told that the end was approaching. He swallowed a cordial, and asked for Bentinek. Those were his last articulate words. Bentinek instantly came to the bedside, bent down, and placed his ear close to the king's mouth. The lips of the dying man moved, but nothing could be heard. The king took the hand of his earliest friend, and pressed it tenderly to his heart. In that moment, no doubt, all that had cast a slight passing cloud over their long and pure friendship was forgotten. It was now between seven and eight in the morning. He closed his eyes and gasped for breath. The bishops knelt down and read the commendatory prayer. When it ended William was no more.

When his remains were laid out, it was found that he wore next to his skin a small piece of black silk ribbon. The lords in waiting ordered it to be taken off. It contained a gold ring and a lock of the hair of Mary.

IV. THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENT IN PLATO AND THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHY, unfolded and set forth by Dr. C. Ackermann, Archdeacon at Jena. Translated from the German by Samuel Ralph Asbury, B. A. With an Introductory Note, by William G. T. Shedd, D. D., Brown Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1861. pp. 280.

We cannot persuade ourselves to dismiss a work on such a subject with a brief notice. The points of contact between the only true religion and the greatest of philosophers must have some little consideration, and we lay it over for a fuller notice when we have some fitting leisure.

V. HARPERS' GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS.

1. THUCYDIDES. Recensuit Joannes Gulielmus Donaldson, S. T. P., Coll. Ss. Trin. Apud Cantabr. quondam Socius.* In two vols. pp. 305, 298.

There are twenty-three pages of Introduction, containing, principally, Notes; but which, we regret to say, are pedantically put in Latin. At the end are thirty-three pages of an Index Nominum Propriorum. Besides these, there is nothing but the text. The Greek type is most beautiful. The volumes every way pleasant and convenient; pocket editions, in flexible binding.

2. Publi Vergili Maronis Opera ex Recensione J. Conington, A. M. Linguae et Litterarum Latinarum apud Oxonienses Professoris. 1861. pp. 338.

A page and one-third "Lectori," is the total commentary, no note or index being added. One is surprised to find that the whole of Virgil can go into so small a space. It will be seen that the editor adopts the spelling *Vergil*. The style of the edition is the same with that of Thucydides and others.

- VI. THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER: with the Hymns, Epigrams, and Battle of the Frogs and Mice. Literally translated, with Explanatory Notes by Theodore Alois Buckley, B. A., of Christ Church. New York: Harpers. 1861. pp. 432.

This volume is introduced by a translation of the earliest known life of Homer, called the Pseudo-Herodotean, by Kenneth Mackenzie, Esq. The translation of the Odyssey follows, and then the Hymns to the gods, with the Battle of the Frogs and Mice, and the Epigrams; including, with the Iliad, all that has been attributed to Homer. The volume is enriched by quotations from Chapman, Coleridge, and Shelley. For the Hymns and Minor Poems, the editions of Ruhnken, Ernesti, and Hermann, are principally followed. We are greatly indebted to the Harpers for bringing out the Classics in every shape, and at so cheap a rate.

- VII. THOUGHTS ON PREACHING, being Contributions to Homiletics. By James W. Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. pp. 514.

Dr. James Alexander intended to write a book on Preaching, for which he had collected large material in journals and common-place books. But he died without executing his plan. The editor has here collected many passages from his journals, several articles from the Princeton Review, and the letters to young ministers from the Presbyterian, of which it will be recollected that, in its purest days, Dr. Alexander was editor.

Dr. James Alexander was one of our most valuable men. Not equal in intellectual power to his father or his brother, he was a better pastor than either; and for the common uses of a congregation,

year in and year out, perhaps a better preacher. Very beautiful are those of his sermons called "Consolation." There was a loveliness in his character, and a goodness which—together with the culture derived from his own reading, and his remarkable social advantages—made him more prominent than his intellectual power alone would have justified; a rare example of the value of those qualities that are, for the most part, within our own control.

This book contains hints of great consequence to preachers; it will do a world of good to have it carefully studied. It will encourage more nature, more fearlessness, more Scripture reading, and other qualities that are greatly needed now; qualities for which the Church lies gasping, not knowing its own needs. That we may make an impression of the worth of the book, we mark some extracts:

Formalism of Sermons.—Without flattering myself with the notion that I was ever eloquent, I am persuaded that the most effective discourses I ever delivered, were those for which I made the least regular preparation. I wish I could make sermons as if I had never heard or read how they are made by other people. The formalism of regular divisions and applications is deadly. And as to written sermons, what is written with weariness, is heard with weariness.

Avoid Abstractions.—If you would keep up attention, avoid abstractions in your sermons, except those of mere argument. Come down from generals to specifications, and especially to individual cases. Whenever possible, give name and place, and intersperse anecdote. By this means the Puritans, even when they were prolix, were vivacious. They subsidized every event of Old Testament history, and talked of David and of Judas, instead of royalty and treason.

No man could ever speak extempore, if everything he said was literally the fruit of the moment. No; in many instances by some association, a whole train of thoughts which had been forgotten for years will be brought up.

The great reason why we have so little good preaching is that we have so little piety. To be eloquent, one must be in earnest; he must not only act as if he were in earnest, or try to be in earnest, but be in earnest, or he cannot be effective.

We have loud and vehement, we have smooth and graceful, we have splendid and elaborate preaching, but very little that is earnest. One man who so feels for the souls of his hearers as to be ready to weep over them—will assuredly make himself felt. This is what makes—effective; he really feels what he says. This made Cookman eloquent. This especially was the charm of Summerfield, above all men I ever heard. We must aim therefore at high degrees of warmth in our religious exercises, if we would produce an impression upon the public mind.

Themes for Preaching.—They should be great themes—the great themes. These are many. Evil of dwelling on the smaller themes. They are such as move the feelings. The great questions which have

agitated the world—which agitate our own bosoms—which we should like to have settled before we die—which we should ask an Apostle about if he were here. These are to general Scripture truth, what great mountains are in Geography. Some, anxious to avoid hackneyed topics, omit the greatest. Just as if we should describe Switzerland and omit the Alps.

Some ministers preach twenty years, and yet never preach on Judgment, Hell, the Crucifixion, the essence of Saving Faith—nor on those great themes which in all ages affect children, and affect the common mind, such as the Deluge, the sacrifice intended of Isaac, the death of Absalom, the parable of Lazarus. The Methodists constantly pick out these striking themes, and herein they gain a just advantage over us.

To be a great preacher, a man must be nothing else. The daily exercises of Demosthenes and Cicero may give us a hint of the devotion which is necessary. The analogy of all other arts and sciences may instruct. There are among us preachers who may be considered good, and in a certain sense great ones, who spend their principal strength during the week upon other pursuits. They write essays, systems, and commentaries. It may be observed of them all, that however useful they may be, these are not the men who move, and warm, and melt, and mould the public masses. Indeed, I think, to be a great preacher, a man must lay his account to forego that reputation which comes from erudition and literature. The channel must be narrowed, that the stream may flow in a rapid current, and fall with mighty impression. Even the learning of the schools must undergo a great process of transmutation and assimilation, before it is suitable to be produced in the pulpit. Great is the difference, though little apprehended, between the theological dissertation and a sermon, on the same subject. The crude matter falls heavily upon the popular ear. Only the last exquisite results of mental action are proper for public address. Not that the truth of doctrine is to be neglected; this is the very substance of all good sermons, and of every sentence of them, even in their most impassioned parts; but it must have undergone a great change in the mind of the preacher, and present itself in a more popular form, with more of colour of imagination and warmth of passion, before it can reach the deep places of the heart with due effect.

The power of the preacher is not to be attained by rhetorical studies. These have their place, but it is an inferior and subsidiary one; and the result of undue attention to them is beautiful debility and cold polish. Let the imbecile elegancies of Blair be an everlasting beacon to the student of homiletics.

Sermons.—I sometimes think I never acted out my inner man in a sermon. The nearest approach has been extempore. Causes which prevent:—fear of being too learned; fear of being too sentimental; fear of being too decorative; fear of being obscure; fear of being too vehement: all this is fear of being *myself*.

I reconsider some of my conclusions about simplicity; and doubt, more than doubt, whether a man may not aim at overperspicuity. The thought makes the language. High thoughts will make high language.

Some men of study and research are called upon to preach in a strain above the common level, even if some do not understand them. There are enough who cannot rise above average minds. A man's best and loftiest meditations should go out of him in the shape of sermons.

Against Solitude.—A life of study has always appeared to me an unnatural life. Is it not better to converse with the living than the dead? Some one will yet have to write a book on the excess of literature. The ancient Greek way of studying abroad, in the Porch, or the Academy, on the Ilissus, and under the platanus, among the haunts of man, was better for the health both of body and mind. Recluse habits tend to sadness, moroseness, selfishness, timidity, and inaction. The mind has better play *in aprico*. Collision produces scintillation of genius, and proximity of friends opens a gush for the affections. The early Christians seem to have been out-of-door people, rehearsing to one another the wisdom which had been given to them orally. Lessons which go from mouth to mouth, take a portable shape, because dense, pithy, and apothegmatic: such are the proverbs of all ages. We are made for action, and life is too short for us to be always preparing. A breath of pure air seems to oxygenate the intellect, and the best thoughts of the scholar are sometimes during the half hour of twilight, when he has laid aside his books and taken his walking-stick. Then he is more of a man, feels his fellowship not only with nature, but with his kind. I sometimes wish I had been less a reader of books; that I had exercised my horses, or traversed countries as a reckless pedestrian. Ever turning the thoughts inward produces corrosion. We should have something, it is true, within, but it should tend outwards. He has not fulfilled his vocation, who has spent his score of years in solitary delight over ancient authors, and eaten his morsel alone. Gray, with all Greece in his mind, pacing up and down the green alleys of a college walk, was but half the man he should have been. Horace Walpole, revelling in the virtù of Strawberry Hill, degenerated into a mere toyman, and filled the most elegant letters extant with the matching of old chairs and Sevres china. It is to let the mind run to seed in a corner; transplantation is necessary. To live for others is the dictate of religion. And what to do for others is best done by actual approaches, face to face, eye looking into eye, and hand pressing hand. It is not enough to say this or that recon-dite pursuit may turn to somebody's advantage. So it may, if you live to be a Methuselah or a Lamech. But your ever-increasing stock should not be all hoarded. The sum is, go forth among mankind. Lay aside the cowl, and make one of the great company. Every day renew the electric touch with the common mind. Fall into the circle, to give and take good influences. It is not too late if your heart is not ossified to the core. I hope it is not so bad as that in Tully's phrase, *locus ubi stomachus fuit, conculuit*. It is worth an effort. The air of a saloon or market-place will do you good, and you will gain something from brushing the crowd in a thoroughfare.

On Reading the Epistles.—Having this day read, without note or comment, a great deal in the epistles, I have endeavoured to open my

mind to their genuine impressions, and am much impressed with the result.

(1.) The absence of everything that savours of the ritualism of the Oxonian school. No stress is laid on priests, altars, ceremonies, or even sacraments. It is wonderful how largely sacraments figure in modern liturgies, and how little in the New Testament, which contains not even the word.

(2.) The intense *supernaturalism* of the New Testament writers. Every good thing is from above. Calling, faith, love, joy, all are of grace, and all of the Spirit. The communication is perpetually alluded to, as a matter of fact and experience. Early Christians lived in a heavenly atmosphere, and felt that by the grace of God they were what they were.

(3.) The heavenly *ethics* of the New Testament. Trust, love, patience, courtesy, meekness, forbearance, gentleness, long-suffering, forgiveness, hospitality, humility; these are what they felt and recommended. The power of Christianity was in these things. Believers lived in a tender love one to another. The world saw it, and were reformed and attracted.

(4.) The attachment of saints to the person of Jesus. He was not an abstraction. He was known of them, as one who had recently been among them, who had left them only for a season, and who was still within reach; a priest abiding continually, and ever living to make intercession for them.

VIII. NOTES ON NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. By Joseph Addison Alexander, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1861. pp. 319.

"The two fragments," the editor says, "presented in this volume, include all that Dr. Alexander left, in a condition fit for the press, of his remarkable "Biblical and Historical Lectures." They are, indeed, fragments, or rather sketches, dry, accurate, learned, transparently clear, simple, and condensed, directly to the point, gathering into a small space the information of a most active and laborious literary life.

With the exception of some of Dr. James Alexander's works, especially those in which deep tenderness and pathos predominate, it is remarkable that the peculiar power of the Alexander family scarcely comes out in writing. This is the case, to an extraordinary degree, in Dr. Archibald Alexander. Compare the intense feeling of his students as to the value of his instructions, and the greatness of the man, with any one of his works, and the observer is at fault. If not one of his students, he would set it all down as the extravagance of first impressions in young men, were it not for the singular uniformity in opinion, and the apparently extravagant eulogy of even those best qualified to speak, and who have reached the full maturity of their judgment. Yet it is not easy to define that wherein his greatness

consisted. This was the case in regard to Washington, and all other men where we must describe their greatness by the word *character*. It was not exactly that Dr. Alexander was so wonderful a preacher, though he was remarkable in that respect. It certainly was not his learning, for we remember distinctly that we read with surprise, many years after we left Princeton, that his learning was considered great or discursive, we certainly having received the impression that he was a man of extraordinary originality, and of but moderate acquaintance with books. He evidently knew what was needful to be known of books, especially in didactic theology, and in the line of English, Scottish, and American writers upon it. We never thought of accusing him of any want of knowledge, but the idea was certainly never once formed that he was a man remarkable for learning *as such*. Dr. James Alexander says beautifully and truly, that his father was remarkable above all men that he ever knew for "doing exactly as he pleased;" very high praise, when we consider what he did, and how artificial is the goodness of most of us. Most men cannot trust themselves to do as they please for half-an-hour. We imagine that this was true of Dr. Alexander's reading. He read much, and in profitable books, but rather desultorily than systematically. In short, he was not constituted for a learned man, but for something much higher.

We do not remember ever to have received the impression that Dr. Alexander was very profound; for example, as Plato was, or Calvin, or Coleridge—as though the world of thought and emotion that envelopes ours, the world inhabited by an order of intelligences above us, had been, in occasional glimpses, revealed to them, so that we ordinary mortals listen to them as to a revelation. And yet we agree with every body else, and agree fully, that Dr. Archibald Alexander was a very extraordinary man, great and good. As a professor in a theological seminary he was one of a thousand, and his influence was as remarkable as it is, in some respects, inexplicable. We can scarcely turn to any production of his that satisfies, or even pleases us. The power of some men is indissolubly linked with their presence, with their manner, their voice. Without the present, living man, the magnetic circle is not formed.

There is something of this in Addison Alexander. Let any man think of Baron Macaulay, and how much more there is of him in his Reviews and his History, than there ever was in Parliament or in conversation. Then let him think of Coleridge, subduing, overpowering, delighting, half-blinding men by the noon-tide brightness and heat-lightning of his conversation—beyond even Greek symposia. The editor of this book has only given us twenty-three lines of preface,

but see how in that brief space this feeling of the difference between bright flame and burnt ashes appears. "This is all," he says, "of his remarkable lectures." This gave "such vivacity and originality to his instructions, his lectures to each succeeding class being the out-pouring of his acquisitions." "These fragments alone remain to us." The "brief skeletons could hardly be arranged, and never filled out by any living man." The brief notes, mere catch-words, he inserts as hoping "they may be suggestive." Here is the ideal of Addison Alexander. His spoken lectures were the man. We should hesitate more in this, were it not that we know it to be so true that the very life of his father glowed in his countenance, and burned on his lips, and that we cannot relume it from his books, but only from our memory.

We could hardly believe it when we heard that Addison Alexander was dead. It seemed very strange to us that he should die. We think that Dr. Hodge says somewhere, though on looking for it, we cannot find the reference to verify it, that he was the greatest man he ever knew. We have not forgotten that the sermons of Dr. Alexander, as published, are excellent, and that there were no arts of the orator, or, as Dr. Hodge says, "no charms of voice or manner" to recommend them. This is true; it is true also, that his life was that of a recluse student, and not that of a man of society. Still, we do not take back what we have said. Public speaking, lecturing, conversing, not merely the charm of oratory, but the mode of thought and character which finds its natural and most powerful expression through the tongue, and that which flows more powerfully through the pen—these are totally different gifts. The great talker is immortal, and so is the great painter, poet, writer, philosopher, but each in his own mode. And though the first conception of a recluse is exactly the reverse of that of a man of great oral power, yet the objection is more seeming than valid. The difference lies deep in character. The writer is flowing, continuous, perhaps stately, majestic; he moves on like Jeremy Taylor's river, making every thing "even as his own brow," and by the strange imaginative power which is his gift, he warms in solitude and glows in presence of his new-created worlds. But the man whose power is in the presence of men, is more often broken, suggestive, quick in turn, kindling at the eyes of others, flashing electrically, magnetized, as well as magnetizing. A sure criterion of him is that his reputation is so great that you look in vain for its ground. Nothing is left to us of Sheridan's great speech like the impression which it has struck upon literature; not much more than this is known of it, that the first men in England all said that

they never heard any thing like it. But Burke's is as great to us in the printed book, as it was to the men who listened to it.

It will be seen that our idea is that Addison Alexander was not greatest in the pulpit, admirable and popular as he was there, but in the lecture-room. Something in the way of Neander, we suppose to have been his *forte*. *A thorough acquaintance with matters that few understood well, and an audience of trained minds, following, appreciating, and admiring, this reconcilite flood of thought and emotion*—such were, we conceive, the circumstances in which this great son of a great man, whom after all, with characteristic differences, he much resembled, appeared greatest, and in his influence on such audiences lay his special usefulness.

IX. LIFE OF JESUS. A Manual for Academic Study. By Dr. Carl Hase, Professor of Theology in the University of Jena. Translated from the German of the Third and Fourth Improved Editions, by James Freeman Clarke. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1860. pp. 267.

Translated by a Unitarian minister, and issued by the "Publishers for the American Unitarian Association," this book comes to us under auspices of a suspicious sort. Dr. Addison Alexander says of Hase, in reference to his Church History, that he was "a man of genius and of cultivated taste, and an original and brilliant writer, but unduly partial to the more æsthetic and artistical relations of his subject, not so much a believer as an admirer of the gospel, (rather than a believer,) obscure from epigrammatic or laconic brevity, and from rather pre-supposing than detailing facts."

Hase was born in Steinbach in Altenburg, where his father was a clergyman, in 1800. He studied theology at Leipzig, Erlangen, and Tübingen, was imprisoned for five months in 1819 at the fortress of Hohenasperg, in Würtemberg, on account of his participation in the movement of *Burschenschaft*, became *Privat docent* of theology in Tübingen in 1823, professor of philosophy in Leipzig in 1829, and professor of theology at Jena from 1830. His writings are voluminous. Amongst the best known is his Manual of Church History, translated in this country by Professor Blumenthal, and Dr. Wing, of Carlisle, Pa.

The present work appeared in 1829, a third edition in 1840, and a fourth in 1854. The result arrived at, Mr. Clarke says, is neither that of Strauss nor that of Hengstenberg. Dr. Schaff says of it: "It has the characteristic merits of all the compends of that genial and spirited author, in giving a miniature picture of its object, of high artistic finish, and a very complete and useful literary apparatus to the different sections. But owing to its subject, it is likely to meet with greater opposition from the reigning type of Anglo-American

theology, than his Church History. And I must say myself, that while the book gives a valuable and interesting account of the human development of Christ as the religious ideal of the race, it is unsatisfactory in not rising high enough to the full divine-human grandeur of its sublime subject, and contains, especially at the beginning and the end of the gospel history, too many skeptical elements."

This book is as painful to us as would be the wounding of our most sensitive nerves. It is such a book as those brought up as we have been, cannot bear. There is a want of reverence, a worldly, merely artistic, half infidel spirit, that is too shocking to us to allow us to speak calmly of it. Thus, to take passages almost at random: "The angels, and the bloody sweat recorded by Luke, are figurative expressions changed into a legend." "That the curtain of the Holy of Holies was rent, is wholly in the symbolical style," &c. "The resurrection of the saints, beginning in a bodily way, but vanishing afterwards in a spectral obscurity," &c. The appearance of the angels at the Resurrection, "seem to belong to early legendary additions to the gospels." Yet he believes in the Resurrection. The circumstances of the birth of our Saviour are treated as myths, and such doubts are thrown upon the miraculous conception as to amount to a denial of it. It is difficult to conceive Hase's idea of our Saviour, or to know what he means. He says: "The fundamental thought of this book is this, that a divine principle revealed itself in Jesus, but in a purely human form." "Let those to whom our Christ is no Christ," he says, "consider that to us, and to many like-minded, he is a Master and a Saviour upon this stand-point of ours."

We confess a strong disposition to burn up, not the author, but the whole edition of this most disagreeable book. It seems to us utterly deficient in reverence, and calculated to do nothing but mischief to Americans.

X. THE ORDEAL OF FREE LABOR IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

By Wm. G. Sewell. New York: Harpers. pp. 325.

These letters were originally written for the *New York Times*. On the whole, the author considers the experiment of emancipation a success. The following table is given in regard to the Leeward Islands:

SUGAR EXPORTATION, POUNDS.

Islands.	Annual average from 1820 to 1832.	Exports in 1858.
Antigua,	20,580,000	26,174,000
Dominica,	6,000,000	6,263,000
Nevis,	5,000,000	4,400,000
Montserrat,	1,840,000	1,308,000
St. Kitts,	12,000,000	10,000,000
	45,420,000	48,145,000

IMPORTS.		
	Same time.	Same time.
Antigua,	£130,000	£266,364
Dominica,	62,000	84,906
Nevis,	28,000	36,721
Montserrat,	18,000	17,844
St. Kitts,	60,000	109,000
	£298,000	£514,835
Excess of sugar exportation with free labor,		lbs. 2,725,000
“ imports “ “		£216,835

Mr. Sewell asserts that he went to the West Indies “imbued with the American idea that African freedom had been a curse to every branch of agricultural and commercial industry. I shall leave,” he says, “these islands, overwhelmed with a very opposite conviction.” One great reason for the abandoning of plantations is that there is, especially in Jamaica, a great want of capital, and the negroes do not work, *because they are not paid*. They therefore work on the roads where they are paid, or for themselves.

Mr. Sewell makes this remarkable statement: “I do not remember having ever seen a West Indian negro drunk; and the temperate habits of the Jamaica Creoles are the more remarkable, as the spirit manufactured on the island can be obtained for a very trifling cost.”

“No people,” he says, “in the world have been more peaceful than the Creoles of Jamaica. The contrast, in this respect, between the reign of freedom and that of slavery, carries its own lesson and its own warning. Twenty-five years of freedom, and not a murmur of popular discontent!”

But his testimony is not so favorable as to the morality of the lower classes of the population. Licentiousness is rife, and petty crime. There is a great want of instruction.

The mulattoes and quadroons are a very important class, intelligent, and comparatively enterprising. In the Jamaican Assembly there are seventeen black and colored members out of forty-seven. In a population of 350,000, there are only 20,000 children at school, and of these 13,000 are educated by missions and private charities. All the mission schools are doing good.

The property of Jamaica was declining before emancipation. The planters were, like almost all large slaveholders, extravagant. The exportation of sugar had gradually decreased from 150,000 hhds. in 1805, to 85,000 hhds. in 1833. Between the years 1814 and 1832 the coffee-crop was also reduced one-half; and during the fifty years that preceded emancipation, it is estimated that two hundred sugar

estates were abandoned. Mr. Sewell says that if he were asked to describe, in as few words as possible, the effect of emancipation in Jamaica, he would say—the creation of a middle class. “At the lowest estimate that I have heard given, there are now in Jamaica, fifty thousand small proprietors, owning, on an average, three acres of land.” While the export of sugar from Jamaica has largely decreased, that of minor staples, logwood, fustic, mahogany, succades, cocoanuts, ebony, beeswax, and honey, have largely increased. These are the productions of the small settlers. The decline in sugar exportation is as follows:

1801—1807	average	133,000	hhd.
1807—1814	“	118,000	“
1814—1821	“	110,000	“
1821—1828	“	96,000	“
1828—1835	“	90,000	“
1841		34,000	“
1845		47,926	“
1850		33,031	“

It will be seen that the decrease was very large before emancipation, though it has been more rapid since.

The election law in Jamaica is as follows: Each voter must have a freehold of a clear rental of £6, or he must pay £20 rent, or have an income derivable from business of £50; or, finally, he must pay taxes to the extent of £2 per annum. There are probably 50,000 freeholders with a clear income of £6 a year, but the number of actual voters does not exceed 3000. The reason is, that each voter must pay ten shillings sterling, about two dollars and a-quarter, for registration. The relative cost of slave and free labor, Mr. Sewell states thus:

Cuba, (slave,)	Per lb.	3	cents.
Jamaica “	“	4 $\frac{37}{100}$	“
Jamaica, (free,)	“	2	“
Trinidad, “	“	1 $\frac{72}{100}$	“
Barbadoes “	“	1 $\frac{2}{3}$	“

This whole work is well worthy of study. The great practical experiment in the West Indies is of the deepest interest. If Mr. Sewell's statements are reliable, they go far to settle the question of the capability of the African to take care of himself. This solved, no good man can consistently support slavery.

XI. RECENT INQUIRIES IN THEOLOGY, by Eminent English Churchmen, being “Essays and Reviews.” Reprinted from the Second London Edition. Edited, with an Introduction, by Rev. Frederick H. Hedge, D. D. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. For sale in Philadelphia by Lippincott & Co. 1860. pp. 480.

This is the rationalistic, ultra Broad Church, semi-infidel book which

is agitating England to its centre, against which all the bishops of the Established Church nobly protest, and which is appropriately published, and earnestly praised by Unitarians here. We give the subjects of the essays, together with the authors who are thus undermining all true evangelical faith:

The Education of the World. By Frederick Temple, D. D., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen; Head Master of Rugby School; Chaplain to the Earl of Denbigh.

Bunsen's Biblical Researches. By Rowland Williams, D. D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter; Vicar of Broad Chalke, Wilts.

On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By Baden Powell, M. A., F. R. S., &c., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford.

Seances historiques de Geneve. The National Church. By Henry Bristow Wilson, B. D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hants.

On the Mosaic Cosmogony. By C. W. Goodwin, M. A.

Tendencies of Religious Thought in England. 1688-1750. By Mark Pattison, B. D.

On the Interpretation of Scripture. By Benjamin Jewett, M. A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford.

They call them the *Septem Contra Christum*, in England. The Articles are not very remarkable in any way, except as the productions of men who occupy such stations as their authors, and yet betray the truth as shamefully as our Floyds and Twiggs have betrayed their country.

XII. THE BLUE LAWS OF CONNECTICUT. A collection of the Earliest Statutes and Judicial Proceedings of that Colony; being an Exhibition of the rigorous Morals and Legislature of the Puritans. Edited, with an Introduction, by Samuel M. Smucker, LL. D. Philadelphia: Duane Rulison. 1861. pp. 235.

Here are authentic copies of these world-famous Blue Laws. After an introduction, comes the Civil Compact of 1638-9, and then the laws of the Code of 1650 arranged alphabetically under appropriate heads. These are followed by extracts from the Judicial Records of New Haven, and Early Records of the Church there. In the appendix are—The First System of Laws in Massachusetts; the Settlement of the Land between New Haven and the Dutch; an Address to Oliver Cromwell in 1654, and a Letter from the Colony of Rhode Island concerning the Quakers.

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